Confucianism

The Four Books and Five Classics

DELPHI CLASSICS

Series Seven

The Collected Works of

CONFUCIUS

(551-479 BC)

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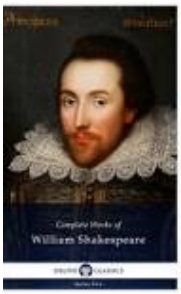

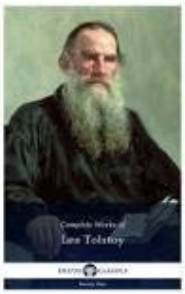

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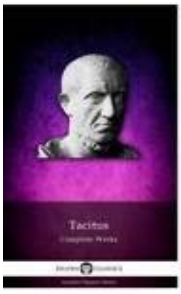

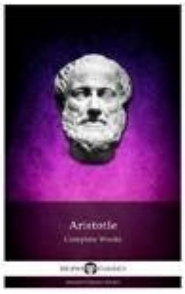

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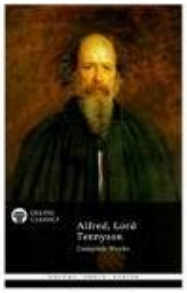

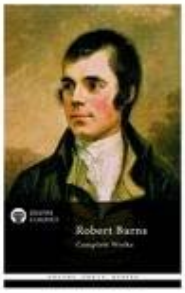

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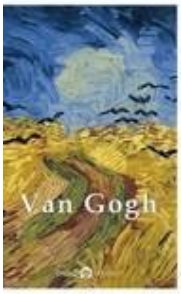

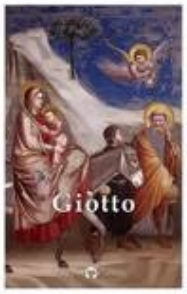

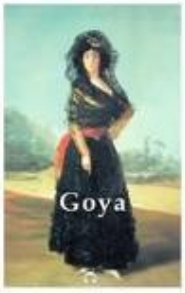

The Collected Works of

CONFUCIUS

By Delphi Classics, 2016

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Confucianism: The Four Books and Five Classics — Collected Works of Confucius First published in the United Kingdom in 2016 by Delphi Classics.

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ISBN: 978 1 78656 052 0

Delphi Classics

is an imprint of

Delphi Publishing Ltd Hastings, East Sussex United Kingdom

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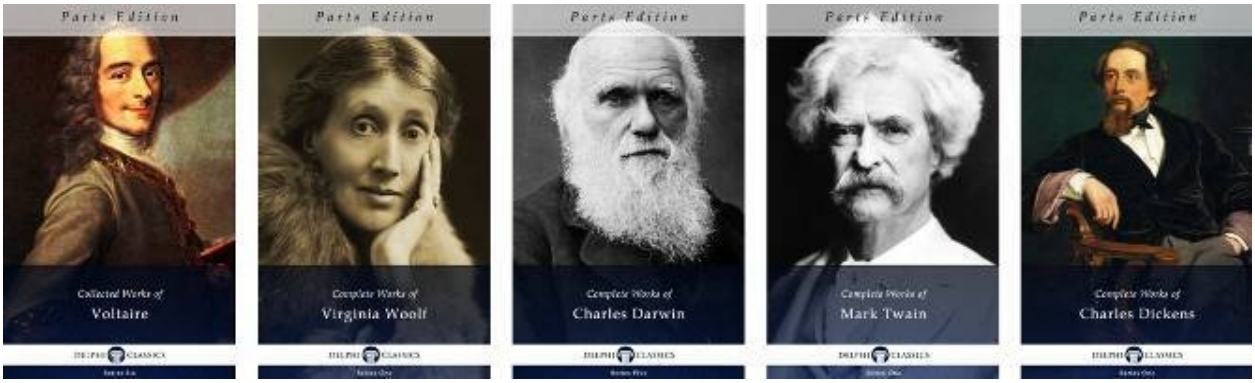

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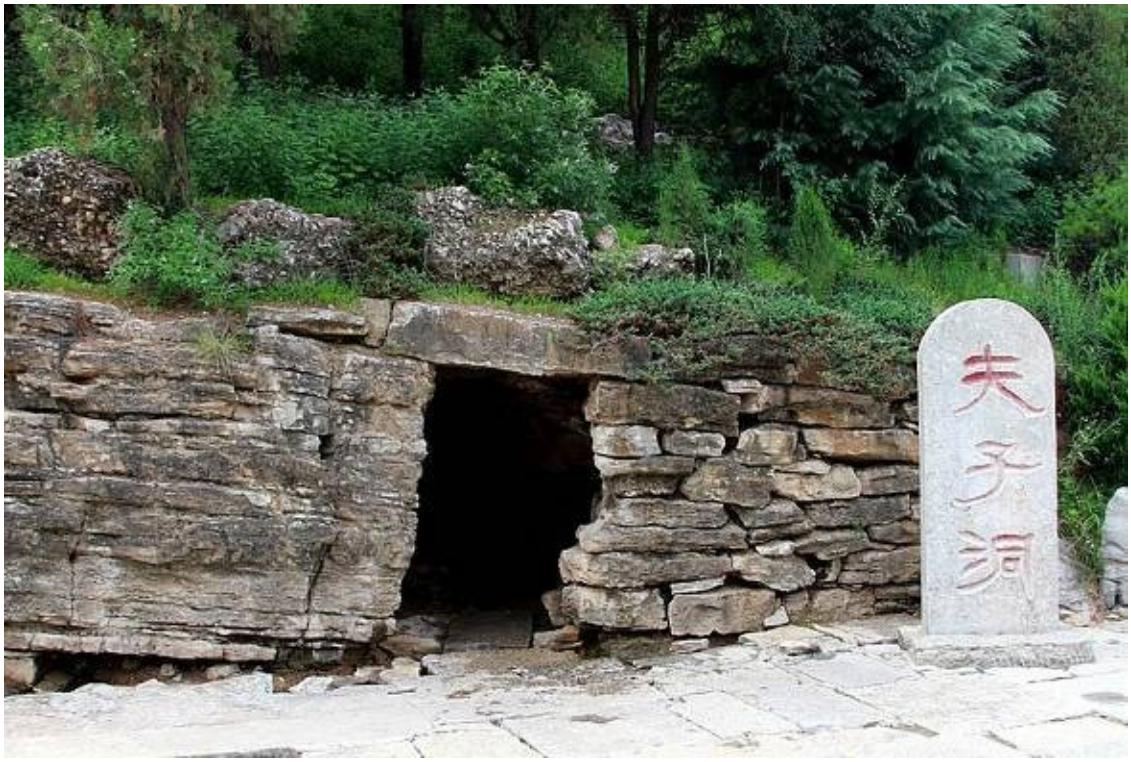
The Four Books

Qufu, a city in southwestern Shandong Province, near the eastern coast of China — Confucius' birthplace



Confucius cave on Mount Ni — according to legend, Confucius was abandoned in this cave after birth by his mother due to his ugliness. The baby was then taken care of by a tiger and an eagle, which convinced his mother to reclaim him.

The Kong Family Mansion in Qufu was the historical residence of the direct descendants of Confucius in the City of Qufu. The extant structures mainly date from the Ming and Qing dynasties. From the mansion, the family tended to the Confucian sites in Qufu and also governed the largest private rural estate in China.

GREAT LEARNING — 大學

Translated by James Legge One of the Four Books of Confucianism — selected by the neo-Confucian Zhu Xi during the Song Dynasty as a foundational introduction to Confucianism — *The Great Learning* comes originally from a chapter in the *Classic of Rites*, forming one of the Five Classics. It consists of a short main text attributed to the teachings of Confucius, followed by ten commentary chapters accredited to one of Confucius' disciples, Zengzi. The ideals of the book were supposedly formed by Confucius, though it is believed the text was written after his death.

The Great Learning developed from many authors adapting to the needs and beliefs of the community at the time. The Cheng brothers, Yi (1033–1107) and Hao (1032–1085) both utilised the philosophies of the *The Great Learning*. Their ideas met with strong official opposition, but were reconstituted by Zhu Xi. Cheng's idea of *yi* was that it was identical with nature, which he believed was essentially good. Cheng's *yi* emphasised the necessity of acquiring knowledge. During the Southern Song Dynasty, Zhu Xi rearranged *The Great Learning* and included it in the Four Books, along with the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Analects of Confucius* and the *Mencius*. Zhu Xi separated the Great Learning, which was originally a chapter in the *Classic of Rites*. Zhu Xi organized the book as Jing followed by ten expositions. Zhu Xi was a student of Li Tong. Zhu Xi developed the Chengs' Confucian ideas and drew from Chan Buddhism and Daoism. He adapted some ideas from these competing religions into his form of Confucianism.

The principal teachings of the text are:

- Achieving a state of balance and refining one's moral self such that it is a reflection of the Tao (way).
- Sufficient rest and reflection such that one achieves peace of mind. When one is calm and reflected, the Tao will be revealed to them.
- Setting priorities and knowing what is important is essential in one's quest for moral refinement.

- One must bring his affairs and relationships into order and harmony.
- Each and every man is capable of learning and self-cultivation regardless of social, economic or political status.
- One must treat education as an intricate and interrelated system where one must strive for balance.

One of the first steps to understanding *The Great Learning* is to recognise how to "investigate things". This does not consist of scientific inquiry and experimentation, but introspection, building on what is already known of principle. True introspection was supposed to allow the mind to become all knowing with regards to morality, relationships, civic duty and nature.

Zhu Xi (1130-1200) was a Song dynasty Confucian scholar, who was the leading figure of the School of Principle and the most influential rationalist Neo-Confucian in China. His contributions to Chinese philosophy, including his assigning special significance to the Analects, the Mencius, the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean, formed the basis of Chinese bureaucracy and government for over 700 years.

Candidates gathering around the wall where the results are posted, (c. 1540, by Qiu Ying) — a key process of the imperial examinations.

The Great Learning

What the great learning teaches, is to illustrate illustrious virtue; to renovate the people; and to rest in the highest excellence.

The point where to rest being known, the object of pursuit is then determined; and, that being determined, a calm unperturbedness may be attained to. To that calmness there will succeed a tranquil repose. In that repose there may be careful deliberation, and that deliberation will be followed by the attainment of the desired end.

Things have their root and their branches. Affairs have their end and their beginning. To know what is first and what is last will lead near to what is taught in the Great Learning.

The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things.

Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy.

From the Son of Heaven down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides.

It cannot be, when the root is neglected, that what should spring from it will be well ordered. It never has been the case that what was of great importance has been slightly cared for, and, at the same time, that what was of slight importance has been greatly cared for.

Commentary of the philosopher Tsang

In the Announcement to K'ang, it is said, "He was able to make his virtue illustrious."

In the Tai Chia, it is said, “He contemplated and studied the illustrious decrees of Heaven.”

In the Canon of the emperor (Yao), it is said, “He was able to make illustrious his lofty virtue.”

These passages all show how those sovereigns made themselves illustrious.

On the bathing tub of T’ang, the following words were engraved: “If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day. Yea, let there be daily renovation.”

In the Announcement to K’ang, it is said, “To stir up the new people.”

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Although Chau was an ancient state the ordinance which lighted on it was new.”

Therefore, the superior man in everything uses his utmost endeavors.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “The royal domain of a thousand li is where the people rest.”

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “The twittering yellow bird rests on a corner of the mound.” The Master said, “When it rests, it knows where to rest. Is it possible that a man should not be equal to this bird?”

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Profound was King Wan. With how bright and unceasing a feeling of reverence did he regard his resting places!” As a sovereign, he rested in benevolence. As a minister, he rested in reverence. As a son, he rested in filial piety. As a father, he rested in kindness. In communication with his subjects, he rested in good faith.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Look at that winding course of the Ch’i, with the green bamboos so luxuriant! Here is our elegant and accomplished prince! As we cut and then file; as we chisel and then grind: so has he cultivated himself. How grave is he and dignified! How majestic and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten.” That expression-”As we cut and then file,” the work of learning. “As we chisel and then grind,” indicates that of self-culture. “How grave is he and dignified!” indicates the feeling of cautious reverence. “How commanding and distinguished! indicates an awe-inspiring deportment. “Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten,” indicates how, when virtue is complete and excellence extreme, the people cannot forget them.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Ah! the former kings are not forgotten.” Future princes deem worthy what they deemed worthy, and love what they loved. The common people delight in what delighted them, and are benefited by their beneficial arrangements. It is on this account that the former kings, after they have quitted the world, are not forgotten.

The Master said, “In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary is to cause the people to have no litigations.” So, those who are devoid of principle find it impossible to carry out their speeches, and a great awe would be struck into men’s minds;-this is called knowing the root.

This is called knowing the root. This is called the perfecting of knowledge.

What is meant by “making the thoughts sincere.” is the allowing no self-deception, as when we hate a bad smell, and as when we love what is beautiful. This is called self-enjoyment. Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

There is no evil to which the mean man, dwelling retired, will not proceed, but when he sees a superior man, he instantly tries to disguise himself, concealing his evil, and displaying what is good. The other beholds him, as if he saw his heart and reins;-of what use is his disguise? This is an instance of the saying -”What truly is within will be manifested without.” Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

The disciple Tsang said, “What ten eyes behold, what ten hands point to, is to be regarded with reverence!”

Riches adorn a house, and virtue adorns the person. The mind is expanded, and the body is at ease. Therefore, the superior man must make his thoughts sincere.

What is meant by, “The cultivation of the person depends on rectifying the mind may be thus illustrated:-If a man be under the influence of passion he will be incorrect in his conduct. He will be the same, if he is under the influence of terror, or under the influence of fond regard, or under that of sorrow and distress.

When the mind is not present, we look and do not see; we hear and do not understand; we eat and do not know the taste of what we eat.

This is what is meant by saying that the cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind.

What is meant by “The regulation of one’s family depends on the cultivation of his person is this:-men are partial where they feel affection and love; partial where they despise and dislike; partial where they stand in awe and reverence; partial where they feel sorrow and compassion; partial where they are arrogant and rude. Thus it is that there are few men in the world who love and at the same time know the bad qualities of the object of their love, or who hate and yet know the excellences of the object of their hatred.

Hence it is said, in the common adage,”A man does not know the wickedness of his son; he does not know the richness of his growing corn.”

This is what is meant by saying that if the person be not cultivated, a man cannot regulate his family.

What is meant by “In order rightly to govern the state, it is necessary first to regulate the family,” is this:-It is not possible for one to teach others, while he cannot teach his own family. Therefore, the ruler, without going beyond his family, completes the lessons for the state. There is filial piety:-therewith the sovereign should be served. There is fraternal submission:-therewith elders and superiors should be served. There is kindness:-therewith the multitude should be treated.

In the Announcement to K’ang, it is said, “Act as if you were watching over an infant.” If a mother is really anxious about it, though she may not hit exactly the wants of her infant, she will not be far from doing so. There never has been a girl who learned to bring up a child, that she might afterwards marry.

From the loving example of one family a whole state becomes loving, and from its courtesies the whole state becomes courteous while, from the ambition and perverseness of the One man, the whole state may be led to rebellious disorder;-such is the nature of the influence. This verifies the saying, “Affairs may be ruined by a single sentence; a kingdom may be settled by its One man.”

Yao and Shun led on the kingdom with benevolence and the people followed them. Chieh and Chau led on the kingdom with violence, and people followed them. The orders which these issued were contrary to the practices which they loved, and so the people did not follow them. On this account, the ruler must himself be possessed of the good qualities, and then he may require them in the people. He must not have the bad qualities in himself, and then he may require that they shall not be in the people. Never has there been a man, who, not having reference to his own character and wishes in dealing with others, was able effectually to instruct them.

Thus we see how the government of the state depends on the regulation of the family.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “That peach tree, so delicate and elegant! How luxuriant is its foliage! This girl is going to her husband’s house. She will rightly order her household.” Let the household be rightly ordered, and then the people of the state may be taught.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “They can discharge their duties to their elder brothers. They can discharge their duties to their younger brothers.” Let the ruler discharge his duties to his elder and younger brothers, and then he may teach the people of the state.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “In his deportment there is nothing wrong; he rectifies all the people of the state.” Yes; when the ruler, as a father, a son, and a brother, is a model, then the people imitate him.

This is what is meant by saying, “The government of his kingdom depends on his regulation of the family.”

What is meant by “The making the whole kingdom peaceful and happy depends on the government of his state,” this:-When the sovereign behaves to his aged, as the aged should be behaved to, the people become final; when the sovereign behaves to his elders, as the elders should be behaved to, the people learn brotherly submission; when the sovereign treats compassionately the young and helpless, the people do the same. Thus the ruler has a principle with which, as with a measuring square, he may regulate his conduct.

What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors; what he dislikes in inferiors, let him not display in the service of his superiors; what he hates in those who are before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind him; what he hates in those who are behind him, let him not bestow on the left; what he hates to receive on the left, let him not bestow on the right:-this is what is called “The principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate one’s conduct.”

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “How much to be rejoiced in are these princes, the parents of the people!” When a prince loves what the people love, and hates what the people hate, then is he what is called the parent of the people.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Lofty is that southern hill, with its rugged masses of rocks! Greatly distinguished are you, O grand-teacher Yin, the people all look up to you. “Rulers of states may not neglect to be careful. If they deviate to a mean selfishness, they will be a disgrace in the kingdom.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, “Before the sovereigns of the Yin dynasty had lost the hearts of the people, they could appear before God. Take warning from the house of Yin. The great decree is not easily preserved.” This shows that, by gaining the people, the kingdom is gained, and, by losing the people, the kingdom is lost.

On this account, the ruler will first take pains about his own virtue. Possessing virtue will give him the people. Possessing the people will give the territory. Possessing the territory will give him its wealth. Possessing the wealth, he will have resources for expenditure.

Virtue is the root; wealth is the result. If he make the root his secondary object, and the result his primary, he will only wrangle with his people, and teach them rapine.

Hence, the accumulation of wealth is the way to scatter the people; and the letting it be scattered among them is the way to collect the people.

And hence, the ruler’s words going forth contrary to right, will come back to him in the same way, and wealth, gotten by improper ways, will take its

departure by the same.

In the Announcement to K'ang, it is said, "The decree indeed may not always rest on us"; that is, goodness obtains the decree, and the want of goodness loses it.

In the Book of Ch'u, it is said, "The kingdom of Ch'u does not consider that to be valuable. It values, instead, its good men."

Duke Wan's uncle, Fan, said, "Our fugitive does not account that to be precious. What he considers precious is the affection due to his parent."

In the Declaration of the Duke of Ch'in, it is said, "Let me have but one minister, plain and sincere, not pretending to other abilities, but with a simple, upright, mind; and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as though he himself possessed them, and, where he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, and really showing himself able to bear them and employ them:-such a minister will be able to preserve my sons and grandsons and black-haired people, and benefits likewise to the kingdom may well be looked for from him. But if it be his character, when he finds men of ability, to be jealous and hate them; and, when he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, to oppose them and not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them: such a minister will not be able to protect my sons and grandsons and people; and may he not also be pronounced dangerous to the state?"

It is only the truly virtuous man who can send away such a man and banish him, driving him out among the barbarous tribes around, determined not to dwell along with him in the Auddle Kingdom. This is in accordance with the saying, "It is only the truly virtuous man who can love or who can hate others."

To see men of worth and not be able to raise them to office; to raise them to office, but not to do so quickly:-this is disrespectful. To see bad men and not be able to remove them; to remove them, but not to do so to a distance:-this is weakness.

To love those whom men hate, and to hate those whom men love;-this is to outrage the natural feeling of men. Calamities cannot fail to come down on him who does so.

Thus we see that the sovereign has a great course to pursue. He must show entire self-devotion and sincerity to attain it, and by pride and extravagance he will fail of it.

There is a great course also for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many and the consumers few. Let there be activity in the production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will always be sufficient.

The virtuous ruler, by means of his wealth, makes himself more distinguished. The vicious ruler accumulates wealth, at the expense of his life.

Never has there been a case of the sovereign loving benevolence, and the people not loving righteousness. Never has there been a case where the people have loved righteousness, and the affairs of the sovereign have not been carried to completion. And never has there been a case where the wealth in such a state, collected in the treasuries and arsenals, did not continue in the sovereign's possession.

The officer Mang Hsien said, "He who keeps horses and a carriage does not look after fowls and pigs. The family which keeps its stores of ice does not rear cattle or sheep. So, the house which possesses a hundred chariots should not keep a minister to look out for imposts that he may lay them on the people. Than to have such a minister, it were better for that house to have one who should rob it of its revenues." This is in accordance with the saying:-"In a state, pecuniary gain is not to be considered to be prosperity, but its prosperity will be found in righteousness."

When he who presides over a state or a family makes his revenues his chief business, he must be under the influence of some small, mean man. He may consider this man to be good; but when such a person is employed in the administration of a state or family, calamities from Heaven, and injuries from men, will befall it together, and, though a good man may take his place, he will not be able to remedy the evil. This illustrates again the saying, "In a state, gain is not to be considered prosperity, but its prosperity will be found in righteousness."

THE END

DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN — 中庸

Translated by James Legge The Doctrine of the Mean, one of the Four Books of Confucian philosophy, is attributed to the philosopher Zisi (also known as Kong Ji), the only grandson of Confucius. The text was originally published as a chapter in the *Classic of Rites* and later adopted into the canon of the Neo-Confucian movement by the scholar Zhu Xi. The title 'Doctrine of the Mean' has been rendered differently by various translators, with examples including 'Constant Mean', 'Middle Way' and 'Middle Use'. The text is rich with symbolism and guidance for the reader to perfect the way they live their life. In Legge's translation of the text, the goal of the mean is to maintain balance and harmony from directing the mind to a state of constant equilibrium. The person that follows the mean is on a path of duty and must never leave it. A superior person is cautious, a gentle teacher and shows no contempt for their inferiors. They always do what is natural according to their status in the world. Even common men and women can carry the mean into their practices, as long as they do not exceed their natural order. *The Doctrine of the Mean* represents moderation, rectitude, objectivity, sincerity, honesty and propriety. The guiding principle is that one should never act in excess. The text is divided into three parts:

- The Axis – Confucian Metaphysics
- The Process – Politics
- The Perfect Word/Sincerity – Ethics

The *Doctrine of the Mean* instructs three guidelines — Self-watchfulness, Leniency and Sincerity — and those who follow these guidelines can be called superior man. This guideline requires self-education, self-questioning and self-discipline during the process of self-cultivation.

The tomb of Zisi in the Cemetery of Confucius, Qufu — Zisi (c. 481–402 BCE), the author of 'Doctrine of the Mean', was a Chinese philosopher and the grandson of Confucius.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN

WHAT HEAVEN has conferred is called The Nature; an accordance with this nature is called The Path of duty; the regulation of this path is called Instruction.

The path may not be left for an instant. If it could be left, it would not be the path. On this account, the superior man does not wait till he sees things, to be cautious, nor till he hears things, to be apprehensive.

There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself, when he is alone.

While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of Equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of Harmony. This Equilibrium is the great root from which grow all the human actings in the world, and this Harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue.

Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.

Chung-ni said, “The superior man embodies the course of the Mean; the mean man acts contrary to the course of the Mean.”

“The superior man’s embodying the course of the Mean is because he is a superior man, and so always maintains the Mean. The mean man’s acting contrary to the course of the Mean is because he is a mean man, and has no caution.”

The Master said, “Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean! Rare have they long been among the people, who could practice it!

The Master said, “I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not walked in:-The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not understood:-The men of talents and virtue go beyond it, and the worthless do not come up to it.

“There is no body but eats and drinks. But they are few who can distinguish flavors.”

The Master said, “Alas! How is the path of the Mean untrodden!”

The Master said, “There was Shun:-He indeed was greatly wise! Shun loved to question others, and to study their words, though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad in them and displayed what was good. He took hold of

their two extremes, determined the Mean, and employed it in his government of the people. It was by this that he was Shun!"

The Master said "Men all say, 'We are wise'; but being driven forward and taken in a net, a trap, or a pitfall, they know not how to escape. Men all say, 'We are wise'; but happening to choose the course of the Mean, they are not able to keep it for a round month."

The Master said "This was the manner of Hui:-he made choice of the Mean, and whenever he got hold of what was good, he clasped it firmly, as if wearing it on his breast, and did not lose it."

The Master said, "The kingdom, its states, and its families, may be perfectly ruled; dignities and emoluments may be declined; naked weapons may be trampled under the feet; but the course of the Mean cannot be attained to."

Tsze-lu asked about energy. The Master said, "Do you mean the energy of the South, the energy of the North, or the energy which you should cultivate yourself?

"To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others; and not to revenge unreasonable conduct:-this is the energy of southern regions, and the good man makes it his study.

"To lie under arms; and meet death without regret:-this is the energy of northern regions, and the forceful make it their study.

"Therefore, the superior man cultivates a friendly harmony, without being weak.-How firm is he in his energy! He stands erect in the middle, without inclining to either side.-How firm is he in his energy! When good principles prevail in the government of his country, he does not change from what he was in retirement. How firm is he in his energy! When bad principles prevail in the country, he maintains his course to death without changing.-How firm is he in his energy!"

The Master said, "To live in obscurity, and yet practice wonders, in order to be mentioned with honor in future ages:-this is what I do not do.

"The good man tries to proceed according to the right path, but when he has gone halfway, he abandons it:-I am not able so to stop.

"The superior man accords with the course of the Mean. Though he may be all unknown, unregarded by the world, he feels no regret.-It is only the sage who is able for this."

The way which the superior man pursues, reaches wide and far, and yet is secret.

Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary

standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry into practice. Great as heaven and earth are, men still find some things in them with which to be dissatisfied. Thus it is that, were the superior man to speak of his way in all its greatness, nothing in the world would be found able to embrace it, and were he to speak of it in its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, “The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep.” This expresses how this way is seen above and below.

The way of the superior man may be found, in its simple elements, in the intercourse of common men and women; but in its utmost reaches, it shines brightly through Heaven and earth.

The Master said “The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a course, which is far from the common indications of consciousness, this course cannot be considered The Path.

“In the Book of Poetry, it is said, ‘In hewing an ax handle, in hewing an ax handle, the pattern is not far off. We grasp one ax handle to hew the other; and yet, if we look askance from the one to the other, we may consider them as apart. Therefore, the superior man governs men, according to their nature, with what is proper to them, and as soon as they change what is wrong, he stops.

“When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others.

“In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I as yet attained.-To serve my father, as I would require my son to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me: to this I have not attained; to set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me: to this I have not attained. Earnest in practicing the ordinary virtues, and careful in speaking about them, if, in his practice, he has anything defective, the superior man dares not but exert himself; and if, in his words, he has any excess, he dares not allow himself such license. Thus his words have respect to his actions, and his actions have respect to his words; is it not just an entire sincerity which marks the superior man?”

The superior man does what is proper to the station in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond this.

In a position of wealth and honor, he does what is proper to a position of wealth and honor. In a poor and low position, he does what is proper to a poor and low position. Situated among barbarous tribes, he does what is proper to a

situation among barbarous tribes. In a position of sorrow and difficulty, he does what is proper to a position of sorrow and difficulty. The superior man can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself.

In a high situation, he does not treat with contempt his inferiors. In a low situation, he does not court the favor of his superiors. He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others, so that he has no dissatisfactions. He does not murmur against Heaven, nor grumble against men.

Thus it is that the superior man is quiet and calm, waiting for the appointments of Heaven, while the mean man walks in dangerous paths, looking for lucky occurrences.

The Master said, “In archery we have something like the way of the superior man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself.”

The way of the superior man may be compared to what takes place in traveling, when to go to a distance we must first traverse the space that is near, and in ascending a height, when we must begin from the lower ground.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, “Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. When there is concord among brethren, the harmony is delightful and enduring. Thus may you regulate your family, and enjoy the pleasure of your wife and children.”

The Master said, “In such a state of things, parents have entire complacence!”

The Master said, “How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them!

“We look for them, but do not see them; we listen to, but do not hear them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nothing without them.

“They cause all the people in the kingdom to fast and purify themselves, and array themselves in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left of their worshippers.

“It is said in the Book of Poetry, ‘The approaches of the spirits, you cannot sunrise; and can you treat them with indifference?’

“Such is the manifestness of what is minute! Such is the impossibility of repressing the outgoings of sincerity!”

The Master said, “How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was the throne; his riches were all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants preserved the sacrifices to himself.

“Therefore having such great virtue, it could not but be that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that

he should attain to his long life.

"Thus it is that Heaven, in the production of things, is sure to be bountiful to them, according to their qualities. Hence the tree that is flourishing, it nourishes, while that which is ready to fall, it overthrows.

"In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'The admirable amiable prince displayed conspicuously his excelling virtue, adjusting his people, and adjusting his officers. Therefore, he received from Heaven his emoluments of dignity. It protected him, assisted him, decreed him the throne; sending from Heaven these favors, as it were repeatedly.'

"We may say therefore that he who is greatly virtuous will be sure to receive the appointment of Heaven."

The Master said, "It is only King Wan of whom it can be said that he had no cause for grief! His father was King Chi, and his son was King Wu. His father laid the foundations of his dignity, and his son transmitted it.

"King Wu continued the enterprise of King T'ai, King Chi, and King Wan. He once buckled on his armor, and got possession of the kingdom. He did not lose the distinguished personal reputation which he had throughout the kingdom. His dignity was the royal throne. His riches were the possession of all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants maintained the sacrifices to himself.

"It was in his old age that King Wu received the appointment to the throne, and the duke of Chau completed the virtuous course of Wan and Wu. He carried up the title of king to T'ai and Chi, and sacrificed to all the former dukes above them with the royal ceremonies. And this rule he extended to the princes of the kingdom, the great officers, the scholars, and the common people. If the father were a great officer and the son a scholar, then the burial was that due to a great officer, and the sacrifice that due to a scholar. If the father were a scholar and the son a great officer, then the burial was that due to a scholar, and the sacrifice that due to a great officer. The one year's mourning was made to extend only to the great officers, but the three years' mourning extended to the Son of Heaven. In the mourning for a father or mother, he allowed no difference between the noble and the mean.

The Master said, "How far-extending was the filial piety of King Wu and the duke of Chau!

"Now filial piety is seen in the skillful carrying out of the wishes of our forefathers, and the skillful carrying forward of their undertakings.

"In spring and autumn, they repaired and beautified the temple halls of their fathers, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their various robes, and presented the offerings of the several seasons.

“By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they distinguished the royal kindred according to their order of descent. By ordering the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the arrangement of the services, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given the lowest to do. At the concluding feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus was made the distinction of years.

“They occupied the places of their forefathers, practiced their ceremonies, and performed their music. They reverenced those whom they honored, and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead as they would have served them alive; they served the departed as they would have served them had they been continued among them.

“By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served God, and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temple they sacrificed to their ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and the meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, would find the government of a kingdom as easy as to look into his palm!”

The Duke Ai asked about government. The Master said, “The government of Wan and Wu is displayed in the records,-the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men and the government will flourish; but without the men, their government decays and ceases.

“With the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth; and, moreover, their government might be called an easily-growing rush.

“Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men. Such men are to be got by means of the ruler’s own character. That character is to be cultivated by his treading in the ways of duty. And the treading those ways of duty is to be cultivated by the cherishing of benevolence.

“Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives. Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is right, and the great exercise of it is in honoring the worthy. The decreasing measures of the love due to relatives, and the steps in the honor due to the worthy, are produced by the principle of propriety.

“When those in inferior situations do not possess the confidence of their superiors, they cannot retain the government of the people.

“Hence the sovereign may not neglect the cultivation of his own character. Wishing to cultivate his character, he may not neglect to serve his parents. In order to serve his parents, he may not neglect to acquire knowledge of men. In order to know men, he may not dispense with a knowledge of Heaven.

“The duties of universal obligation are five and the virtues wherewith they are practiced are three. The duties are those between sovereign and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those belonging to the intercourse of friends. Those five are the duties of universal obligation. Knowledge, magnanimity, and energy, these three, are the virtues universally binding. And the means by which they carry the duties into practice is singleness.

“Some are born with the knowledge of those duties; some know them by study; and some acquire the knowledge after a painful feeling of their ignorance. But the knowledge being possessed, it comes to the same thing. Some practice them with a natural ease; some from a desire for their advantages; and some by strenuous effort. But the achievement being made, it comes to the same thing.”

The Master said, “To be fond of learning is to be near to knowledge. To practice with vigor is to be near to magnanimity. To possess the feeling of shame is to be near to energy.

“He who knows these three things knows how to cultivate his own character. Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the kingdom with all its states and families.

“All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have nine standard rules to follow;-viz., the cultivation of their own characters; the honoring of men of virtue and talents; affection towards their relatives; respect towards the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the states.

“By the ruler’s cultivation of his own character, the duties of universal obligation are set forth. By honoring men of virtue and talents, he is preserved from errors of judgment. By showing affection to his relatives, there is no grumbling nor resentment among his uncles and brethren. By respecting the great ministers, he is kept from errors in the practice of government. By kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers, they are led to make the most grateful return for his courtesies. By dealing with the mass of the people as his children, they are led to exhort one another to what is good. By encouraging the resort of an classes of artisans, his resources for expenditure are rendered ample. By indulgent treatment of men from a distance, they are brought to resort to him from all quarters. And by kindly cherishing the princes of the states, the whole kingdom is brought to revere him.

“Self-adjustment and purification, with careful regulation of his dress, and the not making a movement contrary to the rules of propriety this is the way for a ruler to cultivate his person. Discarding slanderers, and keeping himself from the seductions of beauty; making light of riches, and giving honor to virtue-this is the way for him to encourage men of worth and talents. Giving them places of honor and large emolument and sharing with them in their likes and dislikes-this is the way for him to encourage his relatives to love him. Giving them numerous officers to discharge their orders and commissions:-this is the way for him to encourage the great ministers. According to them a generous confidence, and making their emoluments large:-this is the way to encourage the body of officers. Employing them only at the proper times, and making the imposts light:-this is the way to encourage the people. By daily examinations and monthly trials, and by making their rations in accordance with their labors:-this is the way to encourage the classes of artisans. To escort them on their departure and meet them on their coming; to commend the good among them, and show compassion to the incompetent:-this is the way to treat indulgently men from a distance. To restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and to revive states that have been extinguished; to reduce to order states that are in confusion, and support those which are in peril; to have fixed times for their own reception at court, and the reception of their envoys; to send them away after liberal treatment, and welcome their coming with small contributions:-this is the way to cherish the princes of the states.

“All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have the above nine standard rules. And the means by which they are carried into practice is singleness.

“In all things success depends on previous preparation, and without such previous preparation there is sure to be failure. If what is to be spoken be previously determined, there will be no stumbling. If affairs be previously determined, there will be no difficulty with them. If one’s actions have been previously determined, there will be no sorrow in connection with them. If principles of conduct have been previously determined, the practice of them will be inexhaustible.

“When those in inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they cannot succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign;-if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not get the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way to being trusted by one’s friends;-if one is not obedient to his parents, he will not be true to friends. There is a way to being obedient to one’s parents;-if one, on turning his thoughts in upon himself, finds a want of sincerity, he will not be obedient to his parents.

There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self; -if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself.

"Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men. He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought;-he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast.

"To this attainment there are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practice of it.

"The superior man, while there is anything he has not studied, or while in what he has studied there is anything he cannot understand, Will not intermit his labor. While there is anything he has not inquired about, or anything in what he has inquired about which he does not know, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not reflected on, or anything in what he has reflected on which he does not apprehend, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not discriminated or his discrimination is not clear, he will not intermit his labor. If there be anything which he has not practiced, or his practice fails in earnestness, he will not intermit his labor. If another man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts. If another man succeed by ten efforts, he will use a thousand.

"Let a man proceed in this way, and, though dull, he will surely become intelligent; though weak, he will surely become strong."

When we have intelligence resulting from sincerity, this condition is to be ascribed to nature; when we have sincerity resulting from intelligence, this condition is to be ascribed to instruction. But given the sincerity, and there shall be the intelligence; given the intelligence, and there shall be the sincerity.

It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its fun development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion.

Next to the above is he who cultivates to the utmost the shoots of goodness in him. From those he can attain to the possession of sincerity. This sincerity becomes apparent. From being apparent, it becomes manifest. From being

manifest, it becomes brilliant. Brilliant, it affects others. Affecting others, they are changed by it. Changed by it, they are transformed. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can transform.

It is characteristic of the most entire sincerity to be able to foreknow. When a nation or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be happy omens; and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. Such events are seen in the milfoil and tortoise, and affect the movements of the four limbs. When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good shall certainly be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Therefore the individual possessed of the most complete sincerity is like a spirit.

Sincerity is that whereby self-completion is effected, and its way is that by which man must direct himself.

Sincerity is the end and beginning of things; without sincerity there would be nothing. On this account, the superior man regards the attainment of sincerity as the most excellent thing.

The possessor of sincerity does not merely accomplish the self-completion of himself. With this quality he completes other men and things also. The completing himself shows his perfect virtue. The completing other men and things shows his knowledge. But these are virtues belonging to the nature, and this is the way by which a union is effected of the external and internal. Therefore, whenever he-the entirely sincere man-employs them,-that is, these virtues, their action will be right.

Hence to entire sincerity there belongs ceaselessness. Not ceasing, it continues long. Continuing long, it evidences itself.

Evidencing itself, it reaches far. Reaching far, it becomes large and substantial. Large and substantial, it becomes high and brilliant.

Large and substantial;-this is how it contains all things. High and brilliant;-this is how it overspreads all things. Reaching far and continuing long;-this is how it perfects all things.

So large and substantial, the individual possessing it is the co-equal of Earth. So high and brilliant, it makes him the co-equal of Heaven. So far-reaching and long-continuing, it makes him infinite.

Such being its nature, without any display, it becomes manifested; without any movement, it produces changes; and without any effort, it accomplishes its ends.

The way of Heaven and Earth may be completely declared in one sentence.-They are without any doubleness, and so they produce things in a manner that is unfathomable.

The way of Heaven and Earth is large and substantial, high and brilliant, far-reaching and long-enduring.

The Heaven now before us is only this bright shining spot; but when viewed in its inexhaustible extent, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations of the zodiac, are suspended in it, and all things are overspread by it. The earth before us is but a handful of soil; but when regarded in its breadth and thickness, it sustains mountains like the Hwa and the Yo, without feeling their weight, and contains the rivers and seas, without their leaking away. The mountain now before us appears only a stone; but when contemplated in all the vastness of its size, we see how the grass and trees are produced on it, and birds and beasts dwell on it, and precious things which men treasure up are found on it. The water now before us appears but a ladleful; yet extending our view to its unfathomable depths, the largest tortoises, iguanas, iguanodons, dragons, fishes, and turtles, are produced in it, articles of value and sources of wealth abound in it.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, “The ordinances of Heaven, how profound are they and unceasing!” The meaning is, that it is thus that Heaven is Heaven. And again, “How illustrious was it, the singleness of the virtue of King Wan!” indicating that it was thus that King Wan was what he was. Singleness likewise is unceasing.

How great is the path proper to the Sage! Like overflowing water, it sends forth and nourishes all things, and rises up to the height of heaven.

All-complete is its greatness! It embraces the three hundred rules of ceremony, and the three thousand rules of demeanor.

It waits for the proper man, and then it is trodden. Hence it is said, “Only by perfect virtue can the perfect path, in all its courses, be made a fact.”

Therefore, the superior man honors his virtuous nature, and maintains constant inquiry and study, seeking to carry it out to its breadth and greatness, so as to omit none of the more exquisite and minute points which it embraces, and to raise it to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean. He cherishes his old knowledge, and is continually acquiring new. He exerts an honest, generous earnestness, in the esteem and practice of all propriety.

Thus, when occupying a high situation he is not proud, and in a low situation he is not insubordinate. When the kingdom is well governed, he is sure by his words to rise; and when it is ill governed, he is sure by his silence to command forbearance to himself. Is not this what we find in the Book of Poetry,-”Intelligent is he and prudent, and so preserves his person?”

The Master said, Let a man who is ignorant be fond of using his own judgment; let a man without rank be fond of assuming a directing power to

himself; let a man who is living in the present age go back to the ways of antiquity;-on the persons of all who act thus calamities will be sure to come.

To no one but the Son of Heaven does it belong to order ceremonies, to fix the measures, and to determine the written characters.

Now over the kingdom, carriages have all wheels, of the-same size; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules.

One may occupy the throne, but if he have not the proper virtue, he may not dare to make ceremonies or music. One may have the virtue, but if he do not occupy the throne, he may not presume to make ceremonies or music.

The Master said, “I may describe the ceremonies of the Hsia dynasty, but Chi cannot sufficiently attest my words. I have learned the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, and in Sung they still continue. I have learned the ceremonies of Chau, which are now used, and I follow Chau.”

He who attains to the sovereignty of the kingdom, having those three important things, shall be able to effect that there shall be few errors under his government.

However excellent may have been the regulations of those of former times, they cannot be attested. Not being attested, they cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow them. However excellent might be the regulations made by one in an inferior situation, he is not in a position to be honored. Unhonored, he cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow his rules.

Therefore the institutions of the Ruler are rooted in his own character and conduct, and sufficient attestation of them is given by the masses of the people. He examines them by comparison with those of the three kings, and finds them without mistake. He sets them up before Heaven and Earth, and finds nothing in them contrary to their mode of operation. He presents himself with them before spiritual beings, and no doubts about them arise. He is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, and has no misgivings.

His presenting himself with his institutions before spiritual beings, without any doubts arising about them, shows that he knows Heaven. His being prepared, without any misgivings, to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, shows that he knows men.

Such being the case, the movements of such a ruler, illustrating his institutions, constitute an example to the world for ages. His acts are for ages a law to the kingdom. His words are for ages a lesson to the kingdom. Those who are far from him look longingly for him; and those who are near him are never wearied with him.

It is said in the Book of Poetry,-"Not disliked there, not tired of here, from day to day and night tonight, will they perpetuate their praise." Never has there been a ruler, who did not realize this description, that obtained an early renown throughout the kingdom.

Chung-ni handed down the doctrines of Yao and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wan and Wul taking them as his model. Above, he harmonized with the times of Heaven, and below, he was conformed to the water and land.

He may be compared to Heaven and Earth in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining, all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining.

All things are nourished together without their injuring one another. The courses of the seasons, and of the sun and moon, are pursued without any collision among them. The smaller energies are like river currents; the greater energies are seen in mighty transformations. It is this which makes heaven and earth so great.

It is only he, possessed of all sagely qualities that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a firm hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean, and correct, fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination.

All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due season his virtues.

All-embracing and vast, he is like Heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like the abyss. He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him.

Therefore his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and moon shine; wherever frosts and dews fall:-all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honor and love him. Hence it is said,-"He is the equal of Heaven."

It is only the individual possessed of the most entire sincerity that can exist under Heaven, who can adjust the great invariable relations of mankind, establish the great fundamental virtues of humanity, and know the transforming

and nurturing operations of Heaven and Earth;-shall this individual have any being or anything beyond himself on which he depends?

Call him man in his ideal, how earnest is he! Call him an abyss, how deep is he! Call him Heaven, how vast is he!

Who can know him, but he who is indeed quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing all Heavenly virtue?

It is said in the Book of Poetry, “Over her embroidered robe she puts a plain single garment,” intimating a dislike to the display of the elegance of the former. Just so, it is the way of the superior man to prefer the concealment of his virtue, while it daily becomes more illustrious, and it is the way of the mean man to seek notoriety, while he daily goes more and more to ruin. It is characteristic of the superior man, appearing insipid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating. He knows how what is distant lies in what is near. He knows where the wind proceeds from. He knows how what is minute becomes manifested. Such a one, we may be sure, will enter into virtue.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, “Although the fish sink and lie at the bottom, it is still quite clearly seen.” Therefore the superior man examines his heart, that there may be nothing wrong there, and that he may have no cause for dissatisfaction with himself. That wherein the superior man cannot be equaled is simply this,-his work which other men cannot see.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, “Looked at in your apartment, be there free from shame as being exposed to the light of Heaven.” Therefore, the superior man, even when he is not moving, has a feeling of reverence, and while he speaks not, he has the feeling of truthfulness.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, “In silence is the offering presented, and the spirit approached to; there is not the slightest contention.” Therefore the superior man does not use rewards, and the people are stimulated to virtue. He does not show anger, and the people are awed more than by hatchets and battle-axes.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, “What needs no display is virtue. All the princes imitate it.” Therefore, the superior man being sincere and reverential, the whole world is conducted to a state of happy tranquility.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, “I regard with pleasure your brilliant virtue, making no great display of itself in sounds and appearances.” The Master said, “Among the appliances to transform the people, sound and appearances are but trivial influences. It is said in another ode, ‘His Virtue is light as a hair.’ Still, a hair will admit of comparison as to its size. ‘The doings of the supreme Heaven have neither sound nor smell. ‘That is perfect virtue.”

THE END

ANALECTS — 論語

Translated by James Legge and William Jennings

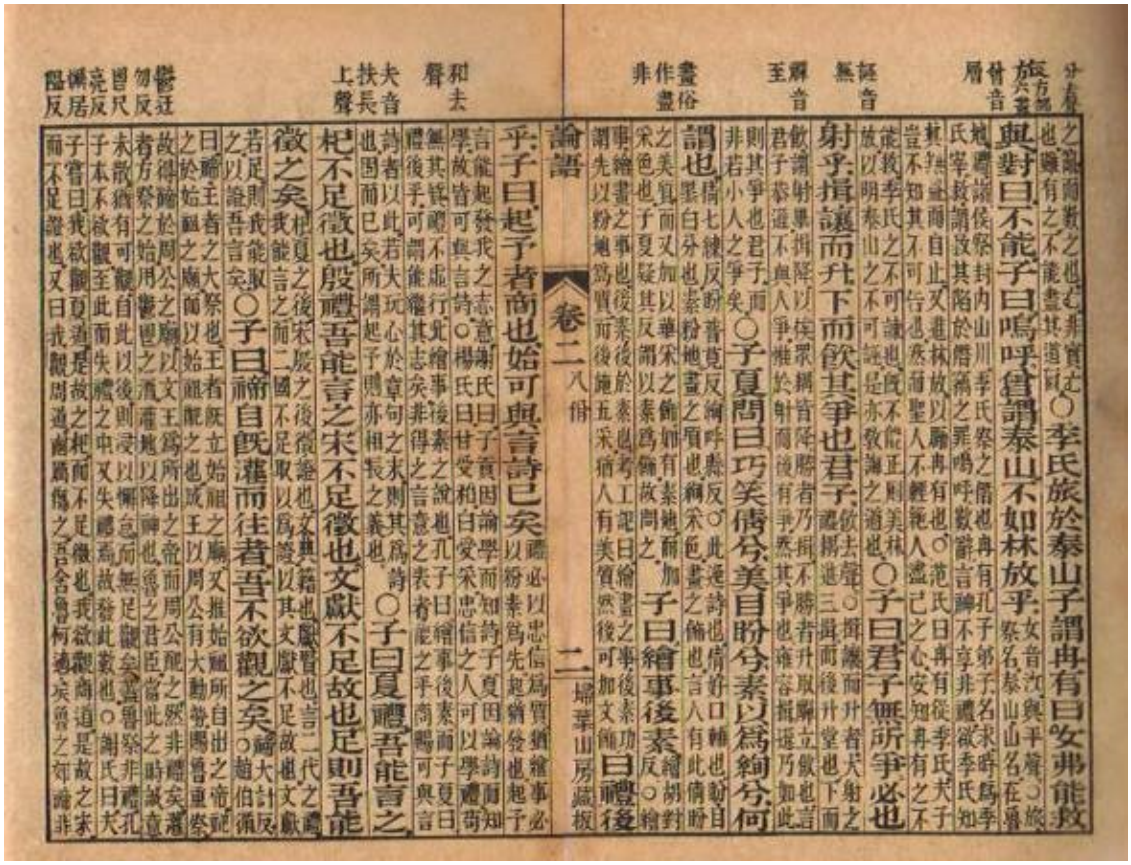
Analects is a collection of sayings and ideas attributed to the philosopher Confucius and his contemporaries, traditionally believed to have been compiled and written by Confucius' followers. It is believed to have been compiled during the Warring States period (475 BC–221 BC), achieving its final form during the mid-Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). By the early Han dynasty the *Analects* was considered merely a "commentary" on the Five Classics, but its status grew to be one of the central texts of Confucianism by the end of that dynasty. During the late Song dynasty (960-1279) the importance of the Analects as a philosophical work was raised above that of the older Five Classics and it was recognised as one of the "Four Books". The *Analects* has been one of the most widely read and studied books in China for the last 2,000 years and continues to have a substantial influence on Chinese and East Asian thought and values today.

Confucius believed that the welfare of a country depended on the moral cultivation of its people, beginning from the nation's leadership. He argued that individuals could begin to cultivate an all-encompassing sense of virtue through *ren*, and that the most basic step to cultivating this was devotion to one's parents and older siblings. He taught that one's individual desires do not need to be suppressed, but that people should be educated to reconcile their desires via rituals and forms of propriety, through which people could demonstrate their respect for others and their responsible roles in society. Confucius taught that a ruler's sense of virtue was his primary requirement for leadership. His primary goal in educating his students was to produce ethically well-cultivated men that would carry themselves with gravity, speak correctly, and demonstrate consummate integrity in all things.

According to Ban Gu, writing in the *Book of Han*, the *Analects* originated as individual records kept by Confucius' disciples of conversations with their Master, which were then collected and jointly edited by the disciples after their leader's death in 473 BC. The work is therefore titled *Lunyu* meaning "edited conversations" or "selected speeches" ('analects'). This broadly forms the traditional account of the origin of the work accepted by later generations of scholars, as the neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi stated that *Analects* is the records of Confucius' first-and second-generation pupils.

The traditional titles given to each chapter mostly feature an initial two or three incipits. In some cases a title may indicate a central theme of a chapter, but it is inappropriate to regard a title as a description or generalisation of the content of a chapter. Chapters in the *Analects* are grouped by individual themes, but the chapters are not arranged in a way as to carry a continuous stream of thoughts or ideas. The themes of adjacent chapters are completely unrelated to each other. Central themes recur repeatedly in different chapters, sometimes in exactly the same wording and sometimes with small variations. Within these incipits a large number of passages in the *Analects* begin with the formulaic *ziyue*, "The Master said," but without punctuation marks in classical Chinese, this does not confirm whether what follows is a direct quotation of actual sayings of Confucius, or simply to be understood as a paraphrase of Confucius by the compilers of the text.

Very few reliable sources about Confucius exist. The principal biography available to historians is included in Sima Qian's *Shiji*, but as this text contains a large amount of mythical material not confirmed by extant sources, the biographical material on Confucius found in the *Analects* makes it arguably the most reliable source of biographical information concerning the philosopher.



論語　卷二　八佾　二　婦華山房藏板

An early text of the 'Analects'

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Confucius Lao-tzu and Buddhist Arhat ,as depicted on a hanging scroll, ink and colour on paper, Palace Museum, Beijing.

JAMES LEGGE TRANSLATION – DUAL TEXT

BOOK I.

學而第一

BOOK I. HSIO R.

【第一章】【一節】子曰、 學而時習之、不亦說乎。【二節】有朋自遠方來、不亦樂乎。【三節】人不知而不慍、不亦君子乎。

Chapter I. 1. The Master said, “Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?

2. “Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant quarters?

3. “Is he not a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?”

【第二章】【一節】有子曰、其為人也孝弟、而好犯上者鮮矣、不好犯上、而好作亂者、未之有也。【二節】君子務本、本立、而道生、孝

Chapter II. 1. The philosopher Yu said, “They are few who, being filial and fraternal, are fond of offending against their superiors. There have been none, who, not liking to offend against their superiors, have been fond of stirring up confusion.

2. “The superior man bends his attention to what is radical.

弟也者、其為仁之本與。

【第三章】子曰、巧言令色、鮮矣仁。

【第四章】曾子曰、吾日三省吾身、為人謀、而不忠乎、與朋友交、而不信乎、傳不習乎。

That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. Filial piety and fraternal submission! — are they not the root of all benevolent actions?”

Chapter III. The Master said, “Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue.”

Chapter IV. The philosopher Tsang said, “I daily examine myself on three points: — whether, in transacting business for others, I may have been not

faithful; — whether, in intercourse with friends, I may have been not sincere; — whether I may have not mastered and practised the instructions of my teacher."

【第五章】子曰、道千乘之國、敬事而信、節用而愛人、使民以時。

【第六章】子曰、弟子、入則孝、出則弟、謹而信、凡愛眾、而親仁、行有餘力、則以學文。

【第七章】子夏曰、賢賢易色、事父母、能竭其力、事君、能致其身、

Chapter V. The Master said, To rule a country of a thousand chariots, there must be reverent attention to business, and sincerity; economy in expenditure, and love for men; and the employment of the people at the proper seasons."

Chapter VI. The Master said, "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and, abroad, respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all, and cultivate the friendship of the good. When he has time and opportunity, after the performance of these things, he should employ them in polite studies."

Chapter VII. Tsze-hsia said, "If a man withdraws his mind from the love of beauty, and applies it as sincerely to the love of the virtuous; if, in serving his parents, he can exert his utmost strength; 與朋友交、言而有信、雖曰未學、吾必謂之學矣。

【第八章】【一節】子曰、君子不重、則不威、學則不固。【二節】主忠信。【三節】無友不如己者。【四節】過則勿憚改。

【第九章】曾子曰、愼終追遠、民德歸厚矣。

if, in serving his prince, he can devote his life; if, in his intercourse with his friends, his words are sincere: — although men say that he has not learned, I will certainly say that he has."

Chapter VIII. 1. The Master said, "If the scholar be not grave, he will not call forth any veneration, and his learning will not be solid.

2. "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles.

3. "Have no friends not equal to yourself.

4. "When you have faults, do not fear to abandon them."

Chapter IX. The philosopher Tsang said, "Let there be a careful attention to perform the funeral rites to parents, and let them be followed when long gone

with the ceremonies of sacrifice; — then the virtue of the people will resume its proper excellence."

【第十章】【一節】子禽問於子貢曰、夫子至於是邦也、必聞其政、求之與、抑與之與。【二節】子貢曰、夫子溫、良、恭、儉、讓、以得之、夫子之求之也、其諸異乎人之求之與。

【十一章】子曰、父在、觀其志、父沒、觀其行、三年無改於父之道、可謂孝矣。

Chapter X. 1. Tsze-ch'in asked Tsze-kung, saying, "When our master comes to any country, he does not fail to learn all about its government. Does he ask his information? or is it given to him?"

2. Tsze-kung said, "Our master is benign, upright, courteous, temperate, and complaisant, and thus he gets his information. The master's mode of asking information! — is it not different from that of other men?"

Chapter XI. The Master said, "While a man's father is alive, look at the bent of his will; when his father is dead, look at his conduct. If for three years he does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial."

【十二章】【一節】有子曰、禮之用、和為貴、先王之道、斯為美、小大由之。【二節】有所不行、知和而和、不以禮節之、亦不可行也。

【十三章】有子曰、信近於義、言可復也、恭近於禮、遠恥辱也、因不失其親、亦可宗也。

【十四章】子曰、君子食無求

Chapter XII. 1. The philosopher Yu said, "In practising the rules of propriety, a natural ease is to be prized. In the ways prescribed by the ancient kings, this is the excellent quality, and in things small and great we follow them.

2. "Yet it is not to be observed in all cases. If one, knowing how such ease should be prized, manifests it, without regulating it by the rules of propriety, this likewise is not to be done."

Chapter XIII. The philosopher Yu said, "When agreements are made according to what is right, what is spoken can be made good. When respect is shown according to what is proper, one keeps far from shame and disgrace. When the parties upon whom a man leans are proper persons to be intimate with, he can make them his guides and masters."

Chapter XIV. The Master said, “He who aims to be a man of complete virtue in his food does not seek to gratify his appetite, nor 飽、居無求安、敏於事、而慎於言、就有道、而正焉、可謂好學也已。

【十五章】【一節】子貢曰貧、而無諂、富而無驕、何如。子曰、可也、未若貧而樂、富而好禮者也。【二節】子貢曰、詩云、如切如磋、如琢如磨、其斯之謂與。【三節】子曰、賜也、始可與言詩

in his dwelling place does he seek the appliances of ease; he is earnest in what he is doing, and careful in his speech; he frequents the company of men of principle that he may be rectified: — such a person may be said indeed to love to learn.”

Chapter XV. 1. Tsze-kung said, “What do you pronounce concerning the poor man who yet does not flatter, and the rich man who is not proud?” The Master replied, “They will do; but they are not equal to him, who, though poor, is yet cheerful, and to him, who, though rich, loves the rules of propriety.”

2. Tsze-kung replied, “It is said in the Book of Poetry, ‘As you cut and then file, as you carve and then polish.’ — The meaning is the same, I apprehend, as that which you have just expressed.”

3. The Master said, “With one like Ts’ze, I can begin to talk
已矣、告諸往而知來者。

【十六章】子曰、不患人之不己知、患不知人也。

about the odes. I told him one point, and he knew its proper sequence.”

Chapter XVI. The Master said, “I will not be afflicted at men’s not knowing me; I will be afflicted that I do not know men.”

BOOK II.

為政第二

BOOK II. WEI CHANG.

【第一章】子曰、為政以德、譬如北辰、居其所、而眾星共之。

Chapter I. The Master said, “He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it.”

【第二章】子曰、詩三百、一言以蔽之、曰、思無邪。

【第三章】【一節】子曰、道之以政、齊之以刑、民免而無恥。【二節】道之以德、齊之以禮、有恥且格。

【第四章】【一節】子曰、吾十有五而志于學。【二節】三十而立。【三節】四十而不惑。【四節】五

Chapter II. The Master said, “In the Book of Poetry are three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embraced in one sentence— ‘Having no depraved thoughts.’”

Chapter III. 1. The Master said, “If the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame.

2. “If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good.”

Chapter IV. 1. The Master said, “At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning.

2. “At thirty, I stood firm.

3. “At forty, I had no doubts.

4. “At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven.

十而知天命。【五節】六十而耳順。【五節】七十而從心所欲、不踰矩。

【第五章】【一節】孟懿子問孝、子曰、無違。【二節】樊遲御、子告之曰、孟孫問孝於我、我對曰、無違。【三節】樊遲曰、何謂也、子曰、生

事之以禮、死葬之以禮、祭之以禮。

5. “At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth.

6. “At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right.”

Chapter V. 1. Mang I asked what filial piety was. The Master said, “It is not being disobedient.”

2. Soon after, as Fan Ch’ih was driving him, the Master told him, saying, “Mang-sun asked me what filial piety was, and I answered him,— ‘not being disobedient.’”

3. Fan Ch’ih said, “What did you mean?” The Master replied, “That parents, when alive, be served according to propriety; that, when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety.”

【第六章】孟武伯問孝、子曰、父母唯其疾之憂。

【第七章】子游問孝、子曰、今之孝者、是謂能養、至於犬馬、皆能有養、不敬、何以別乎。

【第八章】子夏問孝、子曰、色難、有事、弟子服其勞、有酒食、先生饌、曾是以為孝乎。

Chapter VI. Mang Wu asked what filial piety was. The Master said, “Parents are anxious lest their children should be sick.”

Chapter VII. Tsze-yu asked what filial piety was. The Master said, “The filial piety of now-a-days means the support of one’s parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support; — without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other?”

Chapter VIII. Tsze-hsia asked what filial piety was. The Master said, “The difficulty is with the countenance. If, when their elders have any troublesome affairs, the young take the toil of them, and if, when the young have wine and food, they set them before their elders, is this to be considered filial piety?”

【第九章】子曰、吾與回言終日、不違、如愚。退兒省其私、亦足以發、回也不愚。

【第十章】【一節】子曰、視其所以。【二節】觀其所由。【三節】察其所安。【四節】人焉廋哉、人焉廋哉。

【十一章】子曰、溫故而知新、可以為師矣。

Chapter IX. The Master said, “I have talked with Hui for a whole day, and he has not made any objection to anything I said; — as if he were stupid. He has retired, and I have examined his conduct when away from me, and found him able to illustrate my teachings. Hui! — He is not stupid.”

Chapter X. 1. The Master said, “See what a man does.

2. “Mark his motives.

3. “Examine in what things he rests.

4. “How can a man conceal his character?

5. How can a man conceal his character?”

Chapter XI. The Master said, “If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge, so as continually to be acquiring new, he may be a teacher of others.”

【十二章】子曰、君子不器。

【十三章】子貢問君子、子曰、先行其言、而後從之。

【十四章】子曰、君子周而不比、小人比而不周。

【十五章】子曰、學而不思則罔、思而不學則殆。

【十六章】子曰、攻乎異端、斯害也已。

Chapter XII. The Master said, “The accomplished scholar is not a utensil.”

Chapter XIII. Tsze-kung asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said, “He acts before he speaks, and afterwards speaks according to his actions.”

Chapter XIV. The Master said, “The superior man is catholic and no partisan. The mean man is partisan and not catholic.”

Chapter XV. The Master said, “Learning without thought is labour lost; thought without learning is perilous.”

Chapter XVI. The Master said, “The study of strange doctrines is injurious indeed!”

【十七章】子曰、由、誨女知之乎、知之為知之、不知為不知、是知也。

【十八章】【一節】子張學干祿。【一節】子曰、多聞闕疑、愼言其餘、則寡尤、多見闕殆、愼行其餘、則寡悔、言寡尤、行寡悔、祿在其中矣。

Chapter XVII. The Master said, “Yu, shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it; — this is knowledge.”

Chapter XVII. 1. Tsze-chang was learning with a view to official emolument.

2. The Master said, “Hear much and put aside the points of which you stand in doubt, while you speak cautiously at the same time of the others: — then you will afford few occasions for blame. See much and put aside the things which seem perilous, while you are cautious at the same time in carrying the others into practice: — then you will have few occasions for repentance. When one gives few occasions for blame in his words, and few occasions for repentance in his conduct, he is in the way to get emolument.”

【十九章】哀公聞曰、何為則民服。孔子對曰、舉直錯諸枉、則民服、舉枉錯諸直、則民不服。

【二十章】季康子問使民敬忠以勤、如之何。子曰、臨之以莊、則敬、孝慈、則忠、舉善而教不能、則勤。

【廿一章】【一節】或謂孔子曰、子奚

Chapter XIX. The Duke Ai asked, saying, “What should be done in order to secure the submission of the people?” Confucius replied, “Advance the upright and set aside the crooked, then the people will submit. Advance the crooked and set aside the upright, then the people will not submit.”

Chapter XX. Chi K’ang asked how to cause the people to reverence their ruler, to be faithful to him, and to go on to nerve themselves to virtue. The Master said, “Let him preside over them with gravity; — then they will reverence him. Let him be filial and kind to all; — then they will be faithful to him. Let him advance the good and teach the incompetent; — then they will eagerly seek to be virtuous.”

Chapter XXI. 1. Some one addressed Confucius, saying, “Sir, why are you not engaged in the government?”

不為政。【二節】子曰、書云孝乎、惟孝友于兄弟、施於有政、是亦為政、奚其為為政。

【廿二章】子曰、人而無信、不知其可也、大車無輗、小車無軏、其何以行之哉。

【廿三章】【一節】子張問十世、可知也。【二節】子曰、殷因於夏禮、

2. The Master said, “What does the Shu-ching say of filial piety?— ‘You are filial, you discharge your brotherly duties. These qualities are displayed in government.’ This then also constitutes the exercise of government. Why must there be that — making one be in the government?”

Chapter XXII. The Master said, “I do not know how a man without truthfulness is to get on. How can a large carriage be made to go without the cross-bar for yoking the oxen to, or a small carriage without the arrangement for yoking the horses?”

Chapter XXIII. 1. Tsze-chang asked whether the affairs of ten ages after could be known.

2. Confucius said, “The Yin dynasty followed the regulations of the Hsia: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. The Chau dynasty has followed the regulations of Yin: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. Some other may follow the Chau, but though it should be at the distance of a hundred ages, its affairs may be known.”

所損益、可知也、周因於殷禮、所損益、可知也、其或繼周者、雖百世、可知也。

【廿四章】【一節】子曰、非其鬼而祭之、諂也。【二節】見義不為、無勇也。

Chapter XXIV. 1. The Master said, “For a man to sacrifice to a spirit which does not belong to him is flattery.

2. “To see what is right and not to do it is want of courage.”

BOOK III.

八佾第三

BOOK III. PA YIH.

【第一章】孔子謂季氏、八佾舞於庭、是可忍也、孰不可忍也。

Chapter I. Confucius said of the head of the Chi family, who had eight rows of pantomimes in his area, “If he can bear to do this, what may he not bear to do?”

【第二章】三家者、以雍徹。子曰、相維辟公、天子穆穆、奚取於三家之堂。

【第三章】子曰、人而不仁、如禮何、人而不仁、如樂何。

【第四章】【一節】林放問禮之本。【二節】子曰、大哉問。【三節】禮、與其奢也、寧

Chapter II. The three families used the yung ode, while the vessels were being removed, at the conclusion of the sacrifice. The Master said, “‘Assisting are the princes; — the son of heaven looks profound and grave:’ — what application can these words have in the hall of the three families?”

Chapter III. The Master said, “If a man be without the virtues proper to humanity, what has he to do with the rites of propriety? If a man be without the virtues proper to humanity, what has he to do with music?”

Chapter IV. 1. Lin Fang asked what was the first thing to be attended to in ceremonies.

2. The Master said, “A great question indeed!

3. “In festive ceremonies, it is better to be sparing than extravagant.

儉、喪、與其易也、寧戚。

【第五章】子曰、夷狄之有君、不如諸夏之亡也。

【第六章】季氏旅於泰山。子謂冉有曰、女弗能救與。對曰、不能。子曰、嗚呼、曾謂泰山、不如林放乎。

In the ceremonies of mourning, it is better that there be deep sorrow than a minute attention to observances."

Chapter V. The Master said, "The rude tribes of the east and north have their princes, and are not like the States of our great land which are without them."

Chapter VI. The chief of the Chi family was about to sacrifice to the T'ai mountain. The Master said to Zan Yu, "Can you not save him from this?" He answered, "I cannot." Confucius said, "Alas! will you say that the T'ai mountain is not so discerning as Lin Fang?"

【第七章】子曰、君子無所爭、必也射乎、揖讓而升、下而飲、其爭也君子。

【第八章】子夏問曰、巧笑倩兮、美目盼兮、素以為絢兮。何為也。【二節】子曰、繪事後素。【三節】曰、禮後乎。子曰、起予者商也、始可與言詩已矣。

Chapter VII. The Master said, "The student of virtue has no contentions. If it be said he cannot avoid them, shall this be in archery? But he bows complaisantly to his competitors; thus he ascends the hall, descends, and exacts the forfeit of drinking. In his contention, he is still the Chun-tsze."

Chapter VIII. 1. Tsze-hsia asked, saying, "What is the meaning of the passage — 'The pretty dimples of her artful smile! The well-defined black and white of her eye! The plain ground for the colours?'"

2. The Master said, "The business of laying on the colours follows (the preparation of) the plain ground."

3. "Ceremonies then are a subsequent thing?" The Master said, "It is Shang who can bring out my meaning. Now I can begin to talk about the odes with him."

【第九章】子曰、夏禮吾能言之、杞不足徵也、殷禮吾能言之、宋不足徵也、文獻不足故也、足、則吾能徵之矣。

【第十章】子曰、禘、自既灌而往者、吾不欲觀之矣。

【十一章】或問禘之說。子曰、不知也、知其說者、之於天下也、其如示諸

Chapter IX. The Master said, "I could describe the ceremonies of the Hsia dynasty, but Chi cannot sufficiently attest my words. I could describe the

ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, but Sung cannot sufficiently attest my words. (They cannot do so) because of the insufficiency of their records and wise men. If those were sufficient, I could adduce them in support of my words."

Chapter X. The Master said, "At the great sacrifice, after the pouring out of the libation, I have no wish to look on."

Chapter XI. Some one asked the meaning of the great sacrifice. The Master said, "I do not know. He who knew its meaning would find it as easy to govern the kingdom as to look on this; — pointing to his palm.

斯乎。指其掌。

【十二章】【一節】祭如在、祭神如神在。【二節】子曰、吾不與祭、如不祭。

【十三章】【一節】王孫賈問曰、與其媚於奥、寧媚於竈、何謂也。【二節】子曰、不然、獲罪於天、無所禱也。

Chapter XII. 1. He sacrificed to the dead, as if they were present. He sacrificed to the spirits, as if the spirits were present.

2. The Master said, "I consider my not being present at the sacrifice, as if I did not sacrifice."

Chapter XIII. 1. Wang-sun Chia asked, saying, "What is the meaning of the saying, 'It is better to pay court to the furnace than to the south-west corner?'"

2. The Master said, "Not so. He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray."

【十四章】子曰、周監於二代、郁郁乎文哉、吾從周。

【十五章】子入大廟、每事問。或曰、孰謂鄹人之子知禮乎、入大廟、每事問。子聞之曰、是禮也。

【十六章】子曰、射不主皮、為力不同科、古之道也。

Chapter XIV. The Master said, "Chau had the advantage of viewing the two past dynasties. How complete and elegant are its regulations! I follow Chau."

Chapter XV. The Master, when he entered the grand temple, asked about everything. Some one said, "Who will say that the son of the man of Tsau knows the rules of propriety! He has entered the grand temple and asks about everything." The Master heard the remark, and said, "This is a rule of propriety."

Chapter XVI. The Master said, “In archery it is not going through the leather which is the principal thing; — because people’s strength is not equal. This was the old way.”

【十七章】【一節】子貢欲去告朔之餼羊。【二節】子曰、賜也、爾愛其羊、我愛其禮。

【十八章】子曰、事君盡禮、人以為諂也。

【十九章】【一節】定公問君使臣、臣事君、如之何。孔子對曰、君使臣以禮、臣事君以忠。

【二十章】子曰、關雎樂而不淫、哀而不傷。

Chapter XVII. 1. Tsze-kung wished to do away with the offering of a sheep connected with the inauguration of the first day of each month.

2. The Master said, “Ts’ze, you love the sheep; I love the ceremony.”

Chapter XVII. The Master said, “The full observance of the rules of propriety in serving one’s prince is accounted by people to be flattery.”

Chapter XIX. The Duke Ting asked how a prince should employ his ministers, and how ministers should serve their prince. Confucius replied, “A prince should employ his minister according to according to the rules of propriety; ministers should serve their prince with faithfulness.”

Chapter XX. The Master said, “The Kwan Tsu is expressive of enjoyment without being licentious, and of grief without being hurtfully excessive.”

【廿一章】【一節】哀公問社於宰我。宰我對曰、夏后氏以松、殷人以柏、周人以栗、曰、使民戰栗。【二節】子聞之曰、成事不說、遂事不諫、既往不咎。

【廿二章】【一節】子曰、管仲之器小哉。【二節】或曰、管仲儉乎。【三節】曰、管氏有三歸、

Chapter XXI. 1. The Duke Ai asked Tsai Wo about the altars of the spirits of the land. Tsai Wo replied, “The Hsia sovereign planted the pine tree about them; the men of the Yin planted the cypress; and the men of the Chau planted the chestnut tree, meaning thereby to cause the people to be in awe.”

2. When the Master heard it, he said, “Things that are done, it is needless to speak about; things that have had their course, it is needless to remonstrate

about; things that are past, it is needless to blame."

Chapter XXII. 1. The Master said, "Small indeed was the capacity of Kwan Chung!"

2. Some one said, "Was Kwan Chung parsimonious?" "Kwan," was the reply, "had the San Kwei, and his officers performed no double duties; how can he be considered parsimonious?"

3. "Then, did Kwan Chung know the rules of propriety?" The

官事不攝、焉得儉。【四節】然則管仲知禮乎。【五節】曰、邦君樹塞門、管氏亦樹塞門、邦君為兩君之好、有反坫、管氏亦有反坫、管氏而知禮、孰不知禮。

【廿三章】子語魯大師樂曰、樂其可知也、始作、翕如也、從之、純如也、皦如也、繹如也、以成。

Master said, "The princes of States have a screen intercepting the view at their gates. Kwan had likewise a screen at his gate. The princes of States on any friendly meeting between two of them, had a stand on which to place their inverted cups. Kwan had also such a stand. If Kwan knew the rules of propriety, who does not know them?"

Chapter XXXII. The Master instructing the grand music-master of Lu said, "How to play music may be known. At the commencement of the piece, all the parts should sound together. As it proceeds, they should be in harmony while severally distinct and flowing without break, and thus on to the conclusion."

【廿四章】儀封人請見、曰、君子之至於斯也、吾未嘗不得見也。從者見之、出曰、二三子、何患於喪乎、天下之無道也久矣、天將以夫子為木鐸。

【廿五章】子謂韶、盡美矣、又盡善也、謂武、盡美矣、未盡善也。

【廿六章】子曰、居上不寬、為禮

Chapter XXIV. The border warden at Yi requested to be introduced to the Master, saying, "When men of superior virtue have come to this, I have never been denied the privilege of seeing them." The followers of the sage introduced him, and when he came out from the interview, he said, "My friends, why are you distressed by your master's loss of office? The kingdom has long been

without the principles of truth and right; Heaven is going to use your master as a bell with its wooden tongue."

Chapter XXV. The Master said of the Shao that it was perfectly beautiful and also perfectly good. He said of the Wu that it was perfectly beautiful but not perfectly good.

Chapter XXVI. The Master said, "High station filled without indulgent generosity; ceremonies performed without reverence; mourning conducted without sorrow; — wherewith should I contemplate such ways?"

不敬、臨喪不哀、吾何以觀之哉。

BOOK IV.

里仁第四

BOOK IV. LE JIN.

【第一章】子曰、里仁為美、擇不處仁、焉得知。

【第二章】子曰、不仁者、不可以久處約、不可以長處樂、仁者安仁、知者利仁。

Chapter I. The Master said, “It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence of a neighborhood. If a man in selecting a residence, do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?”

Chapter II. The Master said, “Those who are without virtue cannot abide long either in a condition of poverty and hardship, or in a condition of enjoyment. The virtuous rest in virtue; the wise desire virtue.”

【第三章】子曰、惟仁者、能好人、能惡人。

【第四章】子曰、苟志於仁矣、無惡也。

【第五章】【一節】子曰、富與貴、是人之所欲也、不以其道得之、不處也。貧與賤、是人之所惡也、不以其道得之、不去也。【二節】君子去仁、惡乎成名。【三節】君子無終食之間

Chapter III. The Master said, “It is only the (truly) virtuous man, who can love, or who can hate, others.”

Chapter IV. The Master said, “If the will be set on virtue, there will be no practice of wickedness.”

Chapter V. 1. The Master said, “Riches and honours are what men desire. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be held. Poverty and meanness are what men dislike. If it cannot be avoided in the proper way, they should not be avoided.

2. “If a superior man abandon virtue, how can he fulfil the requirements of that name?

3. “The superior man does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to virtue. In moments of haste, he cleaves to it. In seasons of danger, he

cleaves to it.”

違仁、造次必於是、顛沛必於是。

【第六章】【一節】子曰、我未見好仁者、惡不仁者、好仁者、無以尚之、惡不仁者、其為仁矣、不使不仁者、加乎其身。【二節】有能一日用其力於仁矣乎、我未見力不足者。【三節】蓋有之矣、我未之見也。

【第七章】子曰、人之過也、各於其黨、觀過、斯知仁矣。

Chapter VI. 1. The Master said, “I have not seen a person who loved virtue, or one who hated what was not virtuous. He who loved virtue, would esteem nothing above it. He who hated what is not virtuous, would practise virtue in such a way that he would not allow anything that is not virtuous to approach his person.

2. “Is any one able for one day to apply his strength to virtue? I have not seen the case in which his strength would be insufficient.

3. “Should there possibly be any such case, I have not seen it.”

Chapter VII. The Master said, “The faults of men are characteristic of the class to which they belong. By observing a man’s faults, it may be known that he is virtuous.”

【第八章】子曰、朝聞道、夕死、可矣。

【第九章】子曰、士志於道、而恥惡衣惡食者、未足與議也。

【第十章】子曰、君子之於天下也、無適也、無莫也、義之與比。

【十一章】子曰、君子懷德、小人懷土、君子懷刑、小

Chapter VIII. The Master said, “If a man in the morning hear the right way, he may die in the evening without regret.”

Chapter IX. The Master said, “A scholar, whose mind is set on truth, and who is ashamed of bad clothes and bad food, is not fit to be discoursed with.”

Chapter X. The Master said, “The superior man, in the world, does not set his mind either for anything, or against anything; what is right he will follow.”

Chapter XI. The Master said, “The superior man thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort. The superior man thinks of the sanctions of law; the small man thinks of favours which he may receive.”

人懷惠。

【十二章】子曰、放於利而行、多怨。

【十三章】子曰、能以禮讓為國乎、何有、不能以禮讓為國、如禮何。

【十四章】子曰、不患無位、患所以立、不患莫己知、求為可知也。

【十五章】【一節】子曰、參乎、吾道一以貫之。曾子曰、唯。【二節】子出、門人問

Chapter XII. The Master said: “He who acts with a constant view to his own advantage will be much murmured against.”

Chapter XIII. The Master said, “Is a prince is able to govern his kingdom with the complaisance proper to the rules of propriety, what difficulty will he have? If he cannot govern it with that complaisance, what has he to do with the rules of propriety?”

Chapter XIV. The Master said, “A man should say, I am not concerned that I have no place, I am concerned how I may fit myself for one. I am not concerned that I am not known, I seek to be worthy to be known.”

Chapter XV. 1. The Master said, “Shan, my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity.” The disciple Tsang replied, “Yes.”

2. The Master went out, and the other disciples asked, saying, 曰、何謂也。曾子曰、夫子之道、忠恕而已矣。

【十六章】子曰、君子喻於義、小人喻於利。

【十七章】子曰、見賢思齊焉、見不賢而內自省也。

【十八章】子曰、事父母幾諫、見志不從、又敬

“What do his words mean?” Tsang said, “The doctrine of our master is to be true to the principles of our nature and the benevolent exercise of them to others, — this and nothing more.”

Chapter XVI. The Master said, “The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the mean man is conversant with gain.”

Chapter XVII. The Master said, “When we see men of worth, we should think of equalling them; when we see men of a contrary character, we should turn inwards and examine ourselves.”

Chapter XVIII. The Master said, “In serving his parents, a son may remonstrate with them, but gently; when he sees that they do not incline to

follow his advice, he shows an increased degree of reverence, but does not abandon his purpose; and should they punish him, he does not allow himself to murmur."

不違、勞而不怨。

【十九章】子曰、父母在、不遠游、游必有方。

【二十章】子曰、三年無改於父之道、可謂孝矣。

【廿一章】子曰、父母之年、不可不知也、一則以喜、一則以懼。

【廿二章】子曰、古者言之不出、恥躬之不逮也。

【廿三章】子曰、以約、失之者鮮矣。

Chapter XIX. The Master said, "While his parents are alive, the son may not go abroad to a distance. If he does go abroad, he must have a fixed place to which he goes."

Chapter XX. The Master said, "If the son for three years does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial."

Chapter XXI. The Master said, "The years of parents may by no means not be kept in the memory, as an occasion at once for joy and for fear."

Chapter XXII. The Master said, "The reason why the ancients did not readily give utterance to their words, was that they feared lest their actions should not come up to them."

Chapter XXIII. The Master said, "The cautious seldom err."

【廿四章】子曰、君子欲訥於言、而敏於行。

【廿五章】子曰、德不孤、必有鄰。

【廿六章】子游曰、事君數、斯辱矣、朋友數、斯疏矣。

Chapter XXIV. The Master said, "The superior man wishes to be slow in his speech and earnest in his conduct."

Chapter XXV. The Master said, "Virtue is not left to stand alone. He who practises it will have neighbors."

Chapter XXVI. Tsze-yu said, "In serving a prince, frequent remonstrances lead to disgrace. Between friends, frequent reproofs make the friendship distant."

BOOK V.

公冶長第五

BOOK V. KUNG-YE CH'ANG.

【第一章】【一節】子謂公冶長、可妻也、雖在縲絏之中、非其罪也。以其子妻之。【二節】子謂南容、

Chapter I. 1. The Master said of Kung-ye Ch'ang that he might be wived; although he was put in bonds, he had not been guilty of any crime. Accordingly, he gave him his own daughter to wife.

2. Of Nan Yung he said that if the country were well governed

邦有道不廢、邦無道免於刑戮。以其兄之子妻之。

【第二章】子謂子賤、君子哉若人、魯無君子者、斯焉取斯。

【第三章】子貢問曰、賜也何如。子曰、女器也。曰、何器也。曰、瑚璉也。

he would not be out of office, and if it were ill-governed, he would escape punishment and disgrace. He gave him the daughter of his own elder brother to wife.

Chapter II. The Master said of Tsze-chien, "Of superior virtue indeed is such a man! If there were not virtuous men in Lu, how could this man have acquired this character?"

Chapter III. Tsze-kung asked, "What do you say of me, Ts'ze? The Master said, "You are a utensil." "What utensil?" "A gemmed sacrificial utensil."

【第四章】【一節】或曰、雍也仁、而不佞。【二節】子曰、焉用佞、禦人以口給、屢憎於人、不知其仁、焉用佞。

【第五章】子使漆雕開仕。對曰、吾斯之未能信。子說。

【第六章】子曰、道不行、乘桴浮于海、從我者、

Chapter IV. 1. Some one said, "Yung is truly virtuous, but he is not ready with his tongue."

2. The Master said, “What is the good of being ready with the tongue? They who encounter men with smartnesses of speech for the most part procure themselves hatred. I know not whether he be truly virtuous, but why should he show readiness of the tongue?”

Chapter V. The Master was wishing Ch’i-tiao K’ai to enter on official employment. He replied, “I am not yet able to rest in the assurance of THIS.” The Master was pleased.

Chapter VI. The Master said, “My doctrines make no way. I will get upon a raft, and float about on the sea. He that will accompany me will be Yu, I dare say.” Tsze-lu hearing this was glad,

其由與。子路聞之喜。子曰、由也、好勇過我、無所取材。

【第七章】【一節】孟武伯問子路仁乎。子曰、不知也。【二節】又問。子曰、由也、千乘之國、可使治其賦也、不知其仁也。【三節】求也何如。子曰、求　　也、千室之邑、百乘之家、可使為之宰也、不知其仁也。【四節】赤也何如。子曰、赤也、束帶立於朝、可使與賓客言也、不知其仁也。

upon which the Master said, “Yu is fonder of daring than I am. He does not exercise his judgment upon matters.”

Chapter VII. 1. Mang Wu asked about Tsze-lu, whether he was perfectly virtuous. The Master said, “I do not know.”

2. He asked again, when the Master replied, “In a kingdom of a thousand chariots, Yu might be employed to manage the military levies, but I do not know whether he be perfectly virtuous.”

3. “And what do you say of Ch’iu?” The Master replied, “In a city of a thousand families, or a clan of a hundred chariots, Ch’iu might be employed as governor, but I do not know whether he is perfectly virtuous.”

4. “What do you say of Ch’ih?” The Master replied, “With his sash girt and standing in a court, Ch’ih might be employed to converse with the visitors and guests, but I do not know whether he is perfectly virtuous.”

【第八章】【一節】子謂子貢曰、女與回也、孰愈。【二節】對曰、賜也、何敢望回、回也、聞一以知十、賜也、聞一以知二。【三節】子曰、弗如也、吾與女、弗如也。

【第九章】宰予晝寢。子曰、朽木不可雕也、糞土之牆、不可朽也、於予與何誅。【二節】子曰、始吾於人也、聽其言而信其行、今吾於人也、

Chapter VIII. 1. The Master said to Tsze-kung, “Which do you consider superior, yourself or Hui?”

2. Tsze-kung replied, “How dare I compare myself with Hui? Hui hears one point and knows all about a subject; I hear one point, and know a second.”

3. The Master said, “You are not equal to him. I grant you, you are not equal to him.”

Chapter IX. 1. Tsai Yu being asleep during the daytime, the Master said, “Rotten wood cannot be carved; a wall of dirty earth will not receive the trowel. This Yu! — what is the use of my reproving him?”

2. The Master said, “At first, my way with men was to hear their words, and give them credit for their conduct. Now my way is to hear their words, and look at their conduct. It is from Yu that I have learned to make this change.”

聽其言而觀其行、於予與改是。

【第十章】子曰、吾未見剛者。或對曰、申棖。子曰、棖也慾、焉得剛。

【十一章】子貢曰、我不欲人之加諸我也、吾亦欲無加諸人。子曰、賜也、非爾所及也。

【十二章】子貢曰、夫子之文章、

Chapter X. The Master said, “I have not seen a firm and unbending man.” Some one replied, “There is Shan Ch’ang.” “Ch’ang,” said the Master, “is under the influence of his passions; how can he be pronounced firm and unbending?”

Chapter XI. Tsze-kung said, “What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to men.” The Master said, “Ts’ze, you have not attained to that.”

Chapter XII. Tsze-kung said, “The Master’s personal displays of his principles and ordinary descriptions of them may be heard. His discourses about man’s nature, and the way of Heaven, cannot be heard.”

可得而聞也、夫子之言性與天道、不可得而聞也。

【十三章】子路有聞、未之能行、唯恐有聞。

【十四章】子貢問曰、孔文子、何以謂之文也。子曰、敏而好學、不恥下問、是以謂之文也。

【十五章】子謂子產、有君子之道四焉、其行己也恭、其事上也敬、其養民也惠、其使民

Chapter XIII. When Tsze-lu heard anything, if he had not yet succeeded in carrying it into practice, he was only afraid lest he should hear something else.

Chapter XIV. Tsze-kung asked, saying, “On what ground did Kung-wan get that title of Wan?” The Master said, “He was of an active nature and yet fond of learning, and he was not ashamed to ask and learn of his inferiors! — On these grounds he has been styled Wan.”

Chapter XV. The Master said of Tsze-ch’an that he had four of the characteristics of a superior man: — in his conduct of himself, he was humble; in serving his superiors, he was respectful; in nourishing the people, he was kind; in ordering the people, he was just.”

也義。

【十六章】子曰、晏平仲善與人交、久而敬之。

【十七章】子曰、藏文仲、居蔡、山節藻梲、何如其知也。

【十八章】【一節】子張問曰、令尹子文三仕為令尹、無喜色、三已之、無慍色。舊令尹之政、必以告新令尹、何如。子曰、忠矣。曰、仁矣乎。曰、

Chapter XVI. The Master said, “Yen P’ing knew well how to maintain friendly intercourse. The acquaintance might be long, but he showed the same respect as at first.”

Chapter XVII. The Master said, “Tsang Wan kept a large tortoise in a house, on the capitals of the pillars of which he had hills made, and with representations of duckweed on the small pillars above the beams supporting the rafters. — Of what sort was his wisdom?”

Chapter XVIII. 1. Tsze-chang asked, saying, “The minister Tsze-wan thrice took office, and manifested no joy in his countenance. Thrice he retired from office, and manifested no displeasure. He made it a point to inform the new minister of the way in which he had conducted the government; — what do you say of him?” The Master replied. “He was loyal.” “Was he perfectly virtuous?” “I do not know. How can he be pronounced perfectly virtuous?”

未知、焉得仁。【二節】崔子弑齊君、陳文子有馬十乘、棄而違之。至於他邦、則曰、猶吾大夫崔子也、違之、之一邦、則又曰、猶吾大夫崔子也、違之、何如。子曰、清矣。曰、仁矣乎。曰、未知、焉得仁。

【十九章】季文子三思而後行。子聞之曰、再、斯可矣。

【二十章】子曰、甯武子、邦有道、則

2. Tsze-chang proceeded, “When the officer Ch’ui killed the prince of Ch’i, Ch’an Wan, though he was the owner of forty horses, abandoned them and left the country. Coming to another State, he said, ‘They are here like our great officer, Ch’ui,’ and left it. He came to a second State, and with the same observation left it also; — what do you say of him?” The Master replied, “He was pure.” “Was he perfectly virtuous?” “I do not know. How can he be pronounced perfectly virtuous?”

Chapter XIX. Chi Wan thought thrice, and then acted. When the Master was informed of it, he said, “Twice may do.”

Chapter XX. The Master said, “When good order prevailed in his country, Ning Wu acted the part of a wise man. When his country was in disorder, he acted the part of a stupid man. Others may equal his wisdom, but they cannot equal his stupidity.”

知、邦無道、則愚、其知可及也、其愚不可及也。

【廿一章】子在陳曰、歸與歸與、吾黨之小子狂簡、斐然成章、不知所以裁之。

【廿二章】子曰、伯夷叔齊、不念舊惡、怨是用希。

【廿三章】子曰、孰謂微生高

Chapter XXI. When the Master was in Ch’an, he said, “Let me return! Let me return! The little children of my school are ambitious and too hasty. They are accomplished and complete so far, but they do not know how to restrict and shape themselves.”

Chapter XXII. The Master said, “Po-i and Shu-ch’i did not keep the former wickednesses of men in mind, and hence the resentments directed towards them were few.”

Chapter XXIII. The Master said, “Who says of Wei-shang Kao

直、或乞醯焉、乞諸鄰而與之。

【廿四章】子曰、巧言令色、足恭、左丘明恥之、丘亦恥之、匿怨而友其人、左丘明恥之、丘亦恥之。【一節】顏淵季路侍。子曰、盍各言爾志。【二節】子路曰、願車馬、衣輕裘、與朋友共、蔽之而無憾。【三節】顏淵曰、願無

that he is upright? One begged some vinegar of him, and he begged it of a neighbor and gave it to the man."

Chapter XXIV. The Master said, "Fine words, an insinuating appearance, and excessive respect; — Tso Ch'iu-ming was ashamed of them. I also am ashamed of them. To conceal resentment against a person, and appear friendly with him; — Tso Ch'iu-ming was ashamed of such conduct. I also am ashamed of it."

Chapter XXV. 1. Yen Yuan and Chi Lu being by his side, the Master said to them, "Come, let each of you tell his wishes."

2. Tsze-lu said, "I should like, having chariots and horses, and light fur dresses, to share them with my friends, and though they should spoil them, I would not be displeased."

3. Yen Yuan said, "I should like not to boast of my excellence, nor to make a display of my meritorious deeds."

伐善、無施勞。【四節】子路曰、願聞子之志。子曰、老者安之、朋友信之、少者懷之。

【廿六章】子曰、已矣乎、吾未見能見其過、而內自訟者也。

【廿七章】子曰、十室之邑、必有忠信、如丘者焉、不如丘之好學也。

4. Tsze-lu then said, "I should like, sir, to hear your wishes." The Master said, "They are, in regard to the aged, to give them rest; in regard to friends, to show them sincerity; in regard to the young, to treat them tenderly."

Chapter XXVI. The Master said, "It is all over! I have not yet seen one who could perceive his faults, and inwardly accuse himself."

Chapter XXVII. The Master said, "In a hamlet of ten families, there may be found one honourable and sincere as I am, but not so fond of learning."

BOOK VI.

雍也第六

BOOK VI. YUNG YEY.

【第一章】【一節】子曰、雍也可使南面。【二節】仲弓問子桑伯子。子曰、可也、簡。【三節】仲弓曰、居敬而行簡、以臨其民、不亦可乎、居簡而行簡、無乃大簡乎。【四節】子曰、雍之言然。

Chapter I. 1. The Master said, “There is Yung! — He might occupy the place of a prince.”

2. Chung-kung asked about Tsze-sang Po-tsze. The Master said, “He may pass. He does not mind small matters.”

3. Chung-kung said, “If a man cherish in himself a reverential feeling of the necessity of attention to business, though he may be easy in small matters in his government of the people, that may be allowed. But if he cherish in himself that easy feeling, and also carry it out in his practice, is not such an easy mode of procedure excessive?”

4. The Master said, “Yung’s words are right.”

【第二章】【一節】哀公問弟子孰為好學。【二節】孔子對曰、有顏回者好學、不遷怒、不貳過、不幸短命死矣、今也則亡、未聞好學者也。

【第三章】【一節】子華使於齊、冉子為其母請粟。子曰、與之釜。請益。曰、與之庾。冉子與之粟五秉。【二節】子曰、赤之適齊也、乘肥馬、衣輕裘、吾

Chapter II. The Duke Ai asked which of the disciples loved to learn. Confucius replied to him, “There was Yen Hui; he loved to learn. He did not transfer his anger; he did not repeat a fault. Unfortunately, his appointed time was short and he died; and now there is not such another. I have not yet heard of any one who loves to learn as he did.”

Chapter III. 1. Tsze-hwa being employed on a mission to Ch’i, the disciple Zan requested grain for his mother. The Master said, “Give her a fu.” Yen requested more. “Give her an yu,” said the Master. Yen gave her five ping.

2. The Master said, “When Ch’ih was proceeding to Ch’i, he had fat horses to his carriage, and wore light furs. I have heard that

聞之也、君子周急、不繼富。【三節】原思為之宰、與之粟九百、辭。【四節】子曰、毋、以與爾鄰里鄉黨乎。

【第四章】子謂仲弓曰、犁牛之子騂且角、雖欲勿用、山川其舍諸。

【第五章】子曰、回也、其心三月不違仁、其餘、則日月至焉而已矣。

a superior man helps the distressed, but does not add to the wealth of the rich."

3. Yuan Sze being made governor of his town by the Master, he gave him nine hundred measures of grain, but Sze declined them.

4. The Master said, "Do not decline them. May you not give them away in the neighborhoods, hamlets, towns, and villages?"

Chapter IV. The Master, speaking of Chung-kung, said, "If the calf of a brindled cow be red and horned, although men may not wish to use it, would the spirits of the mountains and rivers put it aside?"

Chapter V. The Master said, "Such was Hui that for three months there would be nothing in his mind contrary to perfect virtue. The others may attain to this on some days or in some months, but nothing more."

【第六章】季康子問仲由、可使從政也與。子曰、由也果、於從政乎何有。曰、賜也、可使從政也與。曰、賜也達、於從政乎何有。曰、求也、可使從政也與。曰、求也藝、於從政乎何有。

【第七章】季氏使閔子騫為費宰、閔子騫曰、善為我辭焉、如有復我者、則吾必在汶上矣。

Chapter VI. Chi K'ang asked about Chung-yu, whether he was fit to be employed as an officer of government. The Master said, "Yu is a man of decision; what difficulty would he find in being an officer of government?" K'ang asked, "Is Ts'ze fit to be employed as an officer of government?" and was answered, "Ts'ze is a man of intelligence; what difficulty would he find in being an officer of government?" And to the same question about Ch'iu the Master gave the same reply, saying, "Ch'iu is a man of various ability."

Chapter VII. The chief of the Chi family sent to ask Min Tsze-ch'ien to be governor of Pi. Min Tsze-ch'ien said, "Decline the offer for me politely. If any one come again to me with a second invitation, I shall be obliged to go and live on the banks of the Wan."

【第八章】伯牛有疾、子問之、自牖執其手、曰、亡之、命矣夫、斯人也、而有斯疾也、斯人也、而有斯疾也。

【第九章】子曰、賢哉回也、一簞食、一瓢飲、在陋巷、人不堪其憂、回也不改其樂、賢哉回也。

【第十章】冉求曰、非不說子之道、力不足也。子曰、力不

Chapter VIII. Po-niu being ill, the Master went to ask for him. He took hold of his hand through the window, and said, “It is killing him. It is the appointment of Heaven, alas! That such a man should have such a sickness! That such a man should have such a sickness!”

Chapter IX. The Master said, “Admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui! With a single bamboo dish of rice, a single gourd dish of drink, and living in his mean narrow lane, while others could not have endured the distress, he did not allow his joy to be affected by it. Admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui!”

Chapter X. Yen Ch’iu said, “It is not that I do not delight in your doctrines, but my strength is insufficient.” The Master said, “Those whose strength is insufficient give over in the middle of the way but now you limit yourself.”

足者、中道而廢、今女畫。

【十一章】子謂子夏曰、女為君子儒、無為小人儒。

【十二章】子游為武城宰、子曰、女得人焉耳乎。曰、有澹臺滅明者、行不由徑、非公事、未嘗至於偃之室也。

【十三章】子曰、孟之反不伐、奔而殿、將入門、策其馬、曰、非敢後也、馬不進也。

Chapter XI. The Master said to Tsze-hsia, “Do you be a scholar after the style of the superior man, and not after that of the mean man.”

Chapter XII. Tsze-yu being governor of Wu-ch’ang, the Master said to him, “Have you got good men there?” He answered, “There is Tan-t’ai Mieh-ming, who never in walking takes a short cut, and never comes to my office, excepting on public business.”

Chapter XIII. The Master said, “Mang Chih-fan does not boast of his merit. Being in the rear on an occasion of flight, when they were about to enter the gate, he whipped up his horse, saying, ‘It is not that I dare to be last. My horse would not advance.’”

【十四章】子曰、不有祝鮀之佞、而有宋朝之美、難乎免於今之世矣。

【十五章】子曰、誰能出不由戸、何莫由斯道也。

【十六章】子曰、質勝文則野、文勝質則史、文質彬彬、然後君子。

【十七章】子曰、人之生也直、罔之生也、幸而免。

Chapter XIV. The Master said, “Without the specious speech of the litanist T’o and the beauty of the prince Chao of Sung, it is difficult to escape in the present age.”

Chapter XV. The Master said, “Who can go out but by the door? How is it that men will not walk according to these ways?”

Chapter XVI. The Master said, “Where the solid qualities are in excess of accomplishments, we have rusticity; where the accomplishments are in excess of the solid qualities, we have the manners of a clerk. When the accomplishments and solid qualities are equally blended, we then have the man of virtue.”

Chapter XVII. The Master said, “Man is born for uprightness. If a man lose his uprightness, and yet live, his escape from death is the effect of mere good fortune.”

【十八章】子曰、知之者、不如好之者、好之者、不如樂之者。

【十九章】子曰、中人以上、可以語上也、中人以下、不可以語上也。

【二十章】樊遲問知。子曰、務民之義、敬鬼神而遠之、可謂知矣。問仁。曰、仁者先難而後獲、可

Chapter XVIII. The Master said, “They who know the truth are not equal to those who love it, and they who love it are not equal to those who delight in it.”

Chapter XIX. The Master said, “To those whose talents are above mediocrity, the highest subjects may be announced. To those who are below mediocrity, the highest subjects may not be announced.”

Chapter XX. Fan Ch’ih asked what constituted wisdom. The Master said, “To give one’s self earnestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom.” He asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, “The man of virtue makes the difficulty to be overcome his first business, and success only a subsequent consideration; — this may be called perfect virtue.”

謂仁矣。

【廿一章】子曰、知者樂水、仁者樂山、知者動、仁者靜。知者樂、仁者壽。

【廿二章】子曰、齊一變、至於魯、魯一變、至於道。

【廿三章】子曰、觚不觚、觚哉觚哉。

【廿四章】宰我問曰、仁者雖告之曰、井有仁焉、其從之

Chapter XXI. The Master said, “The wise find pleasure in water; the virtuous find pleasure in hills. The wise are active; the virtuous are tranquil. The wise are joyful; the virtuous are long-lived.”

Chapter XXII. The Master said, “Ch’i, by one change, would come to the State of Lu. Lu, by one change, would come to a State where true principles predominated.”

Chapter XXIII. The Master said, “A cornered vessel without corners. — A strange cornered vessel! A strange cornered vessel!”

Chapter XXIV. Tsai Wo asked, saying, “A benevolent man, though it be told him,— “There is a man in the well” will go in after him, I suppose.” Confucius said, “Why should he do so?” A superior

也。子曰、何為其然也、君子可逝也、不可陷也、可欺也、不可罔也。

【廿五章】子曰、君子博學於文、約之以禮、亦可以弗畔矣夫。

【廿六章】子見南子、子路不說、夫子矢之、曰、予所否者、天厭之、天厭之。

【廿七章】子曰、中庸之為德也、其至矣乎、民鮮久矣。

man may be made to go to the well, but he cannot be made to go down into it. He may be imposed upon, but he cannot be fooled.”

Chapter XXV. The Master said, “The superior man, extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, may thus likewise not overstep what is right.”

Chapter XXVI. The Master having visited Nan-tsze, Tsze-lu was displeased, on which the Master swore, saying, “Wherein I have done improperly, may Heaven reject me, may Heaven reject me!”

Chapter XXVII. The Master said, “Perfect is the virtue which is

【廿八章】【一節】子貢曰、如有博施於民、而能濟眾、何如、可謂仁乎。子曰、何事於仁、必也聖乎、堯舜其猶病諸。【二節】夫仁者、己欲立而立人、己欲達而達人。【三節】能近取譬、可謂仁之方也已。

according to the Constant Mean! Rare for a long time has been its practise among the people.”

Chapter XXVIII. 1. Tsze-kung said, “Suppose the case of a man extensively conferring benefits on the people, and able to assist all, what would you say of him? Might he be called perfectly virtuous?” The Master said, “Why speak only of virtue in connexion with him? Must he not have the qualities of a sage? Even Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this.

2. “Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others.

3. “To be able to judge of others by what is nigh in ourselves; — this may be called the art of virtue.”

BOOK VII.

述而第七

BOOK VII. SHU R.

【第一章】子曰、述而不作、信而好古、竊比於我老彭。

【第二章】子曰、默而識之、學而不厭、誨人不倦、何有於我哉。

【第三章】子曰、德之不脩、學之不講、聞義不能徙、不善不能改、

Chapter I. The Master said, “A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old P’ang.”

Chapter II. The Master said, “The silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety; and instructing others without being wearied: — which one of these things belongs to me?”

Chapter III. The Master said, “The leaving virtue without proper cultivation; the not thoroughly discussing what is learned; not being able to move towards righteousness of which a knowledge is gained; and not being able to change what is not good: — these are the things which occasion me solicitude.”

是吾憂也。

【第四章】子之燕居、申申如也、夭夭如也。

【第五章】子曰、甚矣吾衰也、久矣、吾不復夢見周公。

【第六章】【一節】子曰、志於道。【二節】據於德。【三節】依於仁。【四節】游於藝。

Chapter IV. When the Master was unoccupied with business, his manner was easy, and he looked pleased.

Chapter V. The Master said, “Extreme is my decay. For a long time, I have not dreamed, as I was wont to do, that I saw the duke of Chau.”

Chapter VI. 1. The Master said, “Let the will be set on the path of duty.

2. “Let every attainment in what is good be firmly grasped.

3. “Let perfect virtue be accorded with.

4. “Let relaxation and enjoyment be found in the polite arts.”

【第七章】子曰、自行束脩以上、吾未嘗無誨焉。

【第八章】子曰、不憤不啟、不悱不發、舉一隅、不以三隅反、則不復也。

【第九章】【一節】子食於有喪者之側、未嘗飽也。【二節】子於是日哭、則不歌。

【第十章】【一節】子謂顏淵曰、用之則行、舍之則藏、惟我

Chapter VII. The Master said, “From the man bringing his bundle of dried flesh for my teaching upwards, I have never refused instruction to any one.”

Chapter VIII. The Master said, “I do not open up the truth to one who is not eager to get knowledge, nor help out any one who is not anxious to explain himself. When I have presented one corner of a subject to any one, and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson.”

Chapter IX. 1. When the Master was eating by the side of a mourner, he never ate to the full.

2. He did not sing on the same day in which he had been weeping.

Chapter X. 1. The Master said to Yen Yuan, “When called to office, to undertake its duties; when not so called, to lie retired; — it is only I and you who have attained to this.”

與爾有是夫。【二節】子路曰、子行三軍則誰與。【三節】子曰、暴虎馮河、死而無悔者、吾不與也、必也臨事而懼、好謀而成者也。

【十一章】子曰、富而可求也、雖執鞭之士、吾亦為之、如不可求、從吾所好。

【十二章】子之所慎、齊、戰、疾。

2. Tsze-lu said, “If you had the conduct of the armies of a great State, whom would you have to act with you?”

3. The Master said, “I would not have him to act with me, who will unarmed attack a tiger, or cross a river without a boat, dying without any regret. My associate must be the man who proceeds to action full of solicitude, who is fond of adjusting his plans, and then carries them into execution.”

Chapter XI. The Master said, “If the search for riches is sure to be successful, though I should become a groom with whip in hand to get them, I will do so. As

the search may not be successful, I will follow after that which I love."

Chapter XII. The things in reference to which the Master exercised the greatest caution were — fasting, war, and sickness.

【十三章】子在齊聞韶、三月不知肉味、曰、不圖為樂之至於斯也。

【十四章】【一節】冉有曰、夫子為衛君乎。子貢曰、諾、吾將問之。【二節】入曰、伯夷叔齊、何人也。曰、古之賢人也。曰、怨乎。曰、求仁而得仁、又何怨。出曰、夫子不為也。

Chapter XIII. When the Master was in Ch'i, he heard the Shao, and for three months did not know the taste of flesh. "I did not think" he said, "that music could have been made so excellent as this."

Chapter XIV. 1. Yen Yu said, "Is our Master for the ruler of Wei?" Tsze-kung said, "Oh! I will ask him."

2. He went in accordingly, and said, "What sort of men were Po-i and Shu-ch'i?" "They were ancient worthies," said the Master. "Did they have any repinings because of their course?" The Master again replied, "They sought to act virtuously, and they did so; what was there for them to repine about?" On this, Tsze-kung went out and said, "Our Master is not for him."

【十五章】子曰、飯疏食飲水、曲肱而枕之、樂亦在其中矣、不義而富且貴、於我如浮雲。

【十六章】子曰、加我數年、五十以學易、可以無大過矣。

【十七章】子所雅言、詩、書、執禮、皆雅言也。

Chapter XV. The Master said, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow; — I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honours acquired by unrighteousness, are to me as a floating cloud."

Chapter XVI. The Master said, "If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty to the study of the Yi, and then I might come to be without great faults."

Chapter XVII The Master's frequent themes of discourse were — the Odes, the History, and the maintenance of the Rules of Propriety. On all these he frequently discoursed.

【十八章】【一節】葉公問孔子於子路、子路不對。【二節】子曰、女奚不曰、其為人也、發憤忘食、樂以忘憂、不知老之將至云爾。

【十九章】子曰、我非生而知之者、好古、敏以求之者也。

【二十章】子不語、怪、力、亂、神。

Chapter XVIII. 1. The Duke of Sheh asked Tsze-lu about Confucius, and Tsze-lu did not answer him.

2. The Master said, “Why did you not say to him, — He is simply a man, who in his eager pursuit (of knowledge) forgets his food, who in the joy of its attainment forgets his sorrows, and who does not perceive that old age is coming on?”

Chapter XIX. The Master said, “I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking it there.”

Chapter XX. The subjects on which the Master did not talk, were — extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings.

【廿一章】子曰、三人行、必有我師焉、擇其善者而從之、其不善者而改之。

【廿二章】子曰、天生德於予、桓魋其如予何。

【廿三章】子曰、二三子、以我為隱乎、吾無隱乎爾、吾無行而不與二三子者、是丘也、

【廿四章】子以四教、文、行、忠、信。

Chapter XXI. The Master said, “When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid them.”

Chapter XXII. The Master said, “Heaven produced the virtue that is in me. Hwan T’ui — what can he do to me?”

Chapter XXIII. The Master said, “Do you think, my disciples, that I have any concealments? I conceal nothing from you. There is nothing which I do that is not shown to you, my disciples; — that is my way.”

Chapter XXIV. There were four things which the Master taught, — letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness.

【廿五章】【一節】子曰、聖人吾不得而見之矣、得見君子者、斯可矣。【二節】子曰、善人吾不得而見之矣、得見有恆者、斯可矣。【三節】亡而為有、虛而為盈、約而為泰、難乎有恆矣。

【廿六章】子釣而不綱、弋不射宿。

【廿七章】子曰、蓋有不知而作

Chapter XXV. 1. The Master said, “A sage it is not mine to see; could I see a man of real talent and virtue, that would satisfy me.”

2. The Master said, “A good man it is not mine to see; could I see a man possessed of constancy, that would satisfy me.

3. “Having not and yet affecting to have, empty and yet affecting to be full, straitened and yet affecting to be at ease: — it is difficult with such characteristics to have constancy.”

Chapter XXVI. The Master angled, — but did not use a net. He shot, — but not at birds perching.

Chapter XXVII. The Master said, “There may be those who act without knowing why. I do not do so. Hearing much and selecting what is good and following it; seeing much and keeping it in memory: — this is the second style of knowledge.”

之者、我無是也。多聞、擇其善者而從之、多見而識之、知之次也。

【廿八章】【一節】互鄉難與言、童子見、門人惑。【二節】子曰、與其進也、不與其退也、唯何甚、人潔己以進、與其潔也、不保其往也。子曰、仁遠乎哉、我欲仁、斯仁至矣。

【三十章】【一節】陳司敗問昭公知禮乎。孔子曰、知禮。孔子退、揖巫馬期而進

Chapter XXVIII. 1. It was difficult to talk (profitably and reputably) with the people of Hu-hsiang, and a lad of that place having had an interview with the Master, the disciples doubted.

2. The Master said, “I admit people’s approach to me without committing myself as to what they may do when they have retired. Why must one be so severe? If a man purify himself to wait upon me, I receive him so purified, without guaranteeing his past conduct.”

Chapter XXIX. The Master said, “Is virtue a thing remote? I wish to be virtuous, and lo! virtue is at hand.”

Chapter XXX. 1. The minister of crime of Ch'an asked whether the duke Chao knew propriety, and Confucius said, "He knew propriety."

2. Confucius having retired, the minister bowed to Wu-ma Ch'i

之、曰、吾聞君子不黨、君子亦黨乎、君取於吳為同姓、謂之吳孟子、君而知禮、孰不知禮。【三節】 巫馬期以告。子曰、丘也幸、苟有過、人必知之。

【卅一章】子與人歌、而善、必使反之、而後和之。

【卅二章】子曰、文、莫吾猶人

to come forward, and said, "I have heard that the superior man is not a partisan. May the superior man be a partisan also? The prince married a daughter of the house of Wu, of the same surname with himself, and called her,— 'The elder Tsze of Wu.' If the prince knew propriety, who does not know it?"

3. Wu-ma Ch'i reported these remarks, and the Master said, "I am fortunate! If I have any errors, people are sure to know them."

Chapter XXXI. When the Master was in company with a person who was singing, if he sang well, he would make him repeat the song, while he accompanied it with his own voice.

Chapter XXXII. The Master said, "In letters I am perhaps equal to other men, but the character of the superior man, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not yet attained to."

也、躬行君子、則吾未之有得。

【卅三章】子曰、若聖與仁、則吾豈敢、抑為之不厭、誨人不倦、則可謂云爾已矣。公西華曰、正唯弟子不能學也。

【卅四章】子疾病。子路請禱。子曰、有諸。子路對曰、有之、誄曰、禱爾於上下神祇 。子曰、丘之禱久矣。

Chapter XXXIII. The Master said, "The sage and the man of perfect virtue; — how dare I rank myself with them? It may simply be said of me, that I strive to become such without satiety, and teach others without weariness." Kung-hsi Hwa said, "This is just what we, the disciples, cannot imitate you in."

Chapter XXXIV. The Master being very sick, Tsze-lu asked leave to pray for him. He said, "May such a thing be done?" Tsze-lu replied, "It may. In the

Eulogies it is said, ‘Prayer has been made for thee to the spirits of the upper and lower worlds.’” The Master said, “My praying has been for a long time.”

【卅五章】子曰、奢則不孫、儉則固、與其不孫也、寧固。

【卅六章】子曰、君子坦蕩蕩、小人長戚戚。

【卅七章】子溫而厲、威而不猛、恭而安。

Chapter XXXV. The Master said, “Extravagance leads to insubordination, and parsimony to meanness. It is better to be mean than to be insubordinate.”

Chapter XXXVI. The Master said, “The superior man is satisfied and composed; the mean man is always full of distress.”

Chapter XXXVII. The Master was mild, and yet dignified; majestic, and yet not fierce; respectful, and yet easy.

BOOK VIII.

泰伯第八

BOOK VIII. T'AI-PO.

【第一章】子曰、太伯其可謂至德也已矣、三以天下讓、民無得而稱焉。

Chapter I. The Master said, "T'ai-po may be said to have reached the highest point of virtuous action. Thrice he declined the kingdom, and the people in ignorance of his motives could not express their approbation of his conduct."

【第二章】【一節】子曰、恭而無禮則勞、愼而無禮則葸、勇而無禮則亂、直而無禮則絞。【二節】君子篤於親、則民興於仁、故舊不遺、則民不偷。

【第三章】曾子有疾、召門弟子曰、啟予

Chapter II. 1. The Master said, "Respectfulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes timidity; boldness, without the rules of propriety, becomes insubordination; straightforwardness, without the rules of propriety, becomes rudeness.

2. "When those who are in high stations perform well all their duties to their relations, the people are aroused to virtue. When old friends are not neglected by them, the people are preserved from meanness."

Chapter III. The philosopher Tsang being ill, he called to him the disciples of his school, and said, "Uncover my feet, uncover my hands. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'We should be apprehensive and cautious, as if on the brink of a deep gulf, as if treading on thin ice,' and so have I been. Now and hereafter, I know my escape from all injury to my person, O ye, my little children."

足、啟予手、詩云、戰戰兢兢、如臨深淵、如履薄冰、而今而後、吾知免夫、小子。

【第四章】【一節】曾子有疾、孟敬子問之。曾子言曰、鳥之將死、其鳴也哀、人之將死、其言也善。【三節】君子所貴乎道者三、動容貌、斯遠暴慢矣、正顏色、斯近信笑、出辭氣、斯遠鄙倍矣、籩豆之事、則有司存。

Chapter IV. 1. The philosopher Tsang being ill, Meng Chang went to ask how he was.

2. Tsang said to him, “When a bird is about to die, its notes are mournful; when a man is about to die, his words are good.

3. “There are three principles of conduct which the man of high rank should consider specially important: — that in his deportment and manner he keep from violence and heedlessness; that in regulating his countenance he keep near to sincerity; and that in his words and tones he keep far from lowness and impropriety. As to such matters as attending to the sacrificial vessels, there are the proper officers for them.”

【第五章】曾子曰、以能問於不能、以多問於寡、有若無、實若處、犯而不校、昔者吾友、嘗從事於斯矣。

【第六章】曾子曰、可以託六尺之孤、可以寄百里之命、臨大節、而不可奪也、君子人與、君子人也。

【第七章】【一節】曾子曰、士、不可以不弘毅、任重而道遠。【二節】仁以為己

Chapter V. The philosopher Tsang said, “Gifted with ability, and yet putting questions to those who were not so; possessed of much, and yet putting questions to those possessed of little; having, as though he had not; full, and yet counting himself as empty; offended against, and yet entering into no altercation; formerly I had a friend who pursued this style of conduct.”

Chapter VI. The philosopher Tsang said, “Suppose that there is an individual who can be entrusted with the charge of a young orphan prince, and can be commissioned with authority over a state of a hundred li, and whom no emergency however great can drive from his principles: — is such a man a superior man? He is a superior man indeed.”

Chapter VII. 1. The philosopher Tsang said, “The officer may not be without breadth of mind and vigorous endurance. His burden is heavy and his course is long.

任、不亦重乎、死而後已、不亦遠乎。

【第八章】【一節】子曰、興於詩。【二節】立於禮。【三節】成於樂。

【第九章】子曰、民可使由之、不可使知之。

【第十章】子曰、好勇疾貧、亂也、人而不仁、疾之已甚、亂也。

2. “Perfect virtue is the burden which he considers it is his to sustain; — is it not heavy? Only with death does his course stop; — is it not long?

Chapter VIII. 1. The Master said, “It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused.

2. “It is by the Rules of Propriety that the character is established.

3. “It is from Music that the finish is received.”

Chapter IX. The Master said, “The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it.”

Chapter X. The Master said, “The man who is fond of daring and is dissatisfied with poverty, will proceed to insubordination. So will the man who is not virtuous, when you carry your dislike of him to an extreme.”

【十一章】子曰、如有周公之才之美、使驕且吝、其餘不足觀也已。

【十二章】子曰、三年學、不至於穀、不易得也。

【十三章】【一節】子曰、篤信好學、守死善道。【二節】危邦不入、亂邦不居、天下有道則見、無道則隱。【三節】邦有道、貧且賤焉、恥也、邦無道、富且貴焉、恥也。

Chapter XI. The Master said, “Though a man have abilities as admirable as those of the Duke of Chau, yet if he be proud and niggardly, those other things are really not worth being looked at.”

Chapter XII. The Master said, “It is not easy to find a man who has learned for three years without coming to be good.”

Chapter XIII. 1. The Master said, “With sincere faith he unites the love of learning; holding firm to death, he is perfecting the excellence of his course.

2. “Such an one will not enter a tottering State, nor dwell in a disorganized one. When right principles of government prevail in the kingdom, he will show himself; when they are prostrated, he will keep concealed.

3. “When a country is well-governed, poverty and a mean condition are things to be ashamed of. When a country is ill—

governed, riches and honour are things to be ashamed of.”

【十四章】子曰、不在其位、不謀其政。

【十五章】子曰、師摯之始、關雎之亂、洋洋乎盈耳哉。

【十六章】子曰、狂而不直、侗而不愿、悾悾而不信、吾不知之矣。

【十七章】子曰、學如不及、猶恐失之。

【十八章】子曰、巍巍乎、舜禹之

Chapter XIV. The Master said, “He who is not in any particular office, has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties.”

Chapter XV. The Master said, “When the music master Chih first entered on his office, the finish of the Kwan Tsu was magnificent; — how it filled the ears!”

Chapter XVI. The Master said, “Ardent and yet not upright; stupid and yet not attentive; simple and yet not sincere: — such persons I do not understand.”

Chapter XVII. The Master said, “Learn as if you could not reach your object, and were always fearing also lest you should lose it.”

Chapter XVIII. The Master said, “How majestic was the manner in which Shun and Yu held possession of the empire, as if it were nothing to them!”

有天下也、而不與焉。

【十九章】【一節】子曰、大哉、堯之為君也、巍巍乎、唯天為大、唯堯則之、蕩蕩乎、民無能名焉。【二節】巍巍乎、其有成功也、煥乎、其有文章。

【二十章】【一節】舜有臣五人、而天下治。【二節】武王曰、予有亂臣十人。【三節】孔子曰、才難、不其然乎、唐虞之際、於斯為盛、

Chapter XIX. 1. The Master said, “Great indeed was Yao as a sovereign! How majestic was he! It is only Heaven that is grand, and only Yao corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue! The people could find no name for it.

2. “How majestic was he in the works which he accomplished! How glorious in the elegant regulations which he instituted!”

Chapter XX. 1. Shun had five ministers, and the empire was well-governed.

2. King Wu said, “I have ten able ministers.”

3. Confucius said, “Is not the saying that talents are difficult to find, true? Only when the dynasties of T’ang and Yu met, were they more abundant than in this of Chau, yet there was a woman among them. The able ministers were no more than nine men.

有婦人焉、九人而已【四節】三分天下有其二、以服事殷、周之德、其可謂至德也已矣。

【廿一章】子曰、禹吾無間然矣、菲飲食、而致孝乎鬼神、惡衣服、而致美乎黻冕、卑宮室、而盡力乎溝洫、禹吾無間然矣。

4. “King Wan possessed two of the three parts of the empire, and with those he served the dynasty of Yin. The virtue of the house of Chau may be said to have reached the highest point indeed.”

Chapter XXI. The Master said, “I can find no flaw in the character of Yu. He used himself coarse food and drink, but displayed the utmost filial piety towards the spirits. His ordinary garments were poor, but he displayed the utmost elegance in his sacrificial cap and apron. He lived in a low mean house, but expended all his strength on the ditches and water-channels. I can find nothing like a flaw in Yu.”

BOOK IX.

子罕第九

BOOK IX. TSZE HAN.

【第一章】子罕言、利、與命、與仁。

【第二章】【一節】達巷黨人曰、大哉孔子、博學而無所成名。【二節】子聞之、謂門弟子曰、吾何執、執御乎、執射乎、吾執御矣。

Chapter I. The subjects of which the Master seldom spoke were — profitableness, and also the appointments of Heaven, and perfect virtue.

Chapter II. 1. A man of the village of Ta-hsiang said, “Great indeed is the philosopher K’ung! His learning is extensive, and yet he does not render his name famous by any particular thing.”

2. The Master heard the observation, and said to his disciples, “What shall I practise? Shall I practise charioteering, or shall I practise archery? I will practise charioteering.”

【第三章】【一節】子曰、麻冕、禮也、今也純、儉、吾從眾。【二節】拜下、禮也。今拜乎上、泰也、雖違眾、吾從下。

【第四章】子絕四、毋意、毋必、毋固、毋我。

【第五章】【一節】子畏於匡。【二節】曰、文王既沒、文不在茲乎。【三節】天之將喪斯文也、後死者不得與於斯文也、

Chapter III. 1. The Master said, “The linen cap is that prescribed by the rules of ceremony, but now a silk one is worn. It is economical, and I follow the common practice.

2. “The rules of ceremony prescribe the bowing below the hall, but now the practice is to bow only after ascending it. That is arrogant. I continue to bow below the hall, though I oppose the common practice.”

Chapter IV. There were four things from which the Master was entirely free. He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism.

Chapter V. 1. The Master was put in fear in K’wang.

2. He said, “After the death of King Wan, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me?

天之未喪斯文也、匡人其如予何。

【第六章】【一節】大宰問於子貢、曰、夫子聖者與、何其多能也。【二節】子貢曰、固天縱之將聖、又多能也。【三節】子聞之曰、大宰知我乎、吾少也賤、故多能、鄙事、君子多乎哉、不多也。【四節】牢曰、子云、吾不試、故藝。

3. “If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K’wang do to me?”

Chapter VI. 1. A high officer asked Tsze-kung, saying, “May we not say that your Master is a sage? How various is his ability!”

2. Tsze-kung said, “Certainly Heaven has endowed him unlimitedly. He is about a sage. And, moreover, his ability is various.”

3. The Master heard of the conversation and said, “Does the high officer know me? When I was young, my condition was low, and therefore I acquired my ability in many things, but they were mean matters. Must the superior man have such variety of ability? He does not need variety of ability.”

4. Lao said, “The Master said, ‘Having no official employment, I acquired many arts.’”

【第七章】子曰、吾有知乎哉、無知也、有鄙夫問於我、空空如也、我叩其兩端而竭焉。

【第八章】子曰、鳳鳥不至、河不出圖、吾已矣乎。

【第九章】子見齊衰者、冕衣裳者、與瞽者、見之、雖少必作、過之必趨。

Chapter VII. The Master said, “Am I indeed possessed of knowledge? I am not knowing. But if a mean person, who appears quite empty-like, ask anything of me, I set it forth from one end to the other, and exhaust it.”

Chapter VIII. The Master said, “The fang bird does not come; the river sends forth no map: — it is all over with me!”

Chapter IX. When the Master saw a person in a mourning dress, or any one with the cap and upper and lower garments of full dress, or a blind person, on

observing them approaching, though they were younger than himself, he would rise up, and if he had to pass by them, he would do so hastily.

【第十章】【一節】顏淵喟然歎曰、仰之彌高、鑽之彌堅、瞻之在前、忽焉在後夫子循循然善誘人、博我以文、約我以禮。【三節】欲罷不能、既竭吾才、如有所立卓爾、雖欲從之、末由也已。

【十一章】【一節】子疾病、子路使門人為臣。【二節】病間曰、久矣哉、由之行詐也、無臣而為有

Chapter X. 1. Yen Yuan, in admiration of the Master's doctrines, sighed and said, "I looked up to them, and they seemed to become more high; I tried to penetrate them, and they seemed to become more firm; I looked at them before me, and suddenly they seemed to be behind.

2. "The Master, by orderly method, skilfully leads men on. He enlarged my mind with learning, and taught me the restraints of propriety.

3. "When I wish to give over the study of his doctrines, I cannot do so, and having exerted all my ability, there seems something to stand right up before me; but though I wish to follow and lay hold of it, I really find no way to do so."

Chapter XI. 1. The Master being very ill, Tsze-lu wished the disciples to act as ministers to him.

2. During a remission of his illness, he said, "Long has the conduct of Yu been deceitful! By pretending to have ministers when I have them not, whom should I impose upon? Should I impose upon Heaven?

臣、吾誰欺、欺天乎。【三節】且予與其死於臣之手也、無寧死於二三子之手乎、且予縱不得大葬、予死於道路乎。

【十二章】子貢曰、有美玉於斯、韞匱而藏諸、求善賈而沽諸。子曰、沽之哉、沽之哉、我待賈者也。

【十三章】【一節】子欲居九夷。【二節】或曰、陋、如之何。子曰、君子居之、何陋之有。

【十四章】子曰、吾自衛反魯、然後樂

3. "Moreover, than that I should die in the hands of ministers, is it not better that I should die in the hands of you, my disciples? And though I may not get a great burial, shall I die upon the road?"

Chapter XII. Tsze-kung said, “There is a beautiful gem here. Should I lay it up in a case and keep it? or should I seek for a good price and sell it?” The Master said, “Sell it! Sell it! But I would wait for one to offer the price.”

Chapter XIII. 1. The Master was wishing to go and live among the nine wild tribes of the east.

2. Some one said, “They are rude. How can you do such a thing?” The Master said, “If a superior man dwelt among them, what rudeness would there be?”

Chapter XIV. The Master said, “I returned from Wei to Lu, and then the music was reformed, and the pieces in the Royal songs and Praise songs all found their proper places.”

正、雅頌各得其所。

【十五章】子曰、出則事公卿、入則事父兄、喪事不敢不勉、不為酒困、何有於我哉。

【十六章】子在川上曰、逝者如斯夫、不舍晝夜。

【十七章】子曰、吾未見好德、如好色者也。

【十八章】子曰、譬如為山、未成一簣、止、吾止也、譬如平地、雖

Chapter XV. The Master said, “Abroad, to serve the high ministers and nobles; at home, to serve one’s father and elder brothers; in all duties to the dead, not to dare not to exert one’s self; and not to be overcome of wine: — which one of these things do I attain to?”

Chapter XVI. The Master standing by a stream, said, “It passes on just like this, not ceasing day or night!”

Chapter XVII. The Master said, “I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty.”

Chapter XVIII. The Master said, “The prosecution of learning may be compared to what may happen in raising a mound. If there want but one basket of earth to complete the work, and I stop, the

覆一簣、進、吾往也。

【十九章】子曰、語之而不惰者、其回也與。

【二十章】子謂顏淵曰、惜乎、吾見其進也、未見其止也。

【廿一章】子曰、苗而不秀者、有矣夫、秀而不實者、有矣夫。

【廿二章】子曰、後生可畏、焉知來者之不如今也、四十五十而無聞焉、斯亦不足畏也已。

stopping is my own work. It may be compared to throwing down the earth on the level ground. Though but one basketful is thrown at a time, the advancing with it is my own going forward."

Chapter XIX. The Master said, "Never flagging when I set forth anything to him; — ah! that is Hui."

Chapter XX. The Master said of Yen Yuan, "Alas! I saw his constant advance. I never saw him stop in his progress."

Chapter XXI. The Master said, "There are cases in which the blade springs, but the plant does not go on to flower! There are cases where it flowers, but no fruit is subsequently produced!"

Chapter XXII. The Master said, "A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his future will not be equal to our present? If he reach the age of forty or fifty, and has not made himself heard of, then indeed he will not be worth being regarded with respect."

【廿三章】子曰、法語之言、能無從乎、改之為貴、巽與之言、能無說乎、繹之為貴、說而不繹、從而不改、吾末如之何也已矣。

【廿四章】子曰、主忠信、毋友不如己者、過則勿憚改。

【廿五章】子曰、三軍可奪師也、匹夫不可奪志也。

Chapter XXV. The Master said, "Can men refuse to assent to the words of strict admonition? But it is reforming the conduct because of them which is valuable. Can men refuse to be pleased with words of gentle advice? But it is unfolding their aim which is valuable. If a man be pleased with these words, but does not unfold their aim, and assents to those, but does not reform his conduct, I can really do nothing with him."

Chapter XXIV. The Master said, "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles. Have no friends not equal to yourself. When you have faults, do not fear to abandon them."

Chapter XXV. The Master said, "The commander of the forces of a large state may be carried off, but the will of even a common man cannot be taken from him."

【廿六章】【一節】子曰、衣敝縕袍、與衣孤貉者立、而不恥者、其由也與。【二節】不忮不求、何用不臧。【三節】子路終身誦之、子曰、是道也、何足以臧。

【廿七章】子曰、歲寒、然後知松柏之後彫也。

【廿八章】子曰、知者不惑、仁者不憂、勇者不懼。

【廿九章】子曰、可與共學、未可與

Chapter XXVI. 1. The Master said, “Dressed himself in a tattered robe quilted with hemp, yet standing by the side of men dressed in furs, and not ashamed; — ah! it is Yu who is equal to this!

2. “‘He dislikes none, he covets nothing; — what can he do but what is good!’”

3. Tsze-lu kept continually repeating these words of the ode, when the Master said, “Those things are by no means sufficient to constitute (perfect) excellence.”

Chapter XXVII. The Master said, “When the year becomes cold, then we know how the pine and the cypress are the last to lose their leaves.”

Chapter XXVIII. The Master said, “The wise are free from perplexities; the virtuous from anxiety; and the bold from fear.”

Chapter XXIX. The Master said, “There are some with whom we may study in common, but we shall find them unable to go along

適道、可與適道、未可與立、可與立、未可與權。

【三十章】【一節】唐棣之華、偏其反而、豈不爾思、室是遠而。【二節】子曰、未之思也、未何遠之有。

with us to principles. Perhaps we may go on with them to principles, but we shall find them unable to get established in those along with us. Or if we may get so established along with them, we shall find them unable to weigh occurring events along with us.”

Chapter XXX. 1. How the flowers of the aspen-plum flutter and turn! Do I not think of you? But your house is distant.

2. The Master said, “It is the want of thought about it. How is it distant?”

BOOK X.

鄉黨第十

BOOK X. HEANG TANG.

【第一章】【一節】孔子於鄉黨、恂恂如也、似不能言者。【二節】其在宗廟朝廷、便便然、唯謹爾。

【第二章】【一節】朝、與下大夫言、侃侃如也、與上大夫言、闇闇如也。【二節】君在、踧踖如也、與與如也。

Chapter I. 1. Confucius, in his village, looked simple and sincere, and as if he were not able to speak.

2. When he was in the prince's ancestorial temple, or in the court, he spoke minutely on every point, but cautiously.

CHAP II. 1. When he was waiting at court, in speaking with the great officers of the lower grade, he spake freely, but in a straightforward manner; in speaking with those of the higher grade, he did so blandly, but precisely.

2. When the ruler was present, his manner displayed respectful uneasiness; it was grave, but self-possessed.

【第三章】【一節】　君召使擯、色勃如也、足躩如也。【二節】揖所與立、左右手、衣前後、襜如也。【三節】趨進、翼如也。【四節】賓退、必復命曰、賓不顧矣。

【第四章】【一節】入公門、鞠

Chapter III. 1. When the prince called him to employ him in the reception of a visitor, his countenance appeared to change, and his legs to move forward with difficulty.

2. He inclined himself to the other officers among whom he stood, moving his left or right arm, as their position required, but keeping the skirts of his robe before and behind evenly adjusted.

3. He hastened forward, with his arms like the wings of a bird.

4. When the guest had retired, he would report to the prince, "The visitor is not turning round any more."

Chapter IV. 1. When he entered the palace gate, he seemed to bend his body, as if it were not sufficient to admit him.

躬如也、如不容。【二節】立不中門、行不履閾。【三節】過位、色勃如也、足躩如也、其言似不足者。【四節】攝齊升堂、鞠躬如也、屏氣似不息者。【五節】出、降一等、逞顏色、怡怡如也、沒階、趨進、翼如也、復其位、踧踖如也。

【第五章】【一節】執圭、鞠躬如也、如

2. When he was standing, he did not occupy the middle of the gate-way; when he passed in or out, he did not tread upon the threshold.

3. When he was passing the vacant place of the prince, his countenance appeared to change, and his legs to bend under him, and his words came as if he hardly had breath to utter them.

4. He ascended the reception hall, holding up his robe with both his hands, and his body bent; holding in his breath also, as if he dared not breathe.

5. When he came out from the audience, as soon as he had descended one step, he began to relax his countenance, and had a satisfied look. When he had got to the bottom of the steps, he advanced rapidly to his place, with his arms like wings, and on occupying it, his manner still showed respectful uneasiness.

Chapter V. 1. When he was carrying the scepter of his ruler, he seemed to bend his body, as if he were not able to bear its weight. He did not hold it higher than the position of the hands in making

不勝、上如揖、下如授、勃如戰色、足蹜蹜如有循。【二節】享禮、有容色。【三節】私覿、愉愉如也

【第六章】【一節】君子不以紺緅飾。【二節】紅紫不以為褻服。【三節】當暑袗絺綌、必表而出之。【四節】緇衣羔裘、素衣麑裘、黃衣

a bow, nor lower than their position in giving anything to another. His countenance seemed to change, and look apprehensive, and he dragged his feet along as if they were held by something to the ground.

2. In presenting the presents with which he was charged, he wore a placid appearance.

3. At his private audience, he looked highly pleased.

Chapter VI. 1. The superior man did not use a deep purple, or a puce colour, in the ornaments of his dress.

2. Even in his undress, he did not wear anything of a red or reddish colour.

3. In warm weather, he had a single garment either of coarse or fine texture, but he wore it displayed over an inner garment.

4. Over lamb's fur he wore a garment of black; over fawn's fur one of white; and over fox's fur one of yellow.

狐裘。【五節】褻裘長、短右袂。【六節】必有寢衣、長一身有半。【七節】狐貉之厚以居。【八節】去喪、無所不佩。【九節】非帷裳、必殺之。【十節】羔裘玄冠不以弔。【十一節】吉月、必朝服而朝。

5. The fur robe of his undress was long, with the right sleeve short.

6. He required his sleeping dress to be half as long again as his body.

7. When staying at home, he used thick furs of the fox or the badger.

8. When he put off mourning, he wore all the appendages of the girdle.

9. His under-garment, except when it was required to be of the curtain shape, was made of silk cut narrow above and wide below.

10. He did not wear lamb's fur or a black cap, on a visit of condolence.

11. On the first day of the month he put on his court robes, and presented himself at court.

【第七章】【一節】齊、必有明衣、布。【二節】齊必變食、居必遷坐。

【第八章】【一節】食不厭精、膾不厭細。【二節】食饐而餲、魚餒而肉敗、不食、色惡不食、臭惡不食、失飪不食、不時不食。【三節】割不正不食、不得其醬不食。【四節】肉雖多、不使勝食氣、惟酒無量、不及亂。【五節】沽酒

Chapter VII. 1. When fasting, he thought it necessary to have his clothes brightly clean and made of linen cloth.

2. When fasting, he thought it necessary to change his food, and also to change the place where he commonly sat in the apartment.

Chapter VIII. 1. He did not dislike to have his rice finely cleaned, nor to have his minced meat cut quite small.

2. He did not eat rice which had been injured by heat or damp and turned sour, nor fish or flesh which was gone. He did not eat what was discoloured, or what was of a bad flavour, nor anything which was ill-cooked, or was not in season.

3. He did not eat meat which was not cut properly, nor what was served without its proper sauce.

4. Though there might be a large quantity of meat, he would not allow what he took to exceed the due proportion for the rice. It was only in wine that he laid down no limit for himself, but he did not allow himself to be confused by it.

5. He did not partake of wine and dried meat bought in the market.

市脯不食。【六節】不撤薑食。【七節】不多食。【八節】祭於公、不宿肉。祭肉不出三日、出三日、不食之矣。【九節】食不語、寢不言。【十節】雖疏食菜羹、瓜祭、必齊如也。

【第九章】席不正不坐。

【第十章】【一節】鄉人飲酒、杖者出、斯出矣。【二節】鄉人儺、朝服而立於阼階。

6. He was never without ginger when he ate.

7. He did not eat much.

8. When he had been assisting at the prince’s sacrifice, he did not keep the flesh which he received overnight. The flesh of his family sacrifice he did not keep over three days. If kept over three days, people could not eat it.

9. When eating, he did not converse. When in bed, he did not speak.

10. Although his food might be coarse rice and vegetable soup, he would offer a little of it in sacrifice with a grave, respectful air.

Chapter IX. If his mat was not straight, he did not sit on it.

Chapter X. 1. When the villagers were drinking together, on those who carried staffs going out, he went out immediately after.

2. When the villagers were going through their ceremonies to drive away pestilential influences, he put on his court robes and stood on the eastern steps.

【十一章】【一節】問人於他邦、再拜而送之。【二節】康子饋藥、拜而受之、曰、丘未達、不敢嘗。

【十二章】廄焚、子退朝、曰、傷人乎、不問馬。

【十三章】【一節】君賜食、必正席、先嘗之、君賜腥、必熟而薦之、君賜生、必畜之。【二節】侍食於君、

Chapter XI. 1. When he was sending complimentary inquiries to any one in another State, he bowed twice as he escorted the messenger away.

2. Chi K’ang having sent him a present of physic, he bowed and received it, saying, “I do not know it. I dare not taste it.”

Chapter XII. The stable being burned down, when he was at court, on his return he said, “Has any man been hurt?” He did not ask about the horses.

Chapter XIII. 1. When the prince sent him a gift of cooked meat, he would adjust his mat, first taste it, and then give it away to others. When the prince sent him a gift of undressed meat, he would have it cooked, and offer it to the spirits of his ancestors. When the prince sent him a gift of a living animal, he would keep it alive.

2. When he was in attendance on the prince and joining in the entertainment, the prince only sacrificed. He first tasted everything.

君祭、先飯。【三節】疾、君視之、東首、加朝服拖紳。【四節】君命召、不俟駕行矣。

【十四章】入大廟每事問。

【十五章】【一節】朋友死、無所歸、曰、於我殯。【二節】朋友之饋、雖車馬、非祭肉不拜。

【十六章】【一節】寢不尸、居不容。【二節】見齊衰者、雖狎必變、見冕者、與瞽者、雖褻必以貌。【三節】凶

3. When he was ill and the prince came to visit him, he had his head to the east, made his court robes be spread over him, and drew his girdle across them.

4. When the prince’s order called him, without waiting for his carriage to be yoked, he went at once.

Chapter XIV. When he entered the ancestral temple of the State, he asked about everything.

Chapter XV. 1. When any of his friends died, if he had no relations who could be depended on for the necessary offices, he would say, “I will bury him.”

2. When a friend sent him a present, though it might be a carriage and horses, he did not bow.

3. The only present for which he bowed was that of the flesh of sacrifice.

Chapter XVI. 1. In bed, he did not lie like a corpse. At home, he did not put on any formal deportment.

2. When he saw any one in a mourning dress, though it might be an acquaintance, he would change countenance; when he saw any one wearing the

cap of full dress, or a blind person, though he might be in his undress, he would salute them in a ceremonious manner.

服者式之、式負版者。【四節】有盛饌、必變色而作。【五節】迅雷、風烈、必變。

【十七章】【一節】升車、必正立、執綏。【二節】車中、不內顧、不疾言、不親指。

【十八章】【一節】色斯舉矣、翔而後集。【二節】曰、山梁雌雉、時哉時哉。子路共之、三嗅而作。

3. To any person in mourning he bowed forward to the crossbar of his carriage; he bowed in the same way to any one bearing the tables of population.

4. When he was at an entertainment where there was an abundance of provisions set before him, he would change countenance and rise up.

5. On a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, he would change countenance.

Chapter XVII. 1. When he was about to mount his carriage, he would stand straight, holding the cord.

2. When he was in the carriage, he did not turn his head quite round, he did not talk hastily, he did not point with his hands.

Chapter XVIII. 1. Seeing the countenance, it instantly rises. It flies round, and by and by settles.

2. The Master said, “There is the hen-pheasant on the hill bridge. At its season! At its season!” Tsze-lu made a motion to it. Thrice it smelt him and then rose.

BOOK XI.

先進第十一

BOOK XI. HSIEN TSIN.

【第一章】【一節】子曰、先進於禮樂、野人也、後進於禮樂、君子也、【二節】如用之、則吾從先進。

【第二章】【一節】子曰、從我於陳蔡者、皆不及門也。【二節】德行、顏淵、閔子騫、冉伯牛、仲弓。言語、宰我、子貢。政事、冉

Chapter I. 1. The Master said, “The men of former times, in the matters of ceremonies and music were rustics, it is said, while the men of these latter times, in ceremonies and music, are accomplished gentlemen.

2. “If I have occasion to use those things, I follow the men of former times.”

Chapter II. 1. The Master said, “Of those who were with me in Ch’an and Ts’ai, there are none to be found to enter my door.”

2. Distinguished for their virtuous principles and practice, there were Yen Yuan, Min Tsze-ch’ien, Zan Po-niu, and Chung—

kung; for their ability in speech, Tsai Wo and Tsze-kung; for their adminis-

有、李路。文學、子游、子夏。

【第三章】子曰、回也、非助我者也、於吾言、無所不說。

【第四章】子曰、孝哉閔子騫、人不間於其父母昆弟之言。

【第五章】南容三復白圭、孔子以其兄之子妻之。

trative talents, Zan Yu and Chi Lu; for their literary acquirements, Tsze-yu and Tsze-hsia.

Chapter III. The Master said, “Hui gives me no assistance. There is nothing that I say in which he does not delight.”

Chapter IV. The Master said, “Filial indeed is Min Tsze-ch’ien! Other people say nothing of him different from the report of his parents and brothers.”

Chapter V. Nan Yung was frequently repeating the lines about a white scepter stone. Confucius gave him the daughter of his elder brother to wife.

【第六章】李康子問弟子孰為好學。孔子對曰、有顏回者好學、不幸短命死矣、今也則亡。

【第七章】【一節】顏淵死、顏路請子之車、以為之椁。【二節】子曰、才不才、亦各言其子也、鯉也死、有棺而無椁、吾不徒行以為之椁、以吾從大夫之後、不可徒行也。

【第八章】顏淵死、子曰、噫、天喪予、天喪予。

Chapter VI. Chi K'ang asked which of the disciples loved to learn. Confucius replied to him, "There was Yen Hui; he loved to learn. Unfortunately his appointed time was short, and he died. Now there is no one who loves to learn, as he did."

Chapter VII. 1. When Yen Yuan died, Yen Lu begged the carriage of the Master to sell and get an outer shell for his son's coffin.

2. The Master said, "Every one calls his son his son, whether he has talents or has not talents. There was Li; when he died, he had a coffin but no outer shell. I would not walk on foot to get a shell for him, because, having followed in the rear of the great officers, it was not proper that I should walk on foot."

Chapter VIII. When Yen Yuan died, the Master said, "Alas! Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!"

【第九章】【一節】顏淵死、子哭之慟、從者曰、子慟矣。【二節】曰、有慟乎。【三節】非夫人之為慟而誰為。

【第十章】【一節】顏淵死、門人欲厚葬之。子曰、不可。【二節】門人厚葬之。【三節】子曰、回也、視予猶父也、予不得視猶子也、非我也、夫二三子也。

【十一章】李路問事鬼神。子曰、未能事人、焉能事鬼。敢

Chapter IX. 1. When Yen Yuan died, the Master bewailed him exceedingly, and the disciples who were with him said, "Master, your grief is excessive?"

2. "Is it excessive?" said he.

3. "If I am not to mourn bitterly for this man, for whom should I mourn?"

Chapter X. 1. When Yen Yuan died, the disciples wished to give him a great funeral, and the Master said, "You may not do so."

2. The disciples did bury him in great style.

3. The Master said, “Hui behaved towards me as his father. I have not been able to treat him as my son. The fault is not mine; it belongs to you, O disciples.”

Chapter XI. Chi Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said, “While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?” Chi Lu added, “I venture to ask about

問死。曰、未知生、焉知死。

【十二章】【一節】閔子侍側、闇闇如也、子路行行如也、冉有、子貢、侃侃如也。子樂。【二節】若由也、不得其死然。

【十三章】【一節】魯人為長府。【二節】閔子騫曰、仍舊貫、如之何、何必改作。【三節】子曰、夫人不言、言必有中。

death?” He was answered, “While you do not know life, how can you know about death?”

Chapter XII. 1. The disciple Min was standing by his side, looking bland and precise; Tsze-lu, looking bold and soldierly; Zan Yu and Tsze-kung, with a free and straightforward manner. The Master was pleased.

2. He said, “Yu, there! — he will not die a natural death.”

Chapter XIII. 1. Some parties in Lu were going to take down and rebuild the Long Treasury.

2. Min Tsze-ch’ien said, “Suppose it were to be repaired after its old style; — why must it be altered and made anew?”

3. The Master said, “This man seldom speaks; when he does, he is sure to hit the point.”

【十四章】【一節】子曰、由之瑟、奚為於丘之門。【二節】門人不敬子路。子曰、由也、升堂矣、未入於室也。

【十五章】【一節】子貢問師與商也孰賢。子曰、師也過、商也不及。【二節】曰、然則師愈與。【三節】子曰、過猶不及。

【十六章】【一節】李氏富於周公、而求也為之聚斂而附

Chapter XIV. 1. The Master said, “What has the lute of Yu to do in my door?”

2. The other disciples began not to respect Tsze-lu. The Master said, “Yu has ascended to the hall, though he has not yet passed into the inner apartments.”

Chapter XV. 1. Tsze-kung asked which of the two, Shih or Shang, was the superior. The Master said, “Shih goes beyond the due mean, and Shang does not come up to it.”

2. “Then,” said Tsze-kung, “the superiority is with Shih, I suppose.”

3. The Master said, “To go beyond is as wrong as to fall short.”

Chapter XVI. 1. The head of the Chi family was richer than the duke of Chau had been, and yet Ch’iu collected his imposts for him, and increased his wealth.

益之。【二節】子曰、非吾徒也、小子、鳴鼓而攻之可也。

【十七章】【一節】柴也愚。【二節】參也魯。【三節】師也辟。【四節】由也喭。

【十八章】【一節】子曰、回也奇庶乎屢空。【二節】賜不受命、而貨殖焉、億則屢中。

【十九章】子張問善人之

2. The Master said, “He is no disciple of mine. My little children, beat the drum and assail him.”

Chapter XVII. 1. Ch’ai is simple.

2. Shan is dull.

3. Shih is specious.

4. Yu is coarse.

Chapter XVIII. 1. The Master said, “There is Hui! He has nearly attained to perfect virtue. He is often in want.

2. “Ts’ze does not acquiesce in the appointments of Heaven, and his goods are increased by him. Yet his judgments are often correct.”

Chapter XIX. Tsze-chang asked what were the characteristics of

道。子曰、不踐迹、亦不入於室。

【二十章】子曰、論篤是與、君子者乎、色莊者乎。

【廿一章】子路問聞斯行諸。子曰、有父兄在、如之何其聞斯行之。冉有問聞斯行諸。子曰、聞斯行之。公西華曰、由也問聞斯行諸、子曰、有父兄在、求也

the good man. The Master said, “He does not tread in the footsteps of others, but moreover, he does not enter the chamber of the sage.”

Chapter XX. The Master said, “If, because a man’s discourse appears solid and sincere, we allow him to be a good man, is he really a superior man? or is his gravity only in appearance?”

Chapter XXI. Tsze-lu asked whether he should immediately carry into practice what he heard. The Master said, “There are your father and elder brothers to be consulted; — why should you act on that principle of immediately carrying into practice what you hear?” Zan Yu asked the same, whether he should immediately carry into practice what he heard, and the Master answered, “Immediately carry into practice what you hear.” Kung-hsi Hwa said, “Yu asked whether he should carry immediately into practice what he heard, and you said, ‘There are your father and elder brothers to be consulted.’ Ch’iu asked whether he should immediately carry into practice what he heard, and you said, ‘Carry it immediately into practice.’ I, Ch’ih, am perplexed, and venture to ask you for an explanation.” The Master said, “Ch’iu is retiring and slow; therefore,

問聞斯行諸、子曰、聞斯行之、赤也感、敢問。子曰、求也退、故進之、由也兼人、故退之。

【廿二章】子畏於匡、顔淵後、子曰、吾以女為死矣。曰、子在、回何敢死。

【廿三章】【一節】李子然問仲由冉求、可謂大臣與。【二節】子曰、吾以子為異之問、曾由與求之問。【三節】所謂大臣者、以道事君、不可則止。【四節】今由

I urged him forward. Yu has more than his own share of energy; therefore I kept him back.”

Chapter XXII. The Master was put in fear in K’wang and Yen Yuan fell behind. The Master, on his rejoining him, said, “I thought you had died.” Hui replied, “While you were alive, how should I presume to die?”

Chapter XXIII. 1. Chi Tsze-zan asked whether Chung Yu and Zan Ch’iu could be called great ministers.

2. The Master said, “I thought you would ask about some extraordinary individuals, and you only ask about Yu and Ch’iu!

3. “What is called a great minister, is one who serves his prince according to what is right, and when he finds he cannot do so, retires.

與求也、可謂具臣矣。【五節】曰、然則從之者與。【六節】子曰、弑父與君、亦不從也。

【廿四章】【一節】子路使子羔為費宰。【二節】子曰、賊夫人之子。【三節】子路曰、有民人焉、有社稷焉、何必讀書、然後為學。【四節】子曰、是故惡夫佞者。

【廿五章】【一節】子路、曾晳、冉有、公西華、侍坐。【二節】子曰、以吾一日

4. “Now, as to Yu and Ch’iu, they may be called ordinary ministers.”

5. Tsze-zan said, “Then they will always follow their chief; — will they?”

6. The Master said, “In an act of parricide or regicide, they would not follow him.”

Chapter XXIV. 1. Tsze-lu got Tsze-kao appointed governor of Pi.

2. The Master said, “You are injuring a man’s son.”

3. Tsze-lu said, “There are (there) common people and officers; there are the altars of the spirits of the land and grain. Why must one read books before he can be considered to have learned?”

4. The Master said, “It is on this account that I hate your glib-tongued people.”

Chapter XXV. 1. Tsze-lu, Tsang Hsi, Zan Yu, and Kung-hsi Hwa were sitting by the Master.

2. He said to them, “Though I am a day or so older than you, do not think of that.

長乎爾、毋吾以也。【三節】居則曰、不吾知也、如或知爾、則何以哉。【四節】子路率爾而對曰、千乘之國、攝乎大國之間、加之以師旅、因之以饑饉、由也為　之、比及三年、可使有勇、且知方也。夫子哂之。【五節】求、爾何如。對曰、方六七十、如五六十、求也為之、比及三年、可使足民、如其禮樂、以

3. “From day to day you are saying, ‘We are not known.’ If some ruler were to know you, what would you like to do?”

4. Tsze-lu hastily and lightly replied, “Suppose the case of a State of ten thousand chariots; let it be straitened between other large States; let it be suffering from invading armies; and to this let there be added a famine in corn and in all vegetables: — if I were intrusted with the government of it, in three years” time I could make the people to be bold, and to recognise the rules of righteous conduct.” The Master smiled at him.

5. Turning to Yen Yu, he said, “Ch’iu, what are your wishes?” Ch’iu replied, “Suppose a state of sixty or seventy li square, or one of fifty or sixty, and let me

have the government of it; — in three years" time, I could make plenty to abound among the people. As to teaching them the principles of propriety, and music, I must wait for the rise of a superior man to do that."

俟君子。【六節】赤、爾何如。對曰、非曰能之、願學焉、宗廟之事、如會同、端章甫、願為小相焉。【七節】點、爾何如。鼓瑟希鏗爾、舍瑟而作、對曰、異乎三　子者之撰。子曰、何傷乎、赤各言其志也。曰、莫春者、春服既成、冠者五六人、童子六七人、浴乎沂、風乎舞雩、詠而歸。夫子喟然歎曰、吾與

6. "What are your wishes, Ch'ih," said the Master next to Kung-hsi Hwa. Ch'ih replied, "I do not say that my ability extends to these things, but I should wish to learn them. At the services of the ancestral temple, and at the audiences of the princes with the sovereign, I should like, dressed in the dark square-made robe and the black linen cap, to act as a small assistant."

7. Last of all, the Master asked Tsang Hsi, "Tien, what are your wishes?" Tien, pausing as he was playing on his lute, while it was yet twanging, laid the instrument aside, and rose. "My wishes," he said, "are different from the cherished purposes of these three gentlemen." "What harm is there in that?" said the Master; "do you also, as well as they, speak out your wishes." Tien then said, "In this, the last month of spring, with the dress of the season all complete, along with five or six young men who have assumed the cap, and six or seven boys, I would wash in the I, enjoy the breeze among the rain altars, and return home singing." The Master heaved a sigh and said, "I give my approval to Tien."

點也。【八節】三子者出、曾晳後、曾晳曰、夫三子者之言何如。子曰、亦各言其志也已矣。【九節】曰、夫子何哂由也。【十節】曰、為國以禮、其言不讓、是故 哂之。【十一節】唯求則非邦也與。安見方六七十、如五六十、而非邦也者。【十二節】唯赤則非邦也與。宗廟會同、非諸侯而何、赤也為之小、孰能為之大。

8. The three others having gone out, Tsang Hsi remained behind, and said, "What do you think of the words of these three friends?" The Master replied, "They simply told each one his wishes."

9. Hsi pursued, "Master, why did you smile at Yu?"

10. He was answered, "The management of a State demands the rules of propriety. His words were not humble; therefore I smiled at him."

11. Hsi again said, "But was it not a State which Ch'iu proposed for himself?" The reply was, "Yes; did you ever see a territory of sixty or seventy li

or one of fifty or sixty, which was not a State?”

12. Once more, Hsi inquired, “And was it not a State which Ch’ih proposed for himself?” The Master again replied, “Yes; who but princes have to do with ancestral temples, and with audiences but the sovereign? If Ch’ih were to be a small assistant in these services, who could be a great one?

BOOK XII.

顏淵第十二

BOOK XII. YEN YUAN.

【第一章】【一節】顏淵問仁。子曰、克己復禮為仁、一日克己復禮、天下歸仁焉、為仁由己、而由人乎哉。【二節】顏淵曰、請問其目。子曰、非禮勿視、非禮勿聽、非禮勿言、非禮勿動。顏淵曰、回雖不敏、請事斯語矣。

Chapter I. 1. Yen Yuan asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, “To subdue one’s self and return to propriety, is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him. Is the practice of perfect virtue from a man himself, or is it from others?”

2. Yen Yuan said, “I beg to ask the steps of that process.” The Master replied, “Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety.” Yen Yuan then said, “Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will make it my business to practise this lesson.”

【第二章】仲弓問仁。子曰、出門如見大賓、使民如承大祭、己所不欲、勿施於人、在邦無怨、在家無怨。仲弓曰、雍雖不敏、請事斯語矣。

【第三章】【一節】司馬牛問仁。【二節】子曰、仁者其言

Chapter II. Chung-kung asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, “It is, when you go abroad, to behave to every one as if you were receiving a great guest; to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice; not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself; to have no murmuring against you in the country, and none in the family.” Chung-kung said, “Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will make it my business to practise this lesson.”

Chapter III. 1. Sze-ma Niu asked about perfect virtue.

2. The Master said, “The man of perfect virtue is cautious and slow in his speech.”

也訒。【三節】曰、其言也訒、斯謂之仁矣乎。子曰、為之難、言之得無訒乎。

【第四章】【一節】司馬牛問君子。子曰、君子不憂不懼。【二節】曰、不憂不懼、斯謂之君子矣乎。【三節】子曰、內省不疚、夫何憂何懼。

【第五章】【一節】司馬牛憂曰、人皆有兄弟、我獨亡。【二節】子夏

3. “Cautious and slow in his speech!” said Niu;— “is this what is meant by perfect virtue?” The Master said, “When a man feels the difficulty of doing, can he be other than cautious and slow in speaking?”

Chapter IV. 1. Sze-ma Niu asked about the superior man. The Master said, “The superior man has neither anxiety nor fear.”

2. “Being without anxiety or fear!” said Nui;— “does this constitute what we call the superior man?”

3. The Master said, “When internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?”

Chapter V. 1. Sze-ma Niu, full of anxiety, said, “Other men all have their brothers, I only have not.”

2. Tsze-hsia said to him, “There is the following saying which I have heard: —

曰、商聞之矣。【三節】死生有命、富貴在天。【四節】君子敬而無失、與人恭而有禮、四海之內、皆兄弟也、君子何患乎無兄弟也。

【第六章】子張問明。子曰、浸潤之譖、膚受之愬、不行焉、可謂明也已矣、浸潤之譖、膚受之愬、不行焉、可謂遠也已矣。

3. “‘Death and life have their determined appointment; riches and honours depend upon Heaven.’

4. “Let the superior man never fail reverentially to order his own conduct, and let him be respectful to others and observant of propriety: — then all within the four seas will be his brothers. What has the superior man to do with being distressed because he has no brothers?”

Chapter VI. Tsze-chang asked what constituted intelligence. The Master said, “He with whom neither slander that gradually soaks into the mind, nor statements that startle like a wound in the flesh, are successful, may be called intelligent indeed. Yea, he with whom neither soaking slander, nor startling statements, are successful, may be called farseeing.”

【第七章】【一節】子貢問政。子曰足食、足兵、民信之矣。【二節】子貢曰、必不得已而去、於斯三者何先。曰、去兵。子貢曰、必不得已而去、於斯二者何先。曰、去食、自古皆有死、民無信不立。

【第八章】【一節】棘子成曰、君子質而已矣、何以文為。【二節】子

Chapter VII. 1. Tsze-kung asked about government. The Master said, “The requisites of government are that there be sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler.”

2. Tsze-kung said, “If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?” “The military equipment,” said the Master.

3. Tsze-kung again asked, “If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?” The Master answered, “Part with the food. From of old, death has been the lot of all men; but if the people have no faith in their rulers, there is no standing for the state.”

Chapter VIII. 1. Chi Tsze-ch’ang said, “In a superior man it is only the substantial qualities which are wanted; — why should we seek for ornamental accomplishments?”

貢曰、惜乎夫子之說、君子也、駟不及舌。【三節】文猶質也、質猶文也、虎豹之鞟、猶犬羊之鞟。

【第九章】【一節】哀公問於有若曰年饑、用不足、如之何。【二節】有若對曰、盍徹乎。【三節】曰、二、吾猶不足、如之何其徹也。【四節】對曰、百姓足、君孰與不足、百姓不足、君孰與足。

2. Tsze-kung said, “Alas! Your words, sir, show you to be a superior man, but four horses cannot overtake the tongue.

3. Ornament is as substance; substance is as ornament. The hide of a tiger or a leopard stripped of its hair, is like the hide of a dog or a goat stripped of its hair.”

Chapter IX. 1. The Duke Ai inquired of Yu Zo, saying, “The year is one of scarcity, and the returns for expenditure are not sufficient; — what is to be done?”

2. Yu Zo replied to him, “Why not simply tithe the people?”

3. “With two tenths, said the duke, “I find it not enough; — how could I do with that system of one tenth?”

4. Yu Zo answered, “If the people have plenty, their prince will not be left to want alone. If the people are in want, their prince cannot enjoy plenty alone.”

【第十章】【一節】子張問崇德、辨惑。子曰、主忠信、徙義、崇德也。【二節】愛之欲其生、惡之欲其死、既欲其生、又欲其死、是惑也。誠不以富亦祇以異。

【十一章】【一節】齊景公問政於孔子。【二節】孔子對曰、君君、臣臣、父父、子子。【三節】公曰、善哉、信如君不君、臣不臣、父不父、子不子、雖有粟、吾得而食諸。

Chapter X. 1. Tsze-chang having asked how virtue was to be exalted, and delusions to be discovered, the Master said, “Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles, and be moving continually to what is right; — this is the way to exalt one’s virtue.

2. “You love a man and wish him to live; you hate him and wish him to die. Having wished him to live, you also wish him to die. This is a case of delusion.

3. “‘It may not be on account of her being rich, yet you come to make a difference.’”

Chapter XI. 1. The Duke Ching, of Ch’i, asked Confucius about government.

2. Confucius replied, “There is government, when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son.”

3. “Good!” said the duke; “if, indeed; the prince be not prince, the minister not minister, the father not father, and the son not son, although I have my revenue, can I enjoy it?”

【十二章】【一節】子曰、片言可以折獄者、其由也與。【二節】子路無宿諾。

【十三章】子曰、聽訟、吾猶人也、必也、使無訟乎。

【十四章】子張問政。子曰、居之無倦、行之以忠。

【十五章】子曰、博學於文、約之以禮、亦可以弗畔矣夫。

Chapter XII. 1. The Master said, “Ah! it is Yu, who could with half a word settle litigations!”

2. Tsze-lu never slept over a promise.

Chapter XIII. The Master said, “In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary, however, is to cause the people to have no litigations.”

Chapter XIV. Tsze-chang asked about government. The Master said, “The art of governing is to keep its affairs before the mind without weariness, and to

practise them with undeviating consistency."

Chapter XV. The Master said, "By extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, one may thus likewise not err from what is right."

【十六章】子曰、君子成人之美、不成人之惡、小人反是。

【十七章】李康子問政於孔子。孔子對曰、政者正也、子帥以正、孰敢不正。李康子患盜、問於孔子。孔子對曰、苟子之不欲、雖賞之不竊。

【十九章】李康子問政於孔子、曰、如殺無道、以就有道、何如。

Chapter XVI. The Master said, "The superior man seeks to perfect the admirable qualities of men, and does not seek to perfect their bad qualities. The mean man does the opposite of this."

Chapter XVII. Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, "To govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?"

Chapter XVIII. Chi K'ang, distressed about the number of thieves in the state, inquired of Confucius how to do away with them. Confucius said, "If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal."

Chapter XIX. Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government, saying, "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied, "Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation

孔子對曰、子為政、焉用殺、子欲善、而民善矣、君子之德風、小人之德草、草上之風必偃。

【二十章】【一節】子張問士何如、斯可謂之達矣。【二節】子曰、何哉、爾所謂達者。【三節】子張對曰、在邦必聞、在家必聞。【四節】子曰、是聞也、非達也。【五節】夫達也者、質直而好義、察言而觀色、慮以下人、在邦必達、在家必達。【六節】夫聞也者、色取仁而行

between superiors and inferiors, is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend, when the wind blows across it."

Chapter XX. 1. Tsze-chang asked, "What must the officer be, who may be said to be distinguished?"

2. The Master said, “What is it you call being distinguished?”

3. Tsze-chang replied, “It is to be heard of through the State, to be heard of throughout his clan.”

4. The Master said, “That is notoriety, not distinction.

5. “Now the man of distinction is solid and straightforward, and loves righteousness. He examines people’s words, and looks at their countenances. He is anxious to humble himself to others. Such a man will be distinguished in the country; he will be distinguished in his clan.

6. “As to the man of notoriety, he assumes the appearance of

違、居之不疑、在邦必聞、在家必聞。

【廿一章】【一節】樊遲從遊於舞雩之下。曰、敢問崇德、修慝、辨惑。子曰、善哉問。【三節】先事後得、非崇德與、攻其惡、無攻人之惡、非修慝與、一朝之忿、忘其身以及其親、非惑與。

【廿二章】【一節】樊遲問仁。子曰、愛人。問

virtue, but his actions are opposed to it, and he rests in this character without any doubts about himself. Such a man will be heard of in the country; he will be heard of in the clan.”

Chapter XXI. 1. Fan Ch’ih rambling with the Master under the trees about the rain altars, said, “I venture to ask how to exalt virtue, to correct cherished evil, and to discover delusions.”

2. The Master said, “Truly a good question!

3. “If doing what is to be done be made the first business, and success a secondary consideration; — is not this the way to exalt virtue? To assail one’s own wickedness and not assail that of others; — is not this the way to correct cherished evil? For a morning’s anger to disregard one’s own life, and involve that of his parents; — is not this a case of delusion?”

Chapter XXII. 1. Fan Ch’ih asked about benevolence. The Master said, “It is to love all men.” He asked about knowledge. The Master said, “It is to know all men.”

知。子曰、知人。【二節】樊遲未達。【三節】子曰、舉直錯諸枉、能使枉者直。【四節】樊遲退、見子夏曰、鄉也、吾見於夫子而問知。子曰、舉直錯諸枉、能使　枉者直、何謂也。【五節】子夏曰、富哉言乎。【六節】舜有天下、選於眾、舉皋陶、不仁者遠矣、湯有天下、選於眾、舉伊尹、不仁者遠矣。

【廿三章】子貢問友。子曰、忠告而善道

2. Fan Ch’ih did not immediately understand these answers.

3. The Master said, “Employ the upright and put aside all the crooked; — in this way the crooked can be made to be upright.”

4. Fan Ch’ih retired, and, seeing Tsze-hsia, he said to him, “A Little while ago, I had an interview with our Master, and asked him about knowledge. He said, “Employ the upright, and put aside all the crooked; — in this way, the crooked will be made to be upright.” What did he mean?”

5. Tsze-hsia said, “Truly rich is his saying!

6. “Shun, being in possession of the kingdom, selected from among all the people, and employed Kao-yao, on which all who were devoid of virtue disappeared. T’ang, being in possession of the kingdom, selected from among all the people, and employed I Yin, and all who were devoid of virtue disappeared.”

Chapter XXIII. Tsze-kung asked about friendship. The Master said, “Faithfully admonish your friend, and skillfully lead him on. If you find him impracticable, stop. Do not disgrace yourself.”

之、不可則止、毋自辱焉。

【廿四章】曾子曰、君子以文會友、以友輔仁。

Chapter XXIV. The philosopher Tsang said, “The superior man on grounds of culture meets with his friends, and by their friendship helps his virtue.”

BOOK XIII.

子路第十三

BOOK XIII. TSZE-LU.

【第一章】【一節】子路問政。子曰、先之、勞之。【二節】請益。曰、無倦。

【第二章】【一節】仲弓為李氏

Chapter I. 1. Tsze-lu asked about government. The Master said, “Go before the people with your example, and be laborious in their affairs.”

2. He requested further instruction, and was answered, “Be not weary (in these things).”

Chapter II. 1. Chung-kung, being chief minister to the Head of the Chi family, asked about government. The Master said, “Employ

宰、問政。子曰、先有司、赦小過、舉賢才。【二節】曰、焉知賢才而舉之。曰、舉爾所知、爾所不知、人其舍諸。

【第三章】【一節】子路曰、衛君待子而為政、子將奚先。【二節】子曰、必也、正名乎。【三節】子路曰、有是哉、子之迂也、奚其正。【四節】子曰、野哉、由也、君子於其所不知、蓋闕如也。【五節】名不

first the services of your various officers, pardon small faults, and raise to office men of virtue and talents.”

2. Chung-kung said, “How shall I know the men of virtue and talent, so that I may raise them to office?” He was answered, “Raise to office those whom you know. As to those whom you do not know, will others neglect them?”

Chapter III. 1. Tsze-lu said, “The ruler of Wei has been waiting for you, in order with you to administer the government. What will you consider the first thing to be done?”

2. The Master replied, “What is necessary is to rectify names.”

3. “So, indeed!” said Tsze-lu. “You are wide of the mark! Why must there be such rectification?”

4. The Master said, “How uncultivated you are, Yu! A superior man, in regard to what he does not know, shows a cautious reserve.

5. “If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with

正、則言不順、言不順、則事不成。【六節】事不成、則禮樂不興、禮樂不興、則刑罰不中、刑罰不中、則民無所措手足。【七節】故君子名之必可言也、言之必可行也、君子於其言、無所苟而已矣。

【第四章】【一節】樊遲請學稼。子曰、吾不如老農。請學為圃。曰、

the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success.

6. “When affairs cannot be carried on to success, proprieties and music will not flourish. When proprieties and music do not flourish, punishments will not be properly awarded. When punishments are not properly awarded, the people do not know how to move hand or foot.

7. “Therefore a superior man considers it necessary that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately, and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately. What the superior man requires, is just that in his words there may be nothing incorrect.”

Chapter IV. 1. Fan Ch’ih requested to be taught husbandry. The Master said, “I am not so good for that as an old husbandman.” He

吾不如老圃。【二節】樊遲出。子曰、小人哉、樊須也。【三節】上好禮、則民莫敢不敬、上好義、則民莫敢不服、上好信、則民莫敢不用情、夫如是、則四方之民、襁負其子而至矣、焉用稼。

【第五章】子曰、誦詩三百、授之以政、不達、使於四方、不能專對、雖多、亦奚以為。

requested also to be taught gardening, and was answered, “I am not so good for that as an old gardener.”

2. Fan Ch’ih having gone out, the Master said, “A small man, indeed, is Fan Hsu!

3. If a superior love propriety, the people will not dare not to be reverent. If he love righteousness, the people will not dare not to submit to his example. If he love good faith, the people will not dare not to be sincere. Now, when these things obtain, the people from all quarters will come to him, bearing their children on their backs; — what need has he of a knowledge of husbandry?”

Chapter V. The Master said, “Though a man may be able to recite the three hundred odes, yet if, when intrusted with a governmental charge, he knows not

how to act, or if, when sent to any quarter on a mission, he cannot give his replies unassisted, notwithstanding the extent of his learning, of what practical use is it?”

【第六章】子曰、其身正、不令而行、其身不正、雖令不從。

【第七章】子曰、魯衛之政、兄弟也。

【第八章】子謂衛公子荊善居室、始有、曰、苟合矣、少有、曰、苟完矣、富有、曰、苟美矣。

【第九章】【一節】子適衛、冉有僕。【二節】子曰、庶矣哉。【三節】冉有曰、既庶矣、

Chapter VI. The Master said, “When a prince’s personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed.”

Chapter VII. The Master said, “The governments of Lu and Wei are brothers.”

Chapter VIII. The Master said of Ching, a scion of the ducal family of Wei, that he knew the economy of a family well. When he began to have means, he said, “Ha! here is a collection!” When they were a little increased, he said, “Ha! this is complete!” When he had become rich, he said, “Ha! this is admirable!”

Chapter IX. 1. When the Master went to Wei, Zan Yu acted as driver of his carriage.

2. The Master observed, “How numerous are the people!”

3. Yu said, “Since they are thus numerous, what more shall be done for them?” “Enrich them,” was the reply.

又何加焉。曰、富之。【四節】曰、既富矣、又何加焉。曰、教之。

【第十章】子曰、苟有用我者、朞月而已可也、三年有成。子曰、善人為邦百年、亦可以勝殘去殺矣、誠哉是言也。

【十二章】子曰、如有王者、必世而後仁。

4. “And when they have been enriched, what more shall be done?” The Master said, “Teach them.”

Chapter X. The Master said, “If there were (any of the princes) who would employ me, in the course of twelve months, I should have done something considerable. In three years, the government would be perfected.”

Chapter XI. The Master said, “‘If good men were to govern a country in succession for a hundred years, they would be able to transform the violently bad, and dispense with capital punishments.’ True indeed is this saying!”

Chapter XII. The Master said, “If a truly royal ruler were to arise, it would still require a generation, and then virtue would prevail.”

【十三章】子曰、苟正其身矣、於從政乎何有、不能正其身、如正人何。

【十四章】冉子退朝、子曰、何晏也。對曰、有政。子曰、其事也、如有政、雖不吾以、吾其與聞之。

【十五章】【一節】定公問一言而可以興邦、有諸。孔子對曰、言不可以若是其

Chapter XIII. The Master said, “If a minister make his own conduct correct, what difficulty will he have in assisting in government? If he cannot rectify himself, what has he to do with rectifying others?”

Chapter XIV. The disciple Zan returning from the court, the Master said to him, “How are you so late?” He replied, “We had government business.” The Master said, “It must have been family affairs. If there had been government business, though I am not now in office, I should have been consulted about it.”

Chapter XV. 1. The Duke Ting asked whether there was a single sentence which could make a country prosperous. Confucius replied, “Such an effect cannot be expected from one sentence.

幾也。【二節】人之言曰、為君難、為臣不易。【三節】如知為君之難也、不幾乎一言而興邦乎。【四節】曰、一言而喪邦有諸。孔子對曰、言不可以若是其幾也、 人之言曰、予無樂乎為君、唯其言而莫予違也。【五節】如其善、而莫之違也、不亦善乎。如不善而莫之違也、不幾乎一言而喪邦乎。

【十六章】【一節】葉公問政。【二節】子曰、近者說、遠

2. “There is a saying, however, which people have— ‘To be a prince is difficult; to be a minister is not easy.’

3. “If a ruler knows this, — the difficulty of being a prince, — may there not be expected from this one sentence the prosperity of his country?”

4. The duke then said, “Is there a single sentence which can ruin a country?” Confucius replied, “Such an effect as that cannot be expected from one sentence. There is, however, the saying which people have— ‘I have no pleasure in being a prince, but only in that no one can offer any opposition to what I say!’

5. “If a ruler’s words be good, is it not also good that no one oppose them? But if they are not good, and no one opposes them, may there not be expected from this one sentence the ruin of his country?”

Chapter XVI. 1. The Duke of Sheh asked about government.

2. The Master said, “Good government obtains, when those who are near are made happy, and those who are far off are attracted.”

者來。

【十七章】子夏為莒父宰、問政。子曰、無欲速、無見小利。欲速則不達、見小利則大事不成。

【十八章】【一節】葉公語孔子曰、吾黨有直躬者、其父攘羊、而子證之。【二節】孔子曰、吾黨之直者異於是、父為子隱、子為父隱、直在其中矣。

Chapter XVII. Tsze-hsia, being governor of Chu-fu, asked about government. The Master said, “Do not be desirous to have things done quickly; do not look at small advantages. Desire to have things done quickly prevents their being done thoroughly. Looking at small advantages prevents great affairs from being accomplished.”

Chapter XVIII. 1. The Duke of Sheh informed Confucius, saying, “Among us here there are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their father have stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact.”

2. Confucius said, “Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this.”

【十九章】樊遲問仁。子曰、居處恭、執事敬、與人忠、雖之夷狄、不可棄也。

【二十章】【一節】子貢問曰、何如斯可謂之士矣。子曰、行己有恥、使於四方、不辱君命、可謂士矣。【二節】曰、敢問其次。曰、宗族稱孝

焉、鄉黨稱弟焉。【三節】曰、敢問其次。曰、言必信、行必果、硜硜然、小

Chapter XIX. Fan Ch'ih asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "It is, in retirement, to be sedately grave; in the management of business, to be reverently attentive; in intercourse with others, to be strictly sincere. Though a man go among rude, uncultivated tribes, these qualities may not be neglected."

Chapter XX. 1. Tsze-kung asked, saying, "What qualities must a man possess to entitle him to be called an officer? The Master said, "He who in his conduct of himself maintains a sense of shame, and when sent to any quarter will not disgrace his prince's commission, deserves to be called an officer."

3. Tsze-kung pursued, "I venture to ask who may be placed in the next lower rank?" And he was told, "He whom the circle of his relatives pronounce to be filial, whom his fellow-villagers and neighbours pronounce to be fraternal."

3. Again the disciple asked, "I venture to ask about the class still next in order." The Master said, "They are determined to be sincere in what they say, and to carry out what they do. They are obstinate little men. Yet perhaps they may make the next class."

人哉、抑亦可以為次矣。【四節】曰、今之從政者何如。子曰、噫、斗筲之人、何足算也。

【廿一章】子曰、不得中行而與之、必也狂狷乎、狂者進取、狷者有所不為也。

【廿二章】【一節】子曰、南人有言曰、人而無恆、不可以作巫醫、善夫。【二節】不恆其德、或承之

4. Tsze-kung finally inquired, "Of what sort are those of the present day, who engage in government?" The Master said "Pooh! they are so many pecks and hampers, not worth being taken into account."

Chapter XXI. The Master said, "Since I cannot get men pursuing the due medium, to whom I might communicate my instructions, I must find the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent will advance and lay hold of truth; the cautiously-decided will keep themselves from what is wrong."

Chapter XXII. 1. The Master said, "The people of the south have a saying—'A man without constancy cannot be either a wizard or a doctor.' Good!

2. "Inconstant in his virtue, he will be visited with disgrace."

羞。【三節】子曰、不占而已矣。

【廿三章】子曰、君子和而不同、小人同而不和。

【廿四章】子貢問曰、鄉人皆好之、何如。子曰、未可也。鄉人皆惡之、何如。子曰、未可也。不如鄉人之善者好之、其不善者惡之。

【廿五章】子曰、君子易事而難說也、說之不以道、不說也、及

3. The Master said, “This arises simply from not attending to the prognostication.”

Chapter XXIII. The Master said, “The superior man is affable, but not adulatory; the mean man is adulatory, but not affable.”

Chapter XXIV. Tsze-kung asked, saying, “What do you say of a man who is loved by all the people of his neighborhood?” The Master replied, “We may not for that accord our approval of him.” “And what do you say of him who is hated by all the people of his neighborhood?” The Master said, “We may not for that conclude that he is bad. It is better than either of these cases that the good in the neighborhood love him, and the bad hate him.”

Chapter XXV. The Master said, “The superior man is easy to serve and difficult to please. If you try to please him in any way which is not accordant with right, he will not be pleased. But in his

其使人也、器之。小人難事而易說也、說之雖不以道、說也、及其使人也、求備焉。

【廿六章】子曰、君子泰而不驕、小人驕而不泰。

【廿七章】子曰、剛、毅、木、訥、近仁。

【廿八章】子路問曰、何如斯可謂之士矣。子曰、切切、偲偲、怡怡如也、可謂士矣、朋友切切偲偲、兄弟怡怡。

employment of men, he uses them according to their capacity. The mean man is difficult to serve, and easy to please. If you try to please him, though it be in a way which is not accordant with right, he may be pleased. But in his employment of men, he wishes them to be equal to everything.”

Chapter XXVI. The Master said, “The superior man has a dignified ease without pride. The mean man has pride without a dignified ease.”

Chapter XXVII. The Master said, “The firm, the enduring, the simple, and the modest are near to virtue.”

Chapter XXVIII. Tsze-lu asked, saying, “What qualities must a man possess to entitle him to be called a scholar?” The Master said, “He must be thus, — earnest, urgent, and bland: — among his friends, earnest and urgent; among his brethren, bland.”

【廿九章】子曰、善人教民七年、亦可以即戎矣。

【三十章】子曰、以不教民戰、是謂棄之。

Chapter XXIX. The Master said, “Let a good man teach the people seven years, and they may then likewise be employed in war.”

Chapter XXX. The Master said, “To lead an uninstructed people to war, is to throw them away.”

BOOK XIV.

憲問第十四

BOOK XIV. HSIEN WAN.

【第一章】憲問恥。子曰、邦有道穀、邦無道穀、恥也。

Chapter I. Hsien asked what was shameful. The Master said, “When good government prevails in a state, to be thinking only of salary; and, when bad government prevails, to be thinking, in the same way, only of salary; — this is shameful.”

【第二章】【一節】克、伐、怨、欲、不行焉、可以為仁矣。【二節】子曰、可以為難矣、仁則吾不知也。

【第三章】子曰、士而懷居、不足以為士矣。

【第四章】子曰、邦有道、危言危行、邦無道、危行言孫。

【第五章】子曰、有德者、必有言、有言者、不必有德、仁者、必有勇、勇者、不必有仁。

Chapter II. 1. “When the love of superiority, boasting, resentments, and covetousness are repressed, this may be deemed perfect virtue.”

2. The Master said, “This may be regarded as the achievement of what is difficult. But I do not know that it is to be deemed perfect virtue.”

Chapter III. The Master said, “The scholar who cherishes the love of comfort is not fit to be deemed a scholar.”

Chapter IV. The Master said, “When good government prevails in a state, language may be lofty and bold, and actions the same. When bad government prevails, the actions may be lofty and bold, but the language may be with some reserve.”

Chapter V. The Master said, “The virtuous will be sure to speak correctly, but those whose speech is good may not always be virtuous. Men of principle are sure to be bold, but those who are bold may not always be men of principle.”

【第六章】南宮适問於孔子曰、羿善射、奡盪舟、俱不得其死然、禹稷躬稼、而有天下夫子不答。南宮适出。子曰、君子哉若人、尚德哉若人。

【第七章】子曰、君子而不仁者有矣夫、未有小人而仁者也。

Chapter VI. Nan-kung Kwo, submitting an inquiry to Confucius, said, “I was skillful at archery, and Ao could move a boat along upon the land, but neither of them died a natural death. Yu and Chi personally wrought at the toils of husbandry, and they became possessors of the kingdom.” The Master made no reply; but when Nan-kung Kwo went out, he said, “A superior man indeed is this! An esteemer of virtue indeed is this!”

Chapter VII. The Master said, “Superior men, and yet not always virtuous, there have been, alas! But there never has been a mean man, and, at the same time, virtuous.”

【第八章】子曰、愛之、能勿勞乎、忠焉、能勿誨乎。

【第九章】子曰、為命、裨諶草創之、世叔討論之、行人子羽修飾之、東里子產潤色之。

【第十章】【一節】或問子產。子曰、惠人也。【二節】問子西。曰、彼哉彼哉。【三節】問管仲。曰、人也、奪伯氏駢邑三百、飯疏食、沒齒、

Chapter VIII. The Master said, “Can there be love which does not lead to strictness with its object? Can there be loyalty which does not lead to the instruction of its object?”

Chapter IX. The Master said, “In preparing the governmental notifications, P’i Shan first made the rough draught; Shi-shu examined and discussed its contents; Tsze-yu, the manager of Foreign intercourse, then polished the style; and, finally, Tsze-ch’an of Tung-li gave it the proper elegance and finish.”

Chapter X. 1. Some one asked about Tsze-ch’an. The Master said, “He was a kind man.”

2. He asked about Tsze-hsi. The Master said, “That man! That man!”

3. He asked about Kwan Chung. “For him,” said the Master, “the city of Pien, with three hundred families, was taken from the chief of the Po family, who did not utter a murmuring word, though, to the end of his life, he had only coarse rice to eat.”

無怨言。

【十一章】子曰、貧而無怨、難、富而無驕、易。

【十二章】子曰、孟公綽、為趙魏老則優、不可以為滕薛大夫。

【十三章】【一節】子路問成人。子曰、若臧武仲之知、公綽之不欲、卞莊子之勇、冉求之藝、文之以禮樂、亦可以為成人矣。【二節】曰、今之成人者、何必然、見

Chapter XI. The Master said, “To be poor without murmuring is difficult. To be rich without being proud is easy.”

Chapter XII. The Master said, “Mang Kung-ch’o is more than fit to be chief officer in the families of Chao and Wei, but he is not fit to be great officer to either of the States Tang or Hsieh.”

Chapter XIII. 1. Tsze-lu asked what constituted a complete man. The Master said, “Suppose a man with the knowledge of Tsang Wu-chung, the freedom from covetousness of Kung-ch’o, the bravery of Chwang of Pien, and the varied talents of Zan Ch’iu; add to these the accomplishments of the rules of propriety and music: — such a one might be reckoned a complete man.”

2. He then added, “But what is the necessity for a complete man of the present day to have all these things? The man, who in the

利思義、見危授命、久要不忘平生之言、亦可以為成人矣。

【十四章】【一節】子問公叔文子於公明賈曰、信乎、夫子不言不笑、不取乎。【二節】公明賈對曰、以告者過也。夫子時然後言、人不厭其言、樂然後笑、人不厭其笑、義然後取、人不厭其取。子曰、其然、豈其然乎。

view of gain, thinks of righteousness; who in the view of danger is prepared to give up his life; and who does not forget an old agreement however far back it extends: — such a man may be reckoned a complete man.”

Chapter XIV. 1. The Master asked Kung-ming Chia about Kung-shu Wan, saying, “Is it true that your master speaks not, laughs not, and takes not?”

2. Kung-ming Chia replied, “This has arisen from the reporters going beyond the truth. — My master speaks when it is the time to speak, and so men do not get tired of his speaking. He laughs when there is occasion to be joyful, and so men do not get tired of his laughing. He takes when it is consistent with righteousness to do so, and so men do not get tired of his taking.” The Master said, “So! But is it so with him?”

【十五章】子曰、臧武仲、以防求為後於魯、雖曰不要君、吾不信也。

【十六章】子曰、晉文公譎而不正、齊桓公正而不譎。

【十七章】【一節】子路曰、桓公殺公子糾、召忽死之、管仲不死、

Chapter XV. The Master said, “Tsang Wu-chung, keeping possession of Fang, asked of the duke of Lu to appoint a successor to him in his family. Although it may be said that he was not using force with his sovereign, I believe he was.”

Chapter XVI. The Master said, “The duke Wan of Tsin was crafty and not upright. The duke Hwan of Ch’i was upright and not crafty.”

Chapter XVII. 1. Tsze-lu said, “The Duke Hwan caused his brother Chiu to be killed, when Shao Hu died with his master, but Kwan Chung did not die. May not I say that he was wanting in virtue?”

曰、未仁乎。【二節】子曰、桓公九合諸侯、不以兵車、管仲之力也、如其仁、如其仁。

【十八章】【一節】子貢曰、管仲非仁者與、桓公殺公子糾、不能死、又相之。【二節】子曰、管仲相桓公、霸諸侯、一匡天下、民到于今、受其賜、微管仲、吾其被髮左衽矣。【三節】豈若匹夫匹婦之為諒也、

2. The Master said, “The Duke Hwan assembled all the princes together, and that not with weapons of war and chariots: — it was all through the influence of Kwan Chung. Whose beneficence was like his? Whose beneficence was like his?”

Chapter XVIII. 1. Tsze-kung said, “Kwan Chung, I apprehend, was wanting in virtue. When the Duke Hwan caused his brother Chiu to be killed, Kwan Chung was not able to die with him. Moreover, he became prime minister to Hwan.”

2. The Master said, “Kwan Chung acted as prime minister to the Duke Hwan, made him leader of all the princes, and united and rectified the whole kingdom. Down to the present day, the people enjoy the gifts which he conferred. But for Kwan Chung, we should now be wearing our hair unbound, and the lappets of our coats buttoning on the left side.

3. “Will you require from him the small fidelity of common

自經於溝瀆、而莫之知也。

【十九章】【一節】公叔文子之臣、大夫僎、與文子同升諸公。【二節】子聞之曰、可以為矣。

【二十章】【一節】子言衛靈公之無道也、康子曰、夫如是、奚而不喪。【二節】孔子曰、仲叔圉治賓客、祝鮀治

men and common women, who would commit suicide in a stream or ditch, no one knowing anything about them?"

Chapter XIX. 1. The great officer, Hsien, who had been family-minister to Kung-shu Wan, ascended to the prince's court in company with Wan.

2. The Master, having heard of it, said, "He deserved to be considered wan (the accomplished)."

Chapter XX. 1. The Master was speaking about the unprincipled course of the duke Ling of Wei, when Ch'i K'ang said, "Since he is of such a character, how is it he does not lose his State?"

2. Confucius said, "The Chung-shu Yu has the superintendence of his guests and of strangers; the litanist, T'o, has the management

宗廟、王孫賈治軍旅、夫如是、奚其喪。

【廿一章】子曰、其言之不怍、則為之也難。

【廿二章】【一節】陳成子弒簡公。【二節】孔子沐浴而朝、告於哀公曰、陳恆弒其君、請討之。【三節】公曰、告夫三子。【四節】孔子曰、以吾從大夫之後、不敢不告也、君

of his ancestral temple; and Wang-sun Chia has the direction of the army and forces: — with such officers as these, how should he lose his State?"

Chapter XXI. The Master said, "He who speaks without modesty will find it difficult to make his words good."

Chapter XXII. 1. Chan Ch'ang murdered the Duke Chien of Ch'i.

2. Confucius bathed, went to court, and informed the duke Ai, saying, "Chan Hang has slain his sovereign. I beg that you will undertake to punish him."

3. The duke said, "Inform the chiefs of the three families of it."

4. Confucius retired, and said, "Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter, and my prince says, 'Inform the chiefs of the three families of it.'"

曰、告夫三子者。【四節】之三子告、不可、孔子曰、以吾從大夫之後、不敢不告也。

【廿三章】子路問事君。子曰、勿欺也、而犯之。

【廿四章】子曰、君子上達、小人下達。

【廿五章】子曰、古之學者為己、今之學者為人。

【廿六章】【一節】蘧伯玉使人於孔子。【二節】孔子與之坐、而問焉、曰、夫子何為。

5. He went to the chiefs, and informed them, but they would not act. Confucius then said, “Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter.”

Chapter XXIII. Tsze-lu asked how a ruler should be served. The Master said, “Do not impose on him, and, moreover, withstand him to his face.”

Chapter XXIV. The Master said, “The progress of the superior man is upwards; the progress of the mean man is downwards.”

Chapter XXV. The Master said, “In ancient times, men learned with a view to their own improvement. Now-a-days, men learn with a view to the approbation of others.”

Chapter XXVI. 1. Chu Po-yu sent a messenger with friendly inquiries to Confucius.

2. Confucius sat with him, and questioned him. “What,” said he, “is your master engaged in?” The messenger replied, “My master is

對曰、夫子欲寡其過、而未能也、使者出、子曰、使乎、使乎。

【廿七章】子曰、不在其位、不謀其政。

【廿八章】曾子曰、君子思不出其位。

【廿九章】子曰、君子恥其言而過其行。

【三十章】【一節】子曰、君子道者三、我無能焉、仁者不憂、知者不惑、勇者不懼。【二節】子貢曰、夫子自道也。

anxious to make his faults few, but he has not yet succeeded.” He then went out, and the Master said, “A messenger indeed! A messenger indeed!”

Chapter XXVII. The Master said, “He who is not in any particular office, has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties.”

Chapter XXVIII. The philosopher Tsang said, “The superior man, in his thoughts, does not go out of his place.”

Chapter XXIX. The Master said, “The superior man is modest in his speech, but exceeds in his actions.”

Chapter XXX. 1. The Master said, “The way of the superior man is threefold, but I am not equal to it. Virtuous, he is free from anxieties; wise, he is free from perplexities; bold, he is free from fear.

2. Tsze-kung said, “Master, that is what you yourself say.”

【卅一章】子貢方人、子曰、賜也賢乎哉、夫我則不暇。

【卅二章】子曰、不患人之不己知、患其不能也。

【卅三章】子曰、不逆詐、不億不信、抑亦先覺者、是賢乎。

【卅四章】【一節】微生畝謂孔子曰、丘何為是栖栖者與、無乃為佞乎。
【二節】孔子曰、非敢為佞也、疾固也。

Chapter XXXI. Tsze-kung was in the habit of comparing men together. The Master said, “Tsze must have reached a high pitch of excellence! Now, I have not leisure for this.”

Chapter XXXII. The Master said, “I will not be concerned at men’s not knowing me; I will be concerned at my own want of ability.”

Chapter XXXIII. The Master said, “He who does not anticipate attempts to deceive him, nor think beforehand of his not being believed, and yet apprehends these things readily (when they occur); — is he not a man of superior worth?”

Chapter XXXIV. 1. Wei-shang Mau said to Confucius, “Ch’iu, how is it that you keep roosting about? Is it not that you are an insinuating talker?”

2. Confucius said, “I do not dare to play the part of such a talker, but I hate obstinacy.”

【卅五章】子曰、驥、不稱其力、稱其德也。

【卅六章】【一節】或曰、以德報怨、何如。【二節】子曰、何以報德。
【三節】以直報怨、以德報德。

【卅七章】【一節】子曰、莫我知也夫。【二節】子貢曰、何為其莫知子也。子曰、不怨天、不尤人、下學

Chapter XXXV. The Master said, “A horse is called a ch’i, not because of its strength, but because of its other good qualities.”

Chapter XXXVI. 1. Some one said, “What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?”

2. The Master said, “With what then will you recompense kindness?

3. “Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness.”

Chapter XXXVII. 1. The Master said, “Alas! there is no one that knows me.”

2. Tsze-kung said, “What do you mean by thus saying — that no one knows you?” The Master replied, “I do not murmur against

而上達、知我者其天乎。

【卅八章】【一節】公伯寮愬子路於李孫、子服景伯以告、曰、夫子固有惑志於公伯寮、吾力猶能肆諸市朝。【二節】子曰、道之將行也與、命也、道之將廢也與、命也、公伯寮其如命何。

Heaven. I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low, and my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven; — that knows me!”

Chapter XXXVIII. 1. The Kung-po Liao, having slandered Tsze-lu to Chi-sun, Tsze-fu Ching-po informed Confucius of it, saying, “Our master is certainly being led astray by the Kung-po Liao, but I have still power enough left to cut Liao off, and expose his corpse in the market and in the court.”

2. The Master said, “If my principles are to advance, it is so ordered. If they are to fall to the ground, it is so ordered. What can the Kung-po Liao do where such ordering is concerned?”

【卅九章】【一節】子曰、賢者辟世。【二節】其次辟地。【三節】其次辟色。【四節】其次辟言。

【四十章】子曰、作者七人矣。

【四一章】子路宿於石門、晨門曰、奚自。子路曰、自孔氏。曰、是知其不可而為之者與。

【四二章】【一節】子擊磬於衛、有荷蕢、而過孔氏之門者、

Chapter XXXIX. 1. The Master said, “Some men of worth retire from the world.

2. Some retire from particular states.

3. Some retire because of disrespectful looks.

4. Some retire because of contradictory language."

Chapter XL. The Master said, "Those who have done this are seven men."

Chapter XLI. Tsze-lu happening to pass the night in Shih-man, the gatekeeper said to him, "Whom do you come from?" Tsze-lu said, "From Mr. K'ung." "It is he, — is it not?" — said the other, "who knows the impracticable nature of the times and yet will be doing in them."

Chapter XLII. 1. The Master was playing, one day, on a musical stone in Wei, when a man, carrying a straw basket, passed the door

曰、有心哉、擊磬乎。【二節】既、而曰、鄙哉、硜硜乎、莫己知也、斯已而已矣、深則厲、淺則揭。【三節】子曰、果哉、末之難矣。

【四三章】【一節】子張曰、書云、高宗諒陰三年不言、何謂也。【二節】子曰、何必高宗、古之人皆然、君薨、百官總己、以聽於冢宰、三年。

of the house where Confucius was, and said, "His heart is full who so beats the musical stone."

2. A little while after, he added, "How contemptible is the one-ideaed obstinacy those sounds display! When one is taken no notice of, he has simply at once to give over his wish for public employment. 'Deep water must be crossed with the clothes on; shallow water may be crossed with the clothes held up.'"

3. The Master said, "How determined is he in his purpose! But this is not difficult!"

Chapter XLIII. 1. Tsze-chang said, "What is meant when the Shu says that Kao-tsung, while observing the usual imperial mourning, was for three years without speaking?"

2. The Master said, "Why must Kao-tsung be referred to as an example of this? The ancients all did so. When the sovereign died, the officers all attended to their several duties, taking instructions from the prime minister for three years."

【四四章】子曰、上好禮、則民易使也。

【四五章】子路問君子、子曰、修己以敬。曰、如斯而已乎。曰、修己以安人、曰、如斯而已乎。曰、修己以安百姓。修己以安百姓、堯舜其猶病諸。

【四六章】原壤夷俟、子曰、幼

Chapter XLIV. The Master said, “When rulers love to observe the rules of propriety, the people respond readily to the calls on them for service.”

Chapter XLV. Tsze-lu asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said, “The cultivation of himself in reverential carefulness.” “And is this all?” said Tsze-lu. “He cultivates himself so as to give rest to others,” was the reply. “And is this all?” again asked Tsze-lu. The Master said, “He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people. He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people: — even Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this.”

Chapter XLVI. Yuan Zang was squatting on his heels, and

而不孫弟、長而無述焉、老而不死、是為賊。以杖叩其脛。

【四七章】【一節】闕黨童子將命、或問之曰、益者與。【二節】子曰、吾見其居於位也、見其與先生並行也、非求益者也、欲速成者也。

so waited the approach of the Master, who said to him, “In youth not humble as befits a junior; in manhood, doing nothing worthy of being handed down; and living on to old age: — this is to be a pest.” With this he hit him on the shank with his staff.

Chapter XLVII. 1. A youth of the village of Ch’ueh was employed by Confucius to carry the messages between him and his visitors. Some one asked about him, saying, “I suppose he has made great progress.”

2. The Master said, “I observe that he is fond of occupying the seat of a full-grown man; I observe that he walks shoulder to shoulder with his elders. He is not one who is seeking to make progress in learning. He wishes quickly to become a man.”

BOOK XV.

衛靈公第十五

BOOK XV. WEI LING KUNG.

【第一章】【一節】衛靈公問陳於孔子。孔子對曰、俎豆之事、則嘗聞之矣、軍旅之事、未之學也。明日遂行。【二節】在陳絕糧、從者病、莫能興。【三節】子路慍見曰、君子亦有窮乎。子曰、君子固窮、小人窮斯濫矣。

Chapter I. 1. The Duke Ling of Wei asked Confucius about tactics. Confucius replied, “I have heard all about sacrificial vessels, but I have not learned military matters.” On this, he took his departure the next day.

2. When he was in Chan, their provisions were exhausted, and his followers became so ill that they were unable to rise.

3. Tsze-lu, with evident dissatisfaction, said, “Has the superior man likewise to endure in this way?” The Master said, “The superior man may indeed have to endure want, but the mean man, when he is in want, gives way to unbridled license.”

【第二章】【一節】子曰、賜也、女以予為多學而識之者與。【二節】對曰、然、非與。【三節】曰、非也、予一以貫之。

【第三章】子曰、由、知德者鮮矣。

【第四章】子曰、無為而治者、其舜也與、夫何為哉、恭己正南面而已矣。

【第五章】【一節】子張問行。【二節】子曰、言忠信、行篤敬、雖蠻貊之邦、

Chapter II. 1. The Master said, “Ts’ze, you think, I suppose, that I am one who learns many things and keeps them in memory?”

2. Tsze-kung replied, “Yes, — but perhaps it is not so?”

3. “No,” was the answer; “I seek a unity all-pervading.”

Chapter III. The Master said, “Yu, those who know virtue are few.”

Chapter IV. The Master said, “May not Shun be instanced as having governed efficiently without exertion? What did he do? He did nothing but gravely and reverently occupy his royal seat.”

Chapter V. 1. Tsze-chang asked how a man should conduct himself, so as to be everywhere appreciated.

2. The Master said, “Let his words be sincere and truthful, and his actions honourable and careful; — such conduct may be practised among the rude tribes of the South or the North. If his words be 行矣、言不忠信、行不篤敬、雖州里、行乎哉。【三節】立、則見其參於前也、在輿、則見期倚於衡也、夫然後行。【四節】子張書諸紳。

【第六章】【一節】子曰、直哉史魚、邦有道如矢、邦有道如矢。【二節】君子哉、蘧伯玉、邦有道、則仕、邦無道、則可卷而懷之。

not sincere and truthful and his actions not honourable and careful, will he, with such conduct, be appreciated, even in his neighborhood?

3. “When he is standing, let him see those two things, as it were, fronting him. When he is in a carriage, let him see them attached to the yoke. Then may he subsequently carry them into practice.”

4. Tsze-chang wrote these counsels on the end of his sash.

Chapter VI. 1. The Master said, “Truly straightforward was the historiographer Yu. When good government prevailed in his State, he was like an arrow. When bad government prevailed, he was like an arrow.

2. A superior man indeed is Chu Po-yu! When good government prevails in his state, he is to be found in office. When bad government prevails, he can roll his principles up, and keep them in his breast.”

【第七章】子曰、可與言、而不與之言、失人、不可與言、而與之言、失言、知者不失人、亦不失言。

【第八章】子曰、志士、仁人、無求生以害仁、有殺身以成仁。

【第九章】子貢問為仁。子曰、工欲善其事、必先利其器、居是邦也、事其大夫之賢者、友其士之仁者。

【第十章】【一節】顏淵問為邦。【二節】子曰、行夏之

Chapter VII. The Master said, “When a man may be spoken with, not to speak to him is to err in reference to the man. When a man may not be spoken

with, to speak to him is to err in reference to our words. The wise err neither in regard to their man nor to their words."

Chapter VIII. The Master said, "The determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete."

Chapter IX. Tsze-kung asked about the practice of virtue. The Master said, "The mechanic, who wishes to do his work well, must first sharpen his tools. When you are living in any state, take service with the most worthy among its great officers, and make friends of the most virtuous among its scholars."

Chapter X. 1. Yen Yuan asked how the government of a country should be administered.

2. The Master said, "Follow the seasons of Hsia.

時。【三節】乘殷之輅。【四節】服周之冕。【五節】樂則韶舞。【六節】放鄭聲、遠佞人、鄭聲淫、佞人殆。

【十一章】子曰、人無遠慮、必有近憂。

【十二章】子曰、已矣乎、吾未見好德如好色者也。

【十三章】子曰、臧文仲、其竊位者與、知柳下惠之

3. "Ride in the state carriage of Yin.

4. "Wear the ceremonial cap of Chau.

5. "Let the music be the Shao with its pantomimes.

6. Banish the songs of Chang, and keep far from specious talkers. The songs of Chang are licentious; specious talkers are dangerous."

Chapter XI. The Master said, "If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand."

Chapter XII. The Master said, "It is all over! I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty."

Chapter XIII. The Master said, "Was not Tsang Wan like one who had stolen his situation? He knew the virtue and the talents 賢、而不與立也。

【十四章】子曰、躬自厚、而薄責於人、則遠怨矣。

【十五章】子曰、不曰如之何、如之何者、吾末如之何也已矣。

【十六章】子曰、群居終日、言不及義、好行小慧、難矣哉。

【十七章】子曰、君子義以為質、禮以行之、孫以出之、信

of Hui of Liu-hsia, and yet did not procure that he should stand with him in court."

Chapter XIV. The Master said, "He who requires much from himself and little from others, will keep himself from being the object of resentment."

Chapter XV. The Master said, "When a man is not in the habit of saying—'What shall I think of this? What shall I think of this?' I can indeed do nothing with him!"

Chapter XVI. The Master said, "When a number of people are together, for a whole day, without their conversation turning on righteousness, and when they are fond of carrying out the suggestions of a small shrewdness; — theirs is indeed a hard case."

Chapter XVII. The Master said, "The superior man in everything considers righteousness to be essential. He performs it according to the rules of propriety. He brings it forth in humility. He completes it with sincerity. This is indeed a superior man."

以成之、君子哉。

【十八章】子曰、君子病無能焉、不病人之不己知也。

【十九章】子曰、君子疾沒世、而名不稱焉。

【二十章】子曰、君子求諸己、小人求諸人。

【廿一章】子曰、君子矜而不爭、群而不黨。

【廿二章】子曰、君子不以言舉人、不以

Chapter XVIII. The Master said, "The superior man is distressed by his want of ability. He is not distressed by men's not knowing him."

Chapter XIX. The Master said, "The superior man dislikes the thought of his name not being mentioned after his death."

Chapter XX. The Master said, "What the superior man seeks, is in himself. What the mean man seeks, is in others."

Chapter XXI. The Master said, "The superior man is dignified, but does not wrangle. He is sociable, but not a partizan."

Chapter XXII. The Master said, "The superior man does not promote a man simply on account of his words, nor does he put aside good words because of the

man.”
人廢言。

【廿三章】子貢問曰、有一言、而可以終身行之者乎。子曰、其恕乎、己所不欲、勿施於人。

【廿四章】【一節】子曰、吾之於人也誰毀、誰譽、如有所譽者、其有所試矣。【二節】斯民也、三代之所以直道而行也。

【廿五章】子曰、吾猶及史之闕文也、有馬者、借人乘之、今亡矣夫。

Chapter XXIII. Tsze-kung asked, saying, “Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one’s life?” The Master said, “Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.”

Chapter XXIV. 1. The Master said, “In my dealings with men, whose evil do I blame, whose goodness do I praise, beyond what is proper? If I do sometimes exceed in praise, there must be ground for it in my examination of the individual.

2. “This people supplied the ground why the three dynasties pursued the path of straightforwardness.”

Chapter XXV. The Master said, “Even in my early days, a historiographer would leave a blank in his text, and he who had a horse would lend him to another to ride. Now, alas! there are no such things.”

【廿六章】子曰、巧言亂德、小不忍、則亂大謀。

【廿七章】子曰、眾惡之、必察焉、眾好之、必察焉。

【廿八章】子曰、人能弘道、非道弘人。

【廿九章】子曰、過而不改、是謂過矣。

【三十章】子曰、吾嘗終日

Chapter XXVI. The Master said, “Specious words confound virtue. Want of forbearance in small matters confounds great plans.”

Chapter XXVII. The Master said, “When the multitude hate a man, it is necessary to examine into the case. When the multitude like a man, it is necessary to examine into the case.”

Chapter XXVIII. The Master said, “A man can enlarge the principles which he follows; those principles do not enlarge the man.”

Chapter XXIX. The Master said, “To have faults and not to reform them, — this, indeed, should be pronounced having faults.”

Chapter XXX. The Master said, “I have been the whole day

不食、終夜不寢、以思、無益、不如學也。

【卅一章】子曰、君子謀道不謀食、耕也、餒在其中矣、學也、祿在其中矣、君子憂道、不憂貧。

【卅二章】【一節】子曰、知及之、仁不能守之、雖得之、必失之。【二節】知及之、仁能守之、不莊以涖之、則民不敬。【三節】知及之、仁能守之、莊以涖之、動之不以禮、未善也。

without eating, and the whole night without sleeping: — occupied with thinking. It was of no use. The better plan is to learn.”

Chapter XXXI. The Master said, “The object of the superior man is truth. Food is not his object. There is plowing; — even in that there is sometimes want. So with learning; — emolument may be found in it. The superior man is anxious lest he should not get truth; he is not anxious lest poverty should come upon him.”

Chapter XXXII. 1. The Master said, “When a man’s knowledge is sufficient to attain, and his virtue is not sufficient to enable him to hold, whatever he may have gained, he will lose again.

2. “When his knowledge is sufficient to attain, and he has virtue enough to hold fast, if he cannot govern with dignity, the people will not respect him.

3. “When his knowledge is sufficient to attain, and he has virtue enough to hold fast; when he governs also with dignity, yet if he try to move the people contrary to the rules of propriety: — full excellence is not reached.”

【卅三章】子曰、君子不可小知、而可大受也、小人不可大受、而可小知也。

【卅四章】子曰、民之於仁也、甚於水火、水火吾見蹈而死者矣、未見蹈仁而死者也。

【卅五章】子曰、當仁、不讓於師。

Chapter XXXIII. The Master said, “The superior man cannot be known in little matters; but he may be intrusted with great concerns. The small man may not be intrusted with great concerns, but he may be known in little matters.”

Chapter XXXIV. The Master said, “Virtue is more to man than either water or fire. I have seen men die from treading on water and fire, but I have never seen a man die from treading the course of virtue.”

Chapter XXXV. The Master said, “Let every man consider virtue as what devolves on himself. He may not yield the performance of it even to his teacher.”

【卅六章】子曰、君子貞、而不諒。

【卅七章】子曰、事君敬其事、而後其食。

【卅八章】子曰、有教、無類。

【卅九章】子曰、道不同、不相為謀。

【四十章】子曰、辭、達而已矣。

【四一章】【一節】師冕見、及階、子曰、階也。及席、子曰、席也。

Chapter XXXVI. The Master said, “The superior man is correctly firm, and not firm merely.”

Chapter XXXVII. The Master said, “A minister, in serving his prince, reverently discharges his duties, and makes his emolument a secondary consideration.”

Chapter XXXVIII. The Master said, “In teaching there should be no distinction of classes.”

Chapter XXXIX. The Master said, “Those whose courses are different cannot lay plans for one another.”

Chapter XL. The Master said, “In language it is simply required that it convey the meaning.”

Chapter XLI. 1. The Music-master, Mien, having called upon him, when they came to the steps, the Master said, “Here are the steps.” When they came to the mat for the guest to sit upon, he 皆坐、子告之曰、某在斯、某在斯。【二節】師冕出、子張問曰、與師言之道與。【三節】子曰、然、固相師之道也。

said, “Here is the mat.” When all were seated, the Master informed him, saying, “So and so is here; so and so is here.”

2. The Music-master, Mien, having gone out, Tsze-chang asked, saying. “Is it the rule to tell those things to the Music-master?”

3. The Master said, “Yes. This is certainly the rule for those who lead the blind.”

BOOK XVI.

李氏第十六

BOOK XVI. KE SHE.

【第一章】【一節】李氏將伐顓臾。【二節】冉有季路見於孔子曰、李氏將有事於顓臾。

Chapter I. 1. The head of the Chi family was going to attack Chwan-yu.

2. Zan Yu and Chi-lu had an interview with Confucius, and said, “Our chief, Chi, is going to commence operations against Chwan-yu.”

【三節】孔子曰、求、無乃爾是過與。【四節】夫顓臾、昔者、先王以為東蒙主、且在邦域之中矣、是社稷之臣也、何以伐為。【五節】冉有曰、夫子欲之、吾二臣 者、皆不欲也。【六節】孔子曰、求、周任有言曰、陳力就列、不能者止、危而不持、顛而不扶、則將焉用彼相矣。【七節】且爾言過矣、虎兕出於柙、龜玉毀於

3. Confucius said, “Ch’iu, is it not you who are in fault here?

4. “Now, in regard to Chwan-yu, long ago, a former king appointed its ruler to preside over the sacrifices to the eastern Mang; moreover, it is in the midst of the territory of our State; and its ruler is a minister in direct connexion with the sovereign: — What has your chief to do with attacking it?”

5. Zan Yu said, “Our master wishes the thing; neither of us two ministers wishes it.”

6. Confucius said, “Ch’iu, there are the words of Chau Zan,— ‘When he can put forth his ability, he takes his place in the ranks of office; when he finds himself unable to do so, he retires from it. How can he be used as a guide to a blind man, who does not support him when tottering, nor raise him up when fallen?’

7. “And further, you speak wrongly. When a tiger or rhinoceros escapes from his cage; when a tortoise or piece of jade is injured in its repository: — whose is the fault?”

櫝中、是誰之過與。【八節】冉有曰、今夫顓臾、固而近於費、今不取、後世必為子孫憂。【九節】孔子曰、求、君子疾夫舍曰欲之、而必為之

辭。【十節】丘也、聞有國有家者、不患寡、而患不均、不患貧、而患不安、蓋均無貧、和無寡、安無傾。【十一節】夫如

8. Zan Yu said, “But at present, Chwan-yu is strong and near to Pi; if our chief do not now take it, it will hereafter be a sorrow to his descendants.”

9. Confucius said. “Ch’iu, the superior man hates that declining to say— ‘I want such and such a thing,’ and framing explanations for the conduct.

10. “I have heard that rulers of States and chiefs of families are not troubled lest their people should be few, but are troubled lest they should not keep their several places; that they are not troubled with fears of poverty, but are troubled with fears of a want of contented repose among the people in their several places. For when the people keep their several places, there will be no poverty; when harmony prevails, there will be no scarcity of people; and when there is such a contented repose, there will be no rebellious upsettings.

11. “So it is. — Therefore, if remoter people are not submissive, all

是、故遠人不服、則修文德以來之、既來之、則安之。【十二節】今由與求也、相夫子、遠人不服、而不能來也、邦分崩離析、而不能守也。【十三節】而謀動干戈於邦內、吾恐李孫之憂、不在顓臾、而在蕭牆之內也。

the influences of civil culture and virtue are to be cultivated to attract them to be so; and when they have been so attracted, they must be made contented and tranquil.

12. “Now, here are you, Yu and Ch’iu, assisting your chief. Remoter people are not submissive, and, with your help, he cannot attract them to him. In his own territory there are divisions and downfalls, leavings and separations, and, with your help, he cannot preserve it.

13. “And yet he is planning these hostile movements within the State. — I am afraid that the sorrow of the Chi-sun family will not be on account of Chwan-yu, but will be found within the screen of their own court.”

【第二章】【一節】孔子曰、天下有道、則禮樂征伐、自天子出、天下無道、則禮樂征伐、自諸侯出、自諸侯出、蓋十世希不失矣、自大夫出、五世希不失矣、陪臣執國命、三世希不失矣。【二節】天下有道、則政不在大夫。【三節】天下有道、則庶人不議。

Chapter II. 1. Confucius said, “When good government prevails in the empire, ceremonies, music, and punitive military expeditions proceed from the son of Heaven. When bad government prevails in the empire, ceremonies,

music, and punitive military expeditions proceed from the princes. When these things proceed from the princes, as a rule, the cases will be few in which they do not lose their power in ten generations. When they proceed from the Great officers of the princes, as a rule, the cases will be few in which they do not lose their power in five generations. When the subsidiary ministers of the great officers hold in their grasp the orders of the state, as a rule, the cases will be few in which they do not lose their power in three generations.

2. “When right principles prevail in the kingdom, government will not be in the hands of the Great officers.

3. “When right principles prevail in the kingdom, there will be no discussions among the common people.”

【第三章】孔子曰、祿之去公室、五世矣、政逮於大夫、四世矣、故夫三桓之子孫微矣。

【第四章】孔子曰、益者三友、損者三友、友直、友諒、友多聞、益矣、友便辟、友善柔、友便佞、損矣。

【第五章】孔子曰、益者三樂、損者三樂、樂節禮樂、

Chapter III. Confucius said, “The revenue of the state has left the ducal House now for five generations. The government has been in the hands of the Great officers for four generations. On this account, the descendants of the three Hwan are much reduced.”

Chapter IV. Confucius said, “There are three friendships which are advantageous, and three which are injurious. Friendship with the upright; friendship with the sincere; and friendship with the man of much observation: — these are advantageous. Friendship with the man of specious airs; friendship with the insinuatingly soft; and friendship with the glib-tongued: — these are injurious.”

Chapter V. Confucius said, “There are three things men find enjoyment in which are advantageous, and three things they find enjoyment in which are injurious. To find enjoyment in the discriminating study of ceremonies and music; to find enjoyment in

樂道人之善、樂多賢友、益矣。樂驕樂、樂佚遊、樂宴樂、損矣。

【第六章】孔子曰、侍於君子有三愆、言未及之而言、謂之躁、言及之而不言、謂之隱、未見顏色而言、謂之瞽。

【第七章】孔子曰、君子有三戒、少之時、血氣未定、戒之

speaking of the goodness of others; to find enjoyment in having many worthy friends: — these are advantageous. To find enjoyment in extravagant pleasures; to find enjoyment in idleness and sauntering; to find enjoyment in the pleasures of feasting: — these are injurious."

Chapter VI. Confucius said, "There are three errors to which they who stand in the presence of a man of virtue and station are liable. They may speak when it does not come to them to speak; — this is called rashness. They may not speak when it comes to them to speak; — this is called concealment. They may speak without looking at the countenance of their superior; — this is called blindness."

Chapter VII. Confucius said, "There are three things which the superior man guards against. In youth, when the physical powers

在色、及其壯也、血氣方剛、戒之在鬥、及其老也、血氣既衰、戒之在得。

【第八章】【一節】孔子曰、君子有三畏、畏天命、畏大人、畏聖人之言。【二節】小人不知天命、而不畏也、狎大人、侮聖人之言。

【第九章】孔子曰、生而知之者、上也、學而知之者、次也、

are not yet settled, he guards against lust. When he is strong and the physical powers are full of vigor, he guards against quarrelsomeness. When he is old, and the animal powers are decayed, he guards against covetousness."

Chapter VIII. 1. Confucius said, "There are three things of which the superior man stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven. He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages.

2. "The mean man does not know the ordinances of Heaven, and consequently does not stand in awe of them. He is disrespectful to great men. He makes sport of the words of sages."

Chapter IX. Confucius said, "Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn, and so, readily, get possession of knowledge, are the next.

困而學之、又其次也、困而不學、民斯為下矣。

【第十章】孔子曰、君子有九思、視思明、聽思聰、色思溫、貌思恭、言思忠、事思敬、疑思問、忿思難、見得思義。

【十一章】【一節】孔子曰、見善如不及、見不善而探湯、吾見其人矣、吾聞其語矣。【二節】隱居

Those who are dull and stupid, and yet compass the learning, are another class next to these. As to those who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn; — they are the lowest of the people."

Chapter X. Confucius said, "The superior man has nine things which are subjects with him of thoughtful consideration. In regard to the use of his eyes, he is anxious to see clearly. In regard to the use of his ears, he is anxious to hear distinctly. In regard to his countenance, he is anxious that it should be benign. In regard to his demeanor, he is anxious that it should be respectful. In regard to his speech, he is anxious that it should be sincere. In regard to his doing of business, he is anxious that it should be reverently careful. In regard to what he doubts about, he is anxious to question others. When he is angry, he thinks of the difficulties (his anger may involve him in). When he sees gain to be got, he thinks of righteousness."

Chapter XI. 1. Confucius said, "Contemplating good, and pursuing it, as if they could not reach it; contemplating evil, and shrinking from it, as they would from thrusting the hand into boiling water: — I have seen such men, as I have heard such words.

2. "Living in retirement to study their aims, and practising

以求其志、行義以達其道、吾聞其語矣、未見其人也。

【十二章】【一節】齊景公有馬千駟、死之日、民無德而稱焉、伯夷叔齊、餓于首陽之下、民到于今稱之。【二節】其斯之謂與。

【十三章】【一節】陳亢問於伯魚曰、子亦有異聞乎。【二節】對曰、未也、嘗獨立、鯉趨而過庭、曰、學詩乎。對曰、未也。不學詩、無以言。

righteousness to carry out their principles: — I have heard these words, but I have not seen such men."

Chapter XII. 1. The duke Ching of Ch'i had a thousand teams, each of four horses, but on the day of his death, the people did not praise him for a single virtue. Po-i and Shu-ch'i died of hunger at the foot of the Shau-yang mountain, and the people, down to the present time, praise them.

2. "Is not that saying illustrated by this?"

Chapter XIII. 1. Ch'an K'ang asked Po-yu, saying, "Have you heard any lessons from your father different from what we have all heard?"

2. Po-yu replied, “No. He was standing alone once, when I passed below the hall with hasty steps, and said to me, ‘Have you learned the Odes?’ On my replying ‘Not yet,’ he added, ‘If you do not learn the Odes, you will not be fit to converse with.’ I retired and studied the Odes.

鯉退而學詩。【三節】他日、又獨立、鯉趨而過庭、曰、學禮乎。對曰、未也。不學禮、無以立。鯉退而學禮。【四節】聞斯二者。【五節】陳亢退而喜曰、問一得三、聞詩、聞禮、又聞君子遠其子也。

【十四章】邦君子之妻、君稱之曰夫人、夫人自稱小童、邦人稱之、曰君夫人、稱

3. “Another day, he was in the same way standing alone, when I passed by below the hall with hasty steps, and said to me, “Have you learned the rules of Propriety?” On my replying “Not yet,” he added, “If you do not learn the rules of Propriety, your character cannot be established.” I then retired, and learned the rules of Propriety.

4. “I have heard only these two things from him.”

5. Ch’ang K’ang retired, and, quite delighted, said, “I asked one thing, and I have got three things. I have heard about the Odes. I have heard about the rules of Propriety. I have also heard that the superior man maintains a distant reserve towards his son.”

Chapter XIV. The wife of the prince of a state is called by him fu zan. She calls herself hsiao t’ung. The people of the State call

諸異邦、曰寡小君、異邦人稱之、亦曰君夫人。

her chun fu zan, and, to the people of other States, they call her k’wa hsiao chun. The people of other states also call her chun fu zan.

BOOK XVII.

陽貨第十七

BOOK XVII. YANG HO.

【第一章】【一節】陽貨欲見孔子、孔子不見、歸孔子豚、孔子時其亡也、而往拜之。遇諸塗。【二節】謂孔子曰、來、予與爾言、曰、懷其寶而迷其邦、可謂仁乎。曰、不可。好從

Chapter I. 1. Yang Ho wished to see Confucius, but Confucius would not go to see him. On this, he sent a present of a pig to Confucius, who, having chosen a time when Ho was not at home, went to pay his respects for the gift. He met him, however, on the way.

2. Ho said to Confucius, “Come, let me speak with you.” He then asked, “Can he be called benevolent who keeps his jewel in his

事而亟失時、可謂知乎。曰、不可。日月逝矣、歲不我與。孔子曰、諾、吾將仕矣。

【第二章】子曰、性相近也、習相遠也。

【第三章】子曰、唯上知與下愚不移。

bosom, and leaves his country to confusion?” Confucius replied, “No.” “Can he be called wise, who is anxious to be engaged in public employment, and yet is constantly losing the opportunity of being so?” Confucius again said, “No.” “The days and months are passing away; the years do not wait for us.” Confucius said, “Right; I will go into office.”

Chapter II. The Master said, “By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart.”

Chapter III. The Master said, “There are only the wise of the highest class, and the stupid of the lowest class, who cannot be changed.”

【第四章】【一節】子之武城、聞弦歌之聲。【二節】夫子莞爾而笑曰、割雞焉用牛刀。【三節】子游對曰、昔者偃也、聞諸夫子曰、君子學道則愛人、小人學道則易使也。【四節】子曰、二三子、偃之言是也、前言戲之耳。

【第五章】【一節】公山弗擾以費畔、召、子欲往。【二節】子路不說、曰、末

Chapter IV. 1. The Master, having come to Wu-ch’ang, heard there the sound of stringed instruments and singing.

2. Well pleased and smiling, he said, “Why use an ox knife to kill a fowl?”

3. Tsze-yu replied, “Formerly, Master, I heard you say,— ‘When the man of high station is well instructed, he loves men; when the man of low station is well instructed, he is easily ruled.’”

4. The Master said, “My disciples, Yen’s words are right. What I said was only in sport.”

Chapter V. 1. Kung-shan Fu-zao, when he was holding Pi, and in an attitude of rebellion, invited the Master to visit him, who was rather inclined to go.

2. Tsze-lu was displeased, and said, “Indeed, you cannot go! Why must you think of going to see Kung-shan?”

之也已、何必公山氏之之也。【三節】子曰、末召我者、而豈徒哉、如有用我者、吾其為東周乎。

【第六章】子張問仁於孔子、孔子曰、能行五者於天下為仁矣。請問之、曰、恭、寬、信、敏、惠、恭、則不侮、寬、則得眾、信、則人任焉、敏、則有功、惠、則足以使人。

3. The Master said, “Can it be without some reason that he has invited me? If any one employ me, may I not make an eastern Chau?”

Chapter VI. Tsze-chang asked Confucius about perfect virtue. Confucius said, “To be able to practise five things everywhere under heaven constitutes perfect virtue.” He begged to ask what they were, and was told, “Gravity, generosity of soul, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness. If you are grave, you will not be treated with disrespect. If you are generous, you will win all. If you are sincere, people will repose trust in you. If you are earnest, you will accomplish much. If you are kind, this will enable you to employ the services of others.

【第七章】【一節】佛肸召。子欲往。【二節】子路曰、昔者由也、聞諸夫子曰、親於其身、為不善者、君子不入也、佛肸以中牟畔、子之往也、如之何。【三節】子曰、然、有是言也、不曰堅乎、磨而不磷、不曰白乎、涅而不緇。【四節】吾豈匏瓜也哉、焉能繫而不食。

Chapter VII. 1. Pi Hsi inviting him to visit him, the Master was inclined to go.

2. Tsze-lu said, “Master, formerly I have heard you say, ‘When a man in his own person is guilty of doing evil, a superior man will not associate with him.’ Pi Hsi is in rebellion, holding possession of Chung-mau; if you go to him, what shall be said?”

3. The Master said, “Yes, I did use these words. But is it not said, that, if a thing be really hard, it may be ground without being made thin? Is it not said, that, if a thing be really white, it may be steeped in a dark fluid without being made black?

4. “Am I a bitter gourd! How can I be hung up out of the way of being eaten?”

【第八章】【一節】子曰、由也、女聞六言六蔽矣乎。對曰、未也。【二節】居、吾語女。【三節】好仁不好學、其蔽也愚、好智不好學、其蔽也蕩、好信不好學、其蔽也賊、好直不好學、其蔽也絞、好勇不好學、其蔽也亂、好剛不好學、其蔽也狂。

Chapter VIII. 1. The Master said, “Yu, have you heard the six words to which are attached six becloudings?” Yu replied, “I have not.”

2. “Sit down, and I will tell them to you.

3. “There is the love of being benevolent without the love of learning; — the beclouding here leads to a foolish simplicity. There is the love of knowing without the love of learning; — the beclouding here leads to dissipation of mind. There is the love of being sincere without the love of learning; — the beclouding here leads to an injurious disregard of consequences. There is the love of straightforwardness without the love of learning; — the beclouding here leads to rudeness. There is the love of boldness without the love of learning; — the beclouding here leads to insubordination. There is the love of firmness without the love of learning; — the beclouding here leads to extravagant conduct.”

【第九章】【一節】子曰、小子、何莫學夫詩。【二節】詩可以興。【三節】可以觀。【四節】可以群。【五節】可以怨。【六節】邇之事父、遠之事君。【七節】多識於鳥獸草木之名。

【第十章】子謂伯魚曰、女為周南召南矣乎、人而不為周南召南、其猶正牆面而立也與。

Chapter IX. 1. The Master said, “My children, why do you not study the Book of Poetry?

2. “The Odes serve to stimulate the mind.

3. “They may be used for purposes of self-contemplation.

4. “They teach the art of sociability.

5. “They show how to regulate feelings of resentment.

6. “From them you learn the more immediate duty of serving one’s father, and the remoter one of serving one’s prince.

7. “From them we become largely acquainted with the names of birds, beasts, and plants.”

Chapter X. The Master said to Po-yu, “Do you give yourself to the Chau-nan and the Shao-nan. The man who has not studied the Chau-nan and the Shao-nan, is like one who stands with his face right against a wall. Is he not so?”

【十一章】子曰、禮云禮云、玉帛云乎哉、樂云樂云、鍾鼓云乎哉。

【十二章】子曰、色厲而內荏、譬諸小人、其猶穿窬之盜也與。

【十三章】子曰、鄉原、德之賊也。

【十四章】子曰、道聽而塗說、德之棄也。

Chapter XI. The Master said, “‘It is according to the rules of propriety,’ they say.— ‘It is according to the rules of propriety,’ they say. Are gems and silk all that is meant by propriety? ‘It is music,’ they say.— ‘It is music,’ they say. Are bells and drums all that is meant by music?”

Chapter XII. The Master said, “He who puts on an appearance of stern firmness, while inwardly he is weak, is like one of the small, mean people; — yea, is he not like the thief who breaks through, or climbs over, a wall?”

Chapter XIII. The Master said, “Your good, careful people of the villages are the thieves of virtue.”

Chapter XIV. The Master said, “To tell, as we go along, what we have heard on the way, is to cast away our virtue.”

【十五章】【一節】子曰、鄙夫、可與事君也與哉。【二節】其未得之也、患得之、既得之、患失之。【三節】苟患失之、無所不至矣。

【十六章】【一節】子曰、古者、民有三疾、今也或是之亡也。【二節】古之狂也肆、今之狂也蕩、古之矜也廉、今之矜也忿戾、古之愚也直、今之愚也詐而已矣。

Chapter XV. 1. The Master said, “There are those mean creatures! How impossible it is along with them to serve one’s prince!

2. “While they have not got their aims, their anxiety is how to get them. When they have got them, their anxiety is lest they should lose them.

3. “When they are anxious lest such things should be lost, there is nothing to which they will not proceed.”

Chapter XVI. 1. The Master said, “Anciently, men had three failings, which now perhaps are not to be found.

2. “The high-mindedness of antiquity showed itself in a disregard of small things; the high-mindedness of the present day shows itself in wild license. The stern dignity of antiquity showed itself in grave reserve; the stern dignity of the present day shows itself in quarrelsome perverseness. The stupidity of antiquity showed itself in straightforwardness; the stupidity of the present day shows itself in sheer deceit.”

【十七章】子曰、攻言令色鮮矣仁。

【十八章】子曰、惡紫之奪朱也、惡鄭聲之亂雅樂也、惡利口之覆邦家者。

【十九章】【一節】子曰、予欲無言。子貢曰、子如不言、則小子何述焉。【三節】子曰、天何言哉、四時行焉、百物生焉、天何言哉。

Chapter XVII. The Master said, “Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with virtue.”

Chapter XVIII. The Master said, “I hate the manner in which purple takes away the luster of vermilion. I hate the way in which the songs of Chang confound the music of the Ya. I hate those who with their sharp mouths overthrow kingdoms and families.”

Chapter XIX. 1. The Master said, “I would prefer not speaking.”

2. Tsze-kung said, “If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to record?”

3. The Master said, “Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?”

【二十章】孺悲欲見孔子、孔子辭以疾、將命者出戶、取瑟而歌、使之聞之。

【廿一章】【一節】宰我問、三年之喪期已久矣。【二節】君子三年不為禮、禮必壞、三年不為樂、樂必崩。【三節】舊穀既沒、新穀既升、鑽燧改火、期可已矣。【四節】子曰、食夫稻、衣夫錦、

Chapter XX. Zu Pei wished to see Confucius, but Confucius declined, on the ground of being sick, to see him. When the bearer of this message went out at the door, (the Master) took his lute and sang to it, in order that Pei might hear him.

Chapter XXI. 1. Tsai Wo asked about the three years" mourning for parents, saying that one year was long enough.

2. "If the superior man," said he, "abstains for three years from the observances of propriety, those observances will be quite lost. If for three years he abstains from music, music will be ruined.

3. "Within a year the old grain is exhausted, and the new grain has sprung up, and, in procuring fire by friction, we go through all the changes of wood for that purpose. After a complete year, the mourning may stop."

4. The Master said, "If you were, after a year, to eat good rice, and wear embroidered clothes, would you feel at ease?" "I should," replied Wo.

於女安乎。曰、安。【五節】女安、則為之、夫君子之居喪、食旨不甘、聞樂不樂、居處不安、故不為也、今女安、則為之。【六節】宰我出。子曰、予之不仁也、子生三年、然後免於父母之懷、夫三年之喪、天下之通喪也、予也、有三年之愛於其父母乎。

5. The Master said, "If you can feel at ease, do it. But a superior man, during the whole period of mourning, does not enjoy pleasant food which he may eat, nor derive pleasure from music which he may hear. He also does not feel at ease, if he is comfortably lodged. Therefore he does not do what you propose. But now you feel at ease and may do it."

6. Tsai Wo then went out, and the Master said, "This shows Yu's want of virtue. It is not till a child is three years old that it is allowed to leave the arms of its parents. And the three years" mourning is universally observed throughout the empire. Did Yu enjoy the three years" love of his parents?"

【廿二章】子曰、飽食終日、無所用心、難矣哉、不有博弈者乎、為之猶賢乎已。

【廿三章】子路曰、君子尚勇乎。子曰、君子義以為上、君子有勇而無義、為亂、小人有勇而無義、為盜。

【廿四章】【一節】子貢曰、君子亦有惡乎。子曰、有惡、惡稱人之惡者、惡居下流而訕上

Chapter XXII. The Master said, “Hard is it to deal with him, who will stuff himself with food the whole day, without applying his mind to anything good! Are there not gamesters and chess players? To be one of these would still be better than doing nothing at all.”

Chapter XXIII. Tsze-lu said, “Does the superior man esteem valour?” The Master said, “The superior man holds righteousness to be of highest importance. A man in a superior situation, having valour without righteousness, will be guilty of insubordination; one of the lower people having valour without righteousness, will commit robbery.”

Chapter XXIV. 1. Tsze-kung said, “Has the superior man his hatreds also?” The Master said, “He has his hatreds. He hates those who proclaim the evil of others. He hates the man who,

者、惡勇而無禮者、惡果敢而窒者。【二節】曰、賜也亦有惡乎。惡徼以為知者、惡不孫以為勇者、惡訐以為直者。

【廿五章】子曰、唯女子與小人、為難養也、近之則不孫、遠之則怨。

【廿六章】子曰、年四十而見惡焉、其終也已。

being in a low station, slanders his superiors. He hates those who have valour merely, and are unobservant of propriety. He hates those who are forward and determined, and, at the same time, of contracted understanding.”

2. The Master then inquired, “Ts’ze, have you also your hatreds?” Tsze-kung replied, “I hate those who pry out matters, and ascribe the knowledge to their wisdom. I hate those who are only not modest, and think that they are valourous. I hate those who make known secrets, and think that they are straightforward.”

Chapter XXV. The Master said, “Of all people, girls and servants are the most difficult to behave to. If you are familiar with them, they lose their humility. If you maintain a reserve towards them, they are discontented.”

Chapter XXVI. The Master said, “When a man at forty is the object of dislike, he will always continue what he is.”

BOOK XVIII.

微子第十八

BOOK XVIII. WEI TSZE.

【第一章】【一節】微子去之、箕子為之奴、比干諫而死。【二節】孔子曰、殷有三仁焉。

【第二章】柳下惠為士師、三黜、人曰、子未可以去乎。曰、直道而事人、焉往而不三黜、枉道而事人、何

Chapter I. 1. The Viscount of Wei withdrew from the court. The Viscount of Chi became a slave to Chau. Pi-kan remonstrated with him and died.

2. Confucius said, “The Yin dynasty possessed these three men of virtue.”

Chapter II. Hui of Liu-hsia being chief criminal judge, was thrice dismissed from his office. Some one said to him, “Is it not yet time for you, sir, to leave this?” He replied, “Serving men in an upright way, where shall I go to, and not experience such a thrice-repeated

必去父母之邦。

【第三章】齊景公待孔子、曰、若李氏、則吾不能、以李孟之閒待之。曰、吾老矣、不能用也。孔子行。

【第四章】齊人歸女樂。李桓子受之、三日不朝、孔子行。

【第五章】【一節】楚狂接輿歌而過

dismissal? If I choose to serve men in a crooked way, what necessity is there for me to leave the country of my parents?”

Chapter III. The duke Ching of Ch’i, with reference to the manner in which he should treat Confucius, said, “I cannot treat him as I would the chief of the Chi family. I will treat him in a manner between that accorded to the chief of the Chi, and that given to the chief of the Mang family.” He also said, “I am old; I cannot use his doctrines.” Confucius took his departure.

Chapter IV. The people of Ch’i sent to Lu a present of female musicians, which Chi Hwan received, and for three days no court was held. Confucius took his departure.

Chapter V. 1. The madman of Ch’u, Chieh-yu, passed by Confucius, singing and saying, “o fang! o fang! How is your

孔子、曰、鳳兮鳳兮、何德之衰、往者不可諫、來者猶可追。已而已而、今之從政者殆而。【二節】孔子下、欲與之言。趨而辟之、不得與之言。

【第六章】【一節】長沮桀溺耦而耕。孔子過之、使子路問津焉。【二節】長沮曰、夫執輿者為誰。子路曰、為孔丘。曰、是魯孔丘與。曰、是也。曰、是知津矣。【三節】問於桀

virtue degenerated! As to the past, reproof is useless; but the future may still be provided against. Give up your vain pursuit. Give up your vain pursuit. Peril awaits those who now engage in affairs of government.”

2. Confucius alighted and wished to converse with him, but Chieh-yu hastened away, so that he could not talk with him.

Chapter VI. 1. Ch’ang-tsu and Chieh-ni were at work in the field together, when Confucius passed by them, and sent Tsze-lu to inquire for the ford.

2. Ch’ang-tsu said, “Who is he that holds the reins in the carriage there?” Tsze-lu told him, “It is K’ung Ch’iu.” “Is it not K’ung Ch’iu of Lu?” asked he. “Yes,” was the reply, to which the other rejoined, “He knows the ford.”

3. Tsze-lu then inquired of Chieh-ni, who said to him, “Who

溺。桀溺曰。子為誰。曰、為仲由。曰、是魯孔丘之徒與。對曰、然。曰、滔滔者、天下皆是也、而誰以易之、且而與其從辟人之士也、豈若從辟世之士哉。耰而不輟。【四節】子路行以告、夫子憮然曰、鳥獸不可與同群、吾非斯人之徒與而誰與、天下有道、丘不與易也。

are you, sir?” He answered, “I am Chung Yu.” “Are you not the disciple of K’ung Ch’iu of Lu?” asked the other. “I am,” replied he, and then Chieh-ni said to him, “Disorder, like a swelling flood, spreads over the whole empire, and who is he that will change its state for you? Than follow one who merely withdraws from this one and that one, had you not better follow those who have withdrawn from the world altogether?” With this he fell to covering up the seed, and proceeded with his work, without stopping.

4. Tsze-lu went and reported their remarks, when the Master observed with a sigh, “It is impossible to associate with birds and beasts, as if they were the same with us. If I associate not with these people, — with mankind, — with whom shall I associate? If right principles prevailed through the empire, there would be no use for me to change its state.”

【第七章】【一節】子路從而後、遇丈人、以杖荷蓧。子路問曰、子見夫子乎。丈人曰、四禮不勤、五穀不分、孰為夫子。植其杖而芸。【二節】子路拱而立。【三　節】止子路宿、殺雞為黍而食之、見其二子焉。【四節】明日、子路行以告。子曰、隱者也、使子路反見之、至、則行矣。【五節】子路曰、不仕

Chapter VII. 1. Tsze-lu, following the Master, happened to fall behind, when he met an old man, carrying across his shoulder on a staff a basket for weeds. Tsze-lu said to him, “Have you seen my master, sir!” The old man replied, “Your four limbs are unaccustomed to toil; you cannot distinguish the five kinds of grain: — who is your master?” With this, he planted his staff in the ground, and proceeded to weed.

2. Tsze-lu joined his hands across his breast, and stood before him.

3. The old man kept Tsze-lu to pass the night in his house, killed a fowl, prepared millet, and feasted him. He also introduced to him his two sons.

4. Next day, Tsze-lu went on his way, and reported his adventure. The Master said, “He is a recluse,” and sent Tsze-lu back to see him again, but when he got to the place, the old man was gone.

5. Tsze-lu then said to the family, “Not to take office is not

無義。長幼之節、不可廢也、君臣之義、如之何其廢之、欲潔其身、而亂大倫、君子之仕也、行其義也、道之不行、已知之矣。

【第八章】【一節】逸民、伯夷、叔齊、虞仲、夷逸、朱張、柳下惠、少連。【二節】子曰、不降其志、不辱其身、伯夷叔齊與。【三節】謂柳下惠少連、降志辱身矣、言

righteous. If the relations between old and young may not be neglected, how is it that he sets aside the duties that should be observed between sovereign and minister? Wishing to maintain his personal purity, he allows that great relation to come to confusion. A superior man takes office, and performs the righteous duties belonging to it. As to the failure of right principles to make progress, he is aware of that.”

Chapter VIII. 1. The men who have retired to privacy from the world have been Po-i, Shu-ch’i, Yu-chung, I-yi, Chu-chang, Hui of Liu-hsia, and Shao-lien.

2. The Master said, “Refusing to surrender their wills, or to submit to any taint in their persons; — such, I think, were Po-i and Shu-ch’i.

3. “It may be said of Hui of Liu-hsia, and of Shao-lien, that they surrendered their wills, and submitted to taint in their persons,

中倫、行中慮、其斯而已矣。【四節】謂虞仲夷逸、隱居放言、身中清、廢中權。【五節】我則異於是、無可無不可。

【第九章】【一節】大師摯適齊。【二節】亞飯干適楚。三飯繚適蔡。四飯缺適秦。【三節】鼓方叔、

but their words corresponded with reason, and their actions were such as men are anxious to see. This is all that is to be remarked in them.

4. “It may be said of Yu-chung and I-yi, that, while they hid themselves in their seclusion, they gave a license to their words; but, in their persons, they succeeded in preserving their purity, and, in their retirement, they acted according to the exigency of the times.

5. “I am different from all these. I have no course for which I am predetermined, and no course against which I am predetermined.”

Chapter IX. 1. The grand music master, Chih, went to Ch’i.

2. Kan, the master of the band at the second meal, went to Ch’u. Liao, the band master at the third meal, went to Ts’ai. Chueh, the band master at the fourth meal, went to Ch’in.

3. Fang-shu, the drum master, withdrew to the north of the river.

入於河。播鼗武、入於漢。【五節】少師陽、擊磬襄、入於海。

【第十章】周公謂魯公曰、君子不施其親、不使大臣怨乎不以、故舊無大故、則不棄也、無求備於一人。

【十一章】周有八士、伯達、伯适、仲突、仲忽、叔夜、叔夏、李隨、李騧。

4. Wu, the master of the hand drum, withdrew to the Han.

5. Yang, the assistant music master, and Hsiang, master of the musical stone, withdrew to an island in the sea.

Chapter X. The duke of Chau addressed his son, the duke of Lu, saying, “The virtuous prince does not neglect his relations. He does not cause the great ministers to repine at his not employing them. Without some great cause, he does not dismiss from their offices the members of old families. He does not seek in one man talents for every employment.”

Chapter XI. To Chau belonged the eight officers, Po-ta, Po-kwo, Chung-tu, Chung-hwu, Shu-ya, Shu-hsia, Chi-sui, and Chi-kwa.

BOOK XIX.

子張第十九

BOOK XIX. TSZE-CHANG.

【第一章】子張曰、士、見危致命、見得思義、祭思敬、喪思哀、其可已矣。

【第二章】子張曰、執德不弘、信道不篤、焉能為有、焉能為亡。

Chapter I. Tsze-chang said, “The scholar, trained for public duty, seeing threatening danger, is prepared to sacrifice his life. When the opportunity of gain is presented to him, he thinks of righteousness. In sacrificing, his thoughts are reverential. In mourning, his thoughts are about the grief which he should feel. Such a man commands our approbation indeed.”

Chapter II. Tsze-chang said, “When a man holds fast to virtue, but without seeking to enlarge it, and believes right principles, but without firm sincerity, what account can be made of his existence or non-existence?”

【第三章】子夏之門人問交於子張。子張曰、子夏云何。對曰、子夏曰、可者與之、其不可者拒之。子張曰、異乎吾所聞、君子尊賢而容眾、嘉善而矜不能、我之大賢與、於人何所不容、我之不賢與、人將拒我、如之何其拒人也。

【第四章】子夏曰、雖小道、必有

Chapter III. The disciples of Tsze-hsia asked Tsze-chang about the principles that should characterize mutual intercourse. Tsze-chang asked, “What does Tsze-hsia say on the subject?” They replied, “Tsze-hsia says:— ‘Associate with those who can advantage you. Put away from you those who cannot do so.’” Tsze-chang observed, “This is different from what I have learned. The superior man honours the talented and virtuous, and bears with all. He praises the good, and pities the incompetent. Am I possessed of great talents and virtue? — who is there among men whom I will not bear with? Am I devoid of talents and virtue? — men will put me away from them. What have we to do with the putting away of others?”

Chapter IV. Tsze-hsia said, “Even in inferior studies and employments there is something worth being looked at; but if it be

可觀者焉、致遠恐泥、是以君子不為也。

【第五章】子夏曰、日知其所亡、月無忘其所能、可謂好學也已矣。

【第六章】子夏曰、博學而篤志、切問而近思、仁在其中矣。

【第七章】子夏曰、百工居肆、以成其事、君子學以致其道。

attempted to carry them out to what is remote, there is a danger of their proving inapplicable. Therefore, the superior man does not practise them.”

Chapter V. Tsze-hsia said, “He, who from day to day recognises what he has not yet, and from month to month does not forget what he has attained to, may be said indeed to love to learn.”

Chapter VI. Tsze-hsia said, “There are learning extensively, and having a firm and sincere aim; inquiring with earnestness, and reflecting with self-application: — virtue is in such a course.”

Chapter VII. Tsze-hsia said, “Mechanics have their shops to dwell in, in order to accomplish their works. The superior man learns, in order to reach to the utmost of his principles.”

【第八章】子夏曰、小人之過也、必文。

【第九章】子夏曰、君子有三變、望之儼然、即之也溫、聽其言也厲。

【第十章】子夏曰、君子信而後勞其民、未信、則以為厲己也、信而後諫、未信、則以為謗己也。

【十一章】子夏曰、大德不踰閑、

Chapter VIII. Tsze-hsia said, “The mean man is sure to gloss his faults.”

Chapter IX. Tsze-hsia said, “The superior man undergoes three changes. Looked at from a distance, he appears stern; when approached, he is mild; when he is heard to speak, his language is firm and decided.”

Chapter X. Tsze-hsia said, “The superior man, having obtained their confidence, may then impose labours on his people. If he have not gained their confidence, they will think that he is oppressing them. Having obtained the

confidence of his prince, one may then remonstrate with him. If he have not gained his confidence, the prince will think that he is vilifying him."

Chapter XI. Tsze-hsia said, "When a person does not transgress the boundary line in the great virtues, he may pass and repass it in the small virtues."

小德出入可也。

【十二章】【一節】子游曰、子夏之門人小子、當洒掃、應對、進退、則可矣、抑末也、本之則無、如之何。【二節】子夏聞之曰、噫、言游過矣、君子之道、孰先傳焉、孰後倦焉、譬諸草木、區以別矣、君子之道、焉可誣也、有始有卒者、其惟聖人乎。

Chapter XII. 1. Tsze-yu said, "The disciples and followers of Tsze-hsia, in sprinkling and sweeping the ground, in answering and replying, in advancing and receding, are sufficiently accomplished. But these are only the branches of learning, and they are left ignorant of what is essential. — How can they be acknowledged as sufficiently taught?"

2. Tsze-hsia heard of the remark and said, "Alas! Yen Yu is wrong. According to the way of the superior man in teaching, what departments are there which he considers of prime importance, and delivers? what are there which he considers of secondary importance, and allows himself to be idle about? But as in the case of plants, which are assorted according to their classes, so he deals with his disciples. How can the way of a superior man be such as to make fools of any of them? Is it not the sage alone, who can unite in one the beginning and the consummation of learning?"

【十三章】子夏曰、仕而優則學、學而優則仕。

【十四章】子游曰、喪致乎哀而止。

【十五章】子游曰、吾友張也、為難能也、然而未仁。

【十六章】曾子曰、堂堂乎張也、難與並為仁矣。

【十七章】曾子曰、吾聞諸夫子、人未有自致者也、必也親喪乎。

Chapter XIII. Tsze-hsia said, "The officer, having discharged all his duties, should devote his leisure to learning. The student, having completed his learning, should apply himself to be an officer."

Chapter XIV. Tsze-hsia said, “Mourning, having been carried to the utmost degree of grief, should stop with that.”

Chapter XV. Tsze-hsia said, “My friend Chang can do things which are hard to be done, but yet he is not perfectly virtuous.”

Chapter XVI. The philosopher Tsang said, “How imposing is the manner of Chang! It is difficult along with him to practise virtue.”

Chapter XVII. The philosopher Tsang said, “I heard this from our Master:— ‘Men may not have shown what is in them to the full extent, and yet they will be found to do so, on occasion of mourning for their parents.’”

【十八章】曾子曰、吾聞諸夫子、孟莊子之孝也、其他可能也、其不改父之臣、與父之政、是難能也。

【十九章】孟氏使陽膚為士師、問於曾子。曾子曰、上失其道、民散、久矣、如得其情、則哀矜而勿喜。

【二十章】子貢曰、紂之不善、不如是之甚也、是以君子

Chapter XVIII. The philosopher Tsang said, “I have heard this from our Master:— ‘The filial piety of Mang Chwang, in other matters, was what other men are competent to, but, as seen in his not changing the ministers of his father, nor his father’s mode of government, it is difficult to be attained to.’”

Chapter XIX. The chief of the Mang family having appointed Yang Fu to be chief criminal judge, the latter consulted the philosopher Tsang. Tsang said, “The rulers have failed in their duties, and the people consequently have been disorganised, for a long time. When you have found out the truth of any accusation, be grieved for and pity them, and do not feel joy at your own ability.”

Chapter XX. Tsze-kung said, “Chau’s wickedness was not so great as that name implies. Therefore, the superior man hates to dwell

惡居下流、天下之惡皆歸焉。

【廿一章】子貢曰、君子之過也、如日月之食焉、過也、人皆見之、更也、人皆仰之。

【廿二章】【一節】衛公孫朝問於子貢曰、仲尼焉學。【二節】子貢曰、文武之道、未墜於地、在人、賢者識其大者、不賢者識其小者、莫不有文武之道焉、夫子焉不學、而亦何常師之有、

in a low-lying situation, where all the evil of the world will flow in upon him."

Chapter XXI. Tsze-kung said, "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and moon. He has his faults, and all men see them; he changes again, and all men look up to him."

Chapter XXII. 1. Kung-sun Ch'ao of Wei asked Tsze-kung, saying, "From whom did Chung-ni get his learning?"

2. Tsze-kung replied, "The doctrines of Wan and Wu have not yet fallen to the ground. They are to be found among men. Men of talents and virtue remember the greater principles of them, and others, not possessing such talents and virtue, remember the smaller. Thus, all possess the doctrines of Wan and Wu. Where could our Master go that he should not have an opportunity of learning them? And yet what necessity was there for his having a regular master?"

【廿三章】【一節】叔孫武叔語大夫於朝曰、子貢賢於仲尼。【二節】子服景伯以告子貢。子貢曰、譬之宮牆、賜之牆也、及肩、窺見室家之好。【三節】夫子之牆、數仞、不得其門而入、不見宗廟之美、百官之富。【四節】得其門者或寡矣、夫子之云、不亦宜乎。

Chapter XXIII. 1. Shu-sun Wu-shu observed to the great officers in the court, saying, "Tsze-kung is superior to Chung-ni."

2. Tsze-fu Ching-po reported the observation to Tsze-kung, who said, "Let me use the comparison of a house and its encompassing wall. My wall only reaches to the shoulders. One may peep over it, and see whatever is valuable in the apartments.

3. "The wall of my Master is several fathoms high. If one do not find the door and enter by it, he cannot see the ancestral temple with its beauties, nor all the officers in their rich array.

4. "But I may assume that they are few who find the door. Was not the observation of the chief only what might have been expected?"

【廿四章】叔孫武叔毀仲尼。子貢曰、無以為也、仲尼不可毀也、他人之賢者、丘陵也、猶可踰也、仲尼、日月也、無得而踰焉、人雖欲自絕、其何傷於日月乎、多見其不知量也。

【廿五章】【一節】陳子禽謂子貢曰、子為恭也、仲尼豈賢於子乎。【二節】子貢曰、君子一言以為知、一言以為不知、言不可不慎也。【三節】夫子之

Chapter XXIV. Shu-sun Wu-shu having spoken revilingly of Chung-ni, Tsze-kung said, “It is of no use doing so. Chung-ni cannot be reviled. The talents and virtue of other men are hillocks and mounds which may be stepped over. Chung-ni is the sun or moon, which it is not possible to step over. Although a man may wish to cut himself off from the sage, what harm can he do to the sun or moon? He only shows that he does not know his own capacity.

Chapter XXV. 1. Ch’an Tsze-ch’in, addressing Tsze-kung, said, “You are too modest. How can Chung-ni be said to be superior to you?”

2. Tsze-kung said to him, “For one word a man is often deemed to be wise, and for one word he is often deemed to be foolish. We ought to be careful indeed in what we say.

3. “Our Master cannot be attained to, just in the same way as the heavens cannot be gone up to by the steps of a stair.

不可及也、猶天之不可階而升也。【四節】夫子之得邦家者、所謂立之斯立、道之期行、綏之期來、動之斯和、其生也榮、其死也哀、如之何其可及也。

4. “Were our Master in the position of the ruler of a State or the chief of a Family, we should find verified the description which has been given of a sage’s rule: — he would plant the people, and forthwith they would be established; he would lead them on, and forthwith they would follow him; he would make them happy, and forthwith multitudes would resort to his dominions; he would stimulate them, and forthwith they would be harmonious. While he lived, he would be glorious. When he died, he would be bitterly lamented. How is it possible for him to be attained to?”

BOOK XX.

堯曰第二十

BOOK XX. YAO YUEH.

【第一章】【一節】堯曰、咨、爾舜、天之曆數在爾躬、允執其中、四海困窮、天祿永終。【二節】舜亦以命禹。【三節】曰、予小子履、敢用玄牡、敢昭告于皇皇后帝、有罪不敢赦、帝臣不蔽、簡在帝心、朕躬有罪、無以萬方、萬方有罪、

Chapter I. 1. Yao said, “Oh! you, Shun, the Heaven-determined order of succession now rests in your person. Sincerely hold fast the due Mean. If there shall be distress and want within the four seas, the Heavenly revenue will come to a perpetual end.”

2. Shun also used the same language in giving charge to Yu.

3. T’ang said, “I the child Li, presume to use a dark-coloured victim, and presume to announce to Thee, O most great and sovereign God, that the sinner I dare not pardon, and thy ministers, O God, I do not keep in obscurity. The examination of them is by thy mind, O God. If, in my person, I commit offences, they are not to be attributed to you, the people of the myriad regions. If you in the myriad regions commit offences, these offences must rest on my person.”

罪在朕躬。【四節】周有大賚、善人是富。【五節】雖有周親、不如仁人、百姓有過、在予一人。【六節】謹權量、審法度、修廢官、四方之政行焉。【七節】興滅 國、繼絕世、舉逸民、天下之民歸心焉。【八節】所重民、食、喪、祭。【九節】寬則得眾、信、則民任焉、敏、則有功、公則說。

4. Chau conferred great gifts, and the good were enriched.

5. “Although he has his near relatives, they are not equal to my virtuous men. The people are throwing blame upon me, the One man.”

6. He carefully attended to the weights and measures, examined the body of the laws, restored the discarded officers, and the good government of the kingdom took its course.

7. He revived States that had been extinguished, restored families whose line of succession had been broken, and called to office those who had retired into

obscurity, so that throughout the kingdom the hearts of the people turned towards him.

8. What he attached chief importance to, were the food of the people, the duties of mourning, and sacrifices.

9. By his generosity, he won all. By his sincerity, he made the people repose trust in him. By his earnest activity, his achievements were great. By his justice, all were delighted.

【第二章】【一節】子張問於孔子曰、何如、斯可以從政矣。子曰、尊五美、屏四惡、斯可以從政矣。子張曰、何謂五美。子曰、君子惠、而不費、勞、而不怨、欲、而不貪、泰、而不驕、威、而不猛。【二節】子張曰、何謂惠而不費。子曰、因民之所利而利之、

Chapter II. 1. Tsze-chang asked Confucius, saying, “In what way should a person in authority act in order that he may conduct government properly?” The Master replied, “Let him honour the five excellent, and banish away the four bad, things; — then may he conduct government properly.” Tsze-chang said, “What are meant by the five excellent things?” The Master said, “When the person in authority is beneficent without great expenditure; when he lays tasks on the people without their repining; when he pursues what he desires without being covetous; when he maintains a dignified ease without being proud; when he is majestic without being fierce.”

2. Tsze-chang said, “What is meant by being beneficent without great expenditure?” The Master replied, “When the person in authority makes more beneficial to the people the things from which

斯不亦惠而不費乎、擇可勞而勞之、又誰怨、欲仁而得仁、又焉貪、君子無眾寡、無小大、無敢慢、斯不亦泰而不驕乎、君子正其衣冠、尊其瞻視、儼然人望而畏之、斯不亦威而不猛乎。【三節】子張曰、何謂四惡。子曰、不教而殺、謂之虐、不戒視成、謂之暴、慢令致期、謂之賊、猶

they naturally derive benefit; — is not this being beneficent without great expenditure? When he chooses the labours which are proper, and makes them labour on them, who will repine? When his desires are set on benevolent government, and he secures it, who will accuse him of covetousness? Whether he has to do with many people or few, or with things great or small, he does not dare to indicate any disrespect; — is not this to maintain a dignified ease without any pride? He adjusts his clothes and cap, and throws a dignity into his looks, so

that, thus dignified, he is looked at with awe; — is not this to be majestic without being fierce?”

3. Tsze-chang then asked, “What are meant by the four bad things?” The Master said, “To put the people to death without having instructed them; — this is called cruelty. To require from them, suddenly, the full tale of work, without having given them warning; — this is called oppression. To issue orders as if without urgency, at first, and, when the time comes, to insist on them with severity; — this is called injury. And, generally, in the giving pay

之與人也、出納之吝、謂之有司。

【第三章】【一節】子曰、不知命、無以為君子也。【二節】不知禮、無以立也。【三節】不知言、無以知人也。

or rewards to men, to do it in a stingy way; — this is called acting the part of a mere official.”

Chapter III. 1. The Master said, “Without recognising the ordinances of Heaven, it is impossible to be a superior man.

2. “Without an acquaintance with the rules of Propriety, it is impossible for the character to be established.

3. “Without knowing the force of words, it is impossible to know men.”

WILLIAM JENNINGS TRANSLATION

PRONUNCIATION OF PROPER NAMES

j, as in French. *ng*, commencing a word, like the same letters terminating one. *ai* or *ei*, as in *aisle* or *eider*. *au*, as in German, or like *ow* in *cow*. *é*, as in *fęte*. *i* (not followed by a consonant), as *ee* in *see*. *u* (followed by a consonant), as in *bull*. *iu*, as *ew* in *new*. *ui*, as *ooi* in *cooing*. *h* at the end of a name makes the preceding vowel short. *i* in the middle of a word denotes an aspirate (*h*), as *K'ung*=Khung.

INTRODUCTION

The strangest figure that meets us in the annals of Oriental thought is that of Confucius. To the popular mind he is the founder of a religion, and yet he has nothing in common with the great religious teachers of the East. We think of Siddartha, the founder of Buddhism, as the very impersonation of romantic asceticism, enthusiastic self-sacrifice, and faith in the things that are invisible. Zoroaster is the friend of God, talking face to face with the Almighty, and drinking wisdom and knowledge from the lips of Omniscience. Mohammed is represented as snatched up into heaven, where he receives the Divine communication which he is bidden to propagate with fire and sword throughout the world. These great teachers lived in an atmosphere of the supernatural. They spoke with the authority of inspired prophets. They brought the unseen world close to the minds of their disciples. They spoke positively of immortality, of reward or punishment beyond the grave. The present life they despised, the future was to them everything in its promised satisfaction. The teachings of Confucius were of a very different sort. Throughout his whole writings he has not even mentioned the name of God. He declined to discuss the question of immortality. When he was asked about spiritual beings, he remarked, “If we cannot even know men, how can we know spirits?”

Yet this was the man the impress of whose teaching has formed the national character of five hundred millions of people. A temple to Confucius stands to this day in every town and village of China. His precepts are committed to memory by every child from the tenderest age, and each year at the royal university at Pekin the Emperor holds a festival in honor of the illustrious teacher.

The influence of Confucius springs, first of all, from the narrowness and definiteness of his doctrine. He was no transcendentalist, and never meddled with supramundane things. His teaching was of the earth, earthy; it dealt entirely with the common relations of life, and the Golden Rule he must necessarily have stumbled upon, as the most obvious canon of his system. He strikes us as being the great Stoic of the East, for he believed that virtue was based on knowledge, knowledge of a man’s own heart, and knowledge of human-kind. There is a pathetic resemblance between the accounts given of the death of Confucius and the death of Zeno. Both died almost without warning in dreary hopelessness, without the ministrations of either love or religion. This may be a mere coincidence, but the lives and teachings of both men must have led them to look with indifference upon such an end. For Confucius in his teaching treated only of

man's life on earth, and seems to have had no ideas with regard to the human lot after death; if he had any ideas he preserved an inscrutable silence about them. As a moralist he prescribed the duties of the king and of the father, and advocated the cultivation by the individual man of that rest or apathy of mind which resembles so much the disposition aimed at by the Greek and Roman Stoic. Even as a moralist, he seems to have sacrificed the ideal to the practical, and his loose notions about marriage, his tolerance of concubinage, the slight emphasis which he lays on the virtue of veracity — of which indeed he does not seem himself to have been particularly studious in his historic writings — place him low down in the rank of moralists. Yet he taught what he felt the people could receive, and the flat mediocrity of his character and his teachings has been stamped forever upon a people who, while they are kindly, gentle, forbearing, and full of family piety, are palpably lacking not only in the exaltation of Mysticism, but in any religious feeling, generally so-called.

The second reason that made the teaching of Confucius so influential is based on the circumstances of the time. When this thoughtful, earnest youth awoke to the consciousness of life about him, he saw that the abuses under which the people groaned sprang from the feudal system, which cut up the country into separate territories, over which the power of the king had no control. China was in the position of France in the years preceding Philippe-Auguste, excepting that there were no places of sanctuary and no Truce of God. The great doctrine of Confucius was the unlimited despotism of the Emperor, and his moral precepts were intended to teach the Emperor how to use his power aright. But the Emperor was only typical of all those in authority — the feudal duke, the judge on the bench, and the father of the family. Each could discharge his duties aright only by submitting to the moral discipline which Confucius prescribed. A vital element in this system is its conservatism, its adherence to the imperial idea. As James I said, "No bishop, no king," so the imperialists of China have found in Confucianism the strongest basis for the throne, and have supported its dissemination accordingly.

The Analects of Confucius contain the gist of his teachings, and is worthy of study. We find in this work most of the precepts which his disciples have preserved and recorded. They form a code remarkable for simplicity, even crudity, and we are compelled to admire the force of character, the practical sagacity, the insight into the needs of the hour, which enabled Confucius, without claiming any Divine sanction, to impose this system upon his countrymen.

The name Confucius is only the Latinized form of two words which mean "Master K'ung." He was born 551 B.C., his father being governor of Shantung.

He was married at nineteen, and seems to have occupied some minor position under the government. In his twenty-fourth year he entered upon the three years' mourning for the death of his mother. His seclusion gave him time for deep thought and the study of history, and he resolved upon the regeneration of his unhappy country. By the time he was thirty he became known as a great teacher, and disciples flocked to him. But he was yet occupied in public duties, and rose through successive stages to the office of Chief Judge in his own country of Lu. His tenure of office is said to have put an end to crime, and he became the "idol of the people" in his district. The jealousy of the feudal lords was roused by his fame as a moral teacher and a blameless judge. Confucius was driven from his home, and wandered about, with a few disciples, until his sixty-ninth year, when he returned to Lu, after accomplishing a work which has borne fruit, such as it is, to the present day. He spent the remaining five years of his life in editing the odes and historic monuments in which the glories of the ancient Chinese dynasty are set forth. He died in his seventy-third year, 478 B.C. There can be no doubt that the success of Confucius has been singularly great, owing especially to the narrow scope of his scheme, which has become crystallized in the habits, usages, and customs of the people. Especially has it been instrumental in consolidating the empire, and in strengthening the power of the monarch, who, as he every year burns incense in the red-walled temple at Pekin, utters sincerely the invocation: "Great art thou, O perfect Sage! Thy virtue is full, thy doctrine complete. Among mortal men there has not been thine equal. All kings honor thee. Thy statutes and laws have come gloriously down. Thou art the pattern in this imperial school. Reverently have the sacrificial vessels been set out. Full of awe, we sound our drums and bells."

E. W.

BOOK I

On Learning — Miscellaneous Sayings:

"To learn," said the Master, "and then to practise opportunely what one has learnt — does not this bring with it a sense of satisfaction?

"To have associates in study coming to one from distant parts — does not this also mean pleasure in store?

"And are not those who, while not comprehending all that is said, still remain not unpleased to hear, men of the superior order?"

A saying of the Scholar Yu:

"It is rarely the case that those who act the part of true men in regard to their duty to parents and elder brothers are at the same time willing to turn currishly upon their superiors: it has never yet been the case that such as desire not to commit that offence have been men willing to promote anarchy or disorder.

"Men of superior mind busy themselves first in getting at the root of things; and when they have succeeded in this the right course is open to them. Well, are not filial piety and friendly subordination among brothers a root of that right feeling which is owing generally from man to man?"

The Master observed, "Rarely do we meet with the right feeling due from one man to another where there is fine speech and studied mien."

The Scholar Tsang once said of himself: "On three points I examine myself daily, viz., whether, in looking after other people's interests, I have not been acting whole-heartedly; whether, in my intercourse with friends, I have not been true; and whether, after teaching, I have not myself been practising what I have taught."

The Master once observed that to rule well one of the larger States meant strict attention to its affairs and conscientiousness on the part of the ruler; careful husbanding of its resources, with at the same time a tender care for the interests of all classes; and the employing of the masses in the public service at suitable seasons.

"Let young people," said he, "show filial piety at home, respectfulness towards their elders when away from home; let them be circumspect, be truthful; their love going out freely towards all, cultivating good-will to men. And if, in such a walk, there be time or energy left for other things, let them employ it in the acquisition of literary or artistic accomplishments."

The disciple Tsz-hiá said, "The appreciation of worth in men of worth, thus diverting the mind from lascivious desires — ministering to parents while one is

the most capable of so doing — serving one's ruler when one is able to devote himself entirely to that object — being sincere in one's language in intercourse with friends: this I certainly must call evidence of learning, though others may say there has been 'no learning.'"

Sayings of the Master:

"If the great man be not grave, he will not be revered, neither can his learning be solid.

"Give prominent place to loyalty and sincerity.

"Have no associates in study who are not advanced somewhat like yourself.

"When you have erred, be not afraid to correct yourself."

A saying of the Scholar Tsang:

"The virtue of the people is renewed and enriched when attention is seen to be paid to the departed, and the remembrance of distant ancestors kept and cherished."

Tsz-k'in put this query to his fellow disciple Tsz-kung: said he, "When our Master comes to this or that State, he learns without fail how it is being governed. Does he investigate matters? or are the facts given him?"

Tsz-kung answered, "Our Master is a man of pleasant manners, and of probity, courteous, moderate, and unassuming: it is by his being such that he arrives at the facts. Is not his way of arriving at things different from that of others?"

A saying of the Master:

"He who, after three years' observation of the will of his father when alive, or of his past conduct if dead, does not deviate from that father's ways, is entitled to be called 'a dutiful son.'"

Sayings of the Scholar Yu:

"For the practice of the Rules of Propriety, one excellent way is to be natural. This naturalness became a great grace in the practice of kings of former times; let everyone, small or great, follow their example.

"It is not, however, always practicable; and it is not so in the case of a person who does things naturally, knowing that he should act so, and yet who neglects to regulate his acts according to the Rules.

"When truth and right are hand in hand, a statement will bear repetition. When respectfulness and propriety go hand in hand, disgrace and shame are kept afar-off. Remove all occasion for alienating those to whom you are bound by close ties, and you have them still to resort to."

A saying of the Master:

"The man of greater mind who, when he is eating, craves not to eat to the full; who has a home, but craves not for comforts in it; who is active and earnest in

his work and careful in his words; who makes towards men of high principle, and so maintains his own rectitude — that man may be styled a devoted student."

Tsz-kung asked, "What say you, sir, of the poor who do not cringe and fawn; and what of the rich who are without pride and haughtiness?" "They are passable," the Master replied; "yet they are scarcely in the same category as the poor who are happy, and the rich who love propriety."

"In the 'Book of the Odes,'" Tsz-kung went on to say, "we read of one

Polished, as by the knife and file,
The graving-tool, the smoothing-stone.

Does that coincide with your remark?"

"Ah! such as you," replied the Master, "may well commence a discussion on the Odes. If one tell you how a thing goes, you know what ought to come."

"It does not greatly concern me," said the Master, "that men do not know me; my great concern is, my not knowing them."

[Footnote 1: An important part of a Chinaman's education still. The text-book, "The Li Ki," contains rules for behavior and propriety for the whole life, from the cradle to the grave.]

BOOK II

Good Government — Filial Piety — The Superior Man

Sayings of the Master:

"Let a ruler base his government upon virtuous principles, and he will be like the pole-star, which remains steadfast in its place, while all the host of stars turn towards it.

"The 'Book of Odes' contains three hundred pieces, but one expression in it may be taken as covering the purport of all, viz., Unswerving mindfulness.

"To govern simply by statute, and to reduce all to order by means of pains and penalties, is to render the people evasive, and devoid of any sense of shame.

"To govern upon principles of virtue, and to reduce them to order by the Rules of Propriety, would not only create in them the sense of shame, but would moreover reach them in all their errors.

"When I attained the age of fifteen, I became bent upon study. At thirty, I was a confirmed student. At forty, nought could move me from my course. At fifty, I comprehended the will and decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ears were attuned to them. At seventy, I could follow my heart's desires, without overstepping the lines of rectitude."

To a question of Mang-i, as to what filial piety consisted in, the master replied, "In not being perverse." Afterwards, when Fan Ch'i was driving him, the Master informed him of this question and answer, and Fan Ch'i asked, "What was your meaning?" The Master replied, "I meant that the Rules of Propriety should always be adhered to in regard to those who brought us into the world: in ministering to them while living, in burying them when dead, and afterwards in the offering to them of sacrificial gifts."

To a query of Mang Wu respecting filial piety, the Master replied,
"Parents ought to bear but one trouble — that of their own sickness."

To a like question put by Tsz-yu, his reply was this: "The filial piety of the present day simply means the being able to support one's parents — which extends even to the case of dogs and horses, all of which may have something to give in the way of support. If there be no reverential feeling in the matter, what is there to distinguish between the cases?"

To a like question of Tsz-hia, he replied: "The manner is the difficulty. If, in the case of work to be done, the younger folks simply take upon themselves the

toil of it; or if, in the matter of meat and drink, they simply set these before their elders — is this to be taken as filial piety?"

Once the Master remarked, "I have conversed with Hwúi the whole day long, and he has controverted nothing that I have said, as if he were without wits. But when his back was turned, and I looked attentively at his conduct apart from me, I found it satisfactory in all its issues. No, indeed! Hwúi is not without his wits."

Other observations of the Master:

"If you observe what things people (usually) take in hand, watch their motives, and note particularly what it is that gives them satisfaction, shall they be able to conceal from you what they are? Conceal themselves, indeed!

"Be versed in ancient lore, and familiarize yourself with the modern; then may you become teachers.

"The great man is not a mere receptacle."

In reply to Tsz-kung respecting the great man:

"What he first says, as a result of his experience, he afterwards follows up.

"The great man is catholic-minded, and not one-sided. The common man is the reverse.

"Learning, without thought, is a snare; thought, without learning, is a danger.

"Where the mind is set much upon heterodox principles — there truly and indeed is harm."

To the disciple Tsz-lu the Master said, "Shall I give you a lesson about knowledge? When you know a thing, maintain that you know it; and when you do not, acknowledge your ignorance. This is characteristic of knowledge."

Tsz-chang was studying with an eye to official income. The Master addressed him thus: "Of the many things you hear hold aloof from those that are doubtful, and speak guardedly with reference to the rest; your mistakes will then be few. Also, of the many courses you see adopted, hold aloof from those that are risky, and carefully follow the others; you will then seldom have occasion for regret. Thus, being seldom mistaken in your utterances, and having few occasions for regret in the line you take, you are on the high road to your preferment."

To a question put to him by Duke Ngai as to what should be done in order to render the people submissive to authority, Confucius replied, "Promote the straightforward, and reject those whose courses are crooked, and the thing will be effected. Promote the crooked and reject the straightforward, and the effect will be the reverse."

When Ki K'ang asked of him how the people could be induced to show respect, loyalty, and willingness to be led, the Master answered, "Let there be grave dignity in him who has the oversight of them, and they will show him respect; let him be seen to be good to his own parents, and kindly in disposition,

and they will be loyal to him; let him promote those who have ability, and see to the instruction of those who have it not, and they will be willing to be led."

Some one, speaking to Confucius, inquired, "Why, sir, are you not an administrator of government?" The Master rejoined, "What says the 'Book of the Annals,' with reference to filial duty?— 'Make it a point to be dutiful to your parents and amicable with your brethren; the same duties extend to an administrator.' If these, then, also make an administrator, how am I to take your words about being an administrator?"

On one occasion the Master remarked, "I know not what men are good for, on whose word no reliance can be placed. How should your carriages, large or little, get along without your whipple-trees or swing-trees?"

Tsz-chang asked if it were possible to forecast the state of the country ten generations hence. The Master replied in this manner: "The Yin dynasty adopted the rules and manners of the Hiá line of kings, and it is possible to tell whether it retrograded or advanced. The Chow line has followed the Yin, adopting its ways, and whether there has been deterioration or improvement may also be determined. Some other line may take up in turn those of Chow; and supposing even this process to go on for a hundred generations, the result may be known."

Other sayings of the Master:

"It is but flattery to make sacrificial offerings to departed spirits not belonging to one's own family.

"It is moral cowardice to leave undone what one perceives to be right to do."

[Footnote 2: Of Lu (Confucius's native State).]

[Footnote 3: Head of one of the "Three Families" of Lu.]

BOOK III

Abuse of Proprieties in Ceremonial and Music

Alluding to the head of the Ki family, and the eight lines of posturers before their ancestral hall, Confucius remarked, “If the Ki can allow himself to go to this extent, to what extent will he not allow himself to go?”

The Three Families were in the habit, during the Removal of the sacred vessels after sacrifice, of using the hymn commencing,

“Harmoniously the Princes
Draw near with reverent tread,
Assisting in his worship
Heaven’s Son, the great and dread.”

“How,” exclaimed the Master, “can such words be appropriated in the ancestral hall of the Three Families?”

“Where a man,” said he again, “has not the proper feelings due from one man to another, how will he stand as regards the Rules of Propriety? And in such a case, what shall we say of his sense of harmony?”

On a question being put to him by Lin Fang, a disciple, as to what was the radical idea upon which the Rules of Propriety were based, the Master exclaimed, “Ah! that is a large question. As to some rules, where there is likelihood of extravagance, they would rather demand economy; in those which relate to mourning, and where there is likelihood of being easily satisfied, what is wanted is real sorrow.”

Speaking of the disorder of the times he remarked that while the barbarians on the North and East had their Chieftains, we here in this great country had nothing to compare with them in that respect: — we had lost these distinctions!

Alluding to the matter of the Chief of the Ki family worshipping on Tai-shan, the Master said to Yen Yu, “Cannot you save him from this?” He replied, “It is beyond my power.” “Alas, alas!” exclaimed the Master, “are we to say that the spirits of T’ai-shan have not as much discernment as Lin Fang?”

Of “the superior man,” the Master observed, “In him there is no contentiousness. Say even that he does certainly contend with others, as in archery competitions; yet mark, in that case, how courteously he will bow and go up for the forfeit-cup, and come down again and give it to his competitor. In his very contest he is still the superior man.”

Tsz-hiá once inquired what inference might be drawn from the lines

"Dimples playing in witching smile,
Beautiful eyes, so dark, so bright!
Oh, and her face may be thought the while
Colored by art, red rose on white!"

"Coloring," replied the Master, "requires a pure and clear background." "Then," said the other, "rules of ceremony require to have a background!" "Ah!" exclaimed the Master, "you are the man to catch the drift of my thought. Such as you may well introduce a discussion on the Odes."

Said the Master, "As regards the ceremonial adopted and enforced by the Hiá dynasty, I am able to describe it, although their own descendants in the State of Ki can adduce no adequate testimony in favor of its use there. So, too, I am able to describe the ceremonial of the Yin dynasty, although no more can the Sung people show sufficient reason for its continuance amongst themselves. And why cannot they do so? Because they have not documents enough, nor men learned enough. If only they had such, I could refer them to them in support of their usages.

"When I am present at the great quinquennial sacrifice to the *manes* of the royal ancestors," the Master said, "from the pouring-out of the oblation onwards, I have no heart to look on."

Some one asked what was the purport of this great sacrifice, and the Master replied, "I cannot tell. The position in the empire of him who could tell you is as evident as when you look at this" — pointing to the palm of his hand.

When he offered sacrifices to his ancestors, he used to act as if they were present before him. In offering to other spirits it was the same.

He would say, "If I do not myself take part in my offerings, it is all the same as if I did not offer them."

Wang-sun Kiá asked him once, "What says the proverb, 'Better to court favor in the kitchen than in the drawing-room'?" The Master replied, "Nay, better say, He who has sinned against Heaven has none other to whom prayer may be addressed."

Of the Chow dynasty the Master remarked, "It looks back upon two other dynasties; and what a rich possession it has in its records of those times! I follow Chow!"

On his first entry into the grand temple, he inquired about every matter connected with its usages. Some one thereupon remarked, "Who says that the son of the man of Tsou understands about ceremonial? On entering the grand

temple he inquired about everything." This remark coming to the Master's ears, he said, "What I did is part of the ceremonial!"

"In archery," he said, "the great point to be observed is not simply the perforation of the leather; for men have not all the same strength. That was the fashion in the olden days."

Once, seeing that his disciple Tsz-kung was desirous that the ceremonial observance of offering a sheep at the new moon might be dispensed with, the Master said, "Ah! you grudge the loss of the sheep; I grudge the loss of the ceremony."

"To serve one's ruler nowadays," he remarked, "fully complying with the Rules of Propriety, is regarded by others as toadyism!"

When Duke Ting questioned him as to how a prince should deal with his ministers, and how they in turn should serve their prince, Confucius said in reply, "In dealing with his ministers a prince should observe the proprieties; in serving his prince a minister should observe the duty of loyalty."

Referring to the First of the Odes, he remarked that it was mirthful without being lewd, and sad also without being painful.

Duke Ngai asked the disciple Tsai Wo respecting the places for sacrificing to the Earth. The latter replied, "The Family of the Great Yu, of the Hiá dynasty, chose a place of pine trees; the Yin founders chose cypresses; and the Chow founders chestnut trees, solemn and majestic, to inspire, 'tis said, the people with feelings of awe."

The Master on hearing of this exclaimed, "Never an allusion to things that have been enacted in the past! Never a remonstrance against what is now going on! He has gone away without a word of censure."

The Master once said of Kwan Chung, "A small-minded man indeed!"

"Was he miserly?" some one asked.

"Miserly, indeed!" said he; "not that: he married three rimes, and he was not a man who restricted his official business to too few hands — how could he be miserly?"

"He knew the Rules of Propriety, I suppose?"

"Judge: — Seeing that the feudal lords planted a screen at their gates, he too would have one at his! Seeing that when any two of the feudal lords met in friendly conclave they had an earthenware stand on which to place their inverted cups after drinking, he must have the same! If he knew the Rules of Propriety, who is there that does not know them?"

In a discourse to the Chief Preceptor of Music at the court of Lu, the Master said, “Music is an intelligible thing. When you begin a performance, let all the various instruments produce as it were one sound (inharmonious); then, as you go on, bring out the harmony fully, distinctly, and with uninterrupted flow, unto the end.”

The warden of the border-town of I requested an interview with Confucius, and said, “When great men have come here, I have never yet failed to obtain a sight of them.” The followers introduced him; and, on leaving, he said to them, “Sirs, why grieve at his loss of office? The empire has for long been without good government; and Heaven is about to use your master as its edict-announcer.”

Comparing the music of the emperor Shun with the music of King Wu, the Master said, “That of Shun is beautiful throughout, and also good throughout. That of Wu is all of it beautiful, but scarcely all of it good.”

“High station,” said the Master, “occupied by men who have no large and generous heart; ceremonial performed with no reverence; duties of mourning engaging the attention, where there is absence of sorrow; — how should I look on, where this is the state of things?”

[Footnote 4: The Chief of the Ki clan was virtually the Duke of Lu, under whom Confucius for a time held office.]

[Footnote 5: These posturers were mutes who took part in the ritual of the ancestral temple, waving plumes, flags, *etc.* Each line or rank of these contained eight men. Only in the sovereign’s household should there have been eight lines of them; a ducal family like the Ki should have had but six lines; a great official had four, and one of lower grade two. These were the gradations marking the status of families, and Confucius’s sense of propriety was offended at the Ki’s usurping in this way the appearance of royalty.]

[Footnote 6: Three great families related to each other, in whose hands the government of the State of Lu then was, and of which the Ki was the chief.]

[Footnote 7: One of the five sacred mountains, worshipped upon only by the sovereign.]

[Footnote 8: Tsou was Confucius’s birthplace; his father was governor of the town.]

[Footnote 9: A renowned statesman who flourished about two hundred years before Confucius’s time. A philosophical work on law and government, said to have been written by him, is still extant. He was regarded as a sage by the people, but he lacked, in Confucius’s eyes, the one thing needful — propriety.]

BOOK IV

Social Virtue — Superior and Inferior Man

Sayings of the Master:

"It is social good feeling that gives charm to a neighborhood. And where is the wisdom of those who choose an abode where it does not abide?

"Those who are without it cannot abide long, either in straitened or in happy circumstances. Those who possess it find contentment in it. Those who are wise go after it as men go after gain.

"Only they in whom it exists can have right likings and dislikings for others.

"Where the will is set upon it, there will be no room for malpractices.

"Riches and honor are what men desire; but if they arrive at them by improper ways, they should not continue to hold them. Poverty and low estate are what men dislike; but if they arrive at such a condition by improper ways, they should not refuse it.

"If the 'superior man' make nought of social good feeling, how shall he fully bear that name?

"Not even whilst he eats his meal will the 'superior man' forget what he owes to his fellow-men. Even in hurried leave-takings, even in moments of frantic confusion, he keeps true to this virtue.

"I have not yet seen a lover of philanthropy, nor a hater of misanthropy — such, that the former did not take occasion to magnify that virtue in himself, and that the latter, in his positive practice of philanthropy, did not, at times, allow in his presence something savoring of misanthropy.

"Say you, is there any one who is able for one whole day to apply the energy of his mind to this virtue? Well, I have not seen any one whose energy was not equal to it. It may be there are such, but I have never met with them.

"The faults of individuals are peculiar to their particular class and surroundings; and it is by observing their faults that one comes to understand the condition of their good feelings towards their fellows.

"One may hear the right way in the morning, and at evening die.

"The scholar who is intent upon learning the right way, and who is yet ashamed of poor attire and poor food, is not worthy of being discoursed with.

"The masterly man's attitude to the world is not exclusively this or that: whatsoever is right, to that he will be a party.

"The masterly man has an eye to virtue, the common man, to earthly things; the former has an eye to penalties for error — the latter, to favor.

"Where there is habitual going after gain, there is much ill-will.

"When there is ability in a ruler to govern a country by adhering to the Rules of Propriety, and by kindly condescension, what is wanted more? Where the ability to govern thus is wanting, what has such a ruler to do with the Rules of Propriety?

"One should not be greatly concerned at not being in office; but rather about the requirements in one's self for such a standing. Neither should one be so much concerned at being unknown; but rather with seeking to become worthy of being known."

Addressing his disciple Tsang Sin, the Master said, "Tsang Sin, the principles which I inculcate have one main idea upon which they all hang." "Aye, surely," he replied.

When the Master was gone out the other disciples asked what was the purport of this remark. Tsang's answer was, "The principles of our Master's teaching are these — whole-heartedness and kindly forbearance; these and nothing more."

Other observations of the Master:

"Men of loftier mind manifest themselves in their equitable dealings; small-minded men in their going after gain.

"When you meet with men of worth, think how you may attain to their level; when you see others of an opposite character, look within, and examine yourself.

"A son, in ministering to his parents, may (on occasion) offer gentle remonstrances; when he sees that their will is not to heed such, he should nevertheless still continue to show them reverent respect, never obstinacy; and if he have to suffer, let him do so without murmuring.

"Whilst the parents are still living, he should not wander far; or, if a wanderer, he should at least have some fixed address.

"If for three years he do not veer from the principles of his father, he may be called a dutiful son.

"A son should not ignore the years of his parents. On the one hand, they may be a matter for rejoicing (that they have been so many), and on the other, for apprehension (that so few remain).

"People in olden times were loth to speak out, fearing the disgrace of not being themselves as good as their words.

"Those who keep within restraints are seldom losers.

"To be slow to speak, but prompt to act, is the desire of the 'superior man.'

"Virtue dwells not alone: she must have neighbors."

An observation of Tsz-yu:— “Officiousness, in the service of princes, leads to disgrace: among friends, to estrangement.”

BOOK V

A Disciple and the Golden Rule — Miscellaneous

The Master pronounced Kung-ye Ch'ang, a disciple, to be a marriageable person; for although lying bound in criminal fetters he had committed no crime. And he gave him his own daughter to wife.

Of Nan Yung, a disciple, he observed, that in a State where the government was well conducted he would not be passed over in its appointments, and in one where the government was ill conducted he would evade punishment and disgrace. And he caused his elder brother's daughter to be given in marriage to him.

Of Tsz-tsien, a disciple, he remarked, "A superior man indeed is the like of him! But had there been none of superior quality in Lu, how should this man have attained to this excellence?"

Tsz-kung asked, "What of me, then?" "You," replied the Master— "You are a receptacle." "Of what sort?" said he. "One for high and sacred use," was the answer.

Some one having observed of Yen Yung that he was good-natured towards others, but that he lacked the gift of ready speech, the Master said, "What need of that gift? To stand up before men and pour forth a stream of glib words is generally to make yourself obnoxious to them. I know not about his good-naturedness; but at any rate what need of that gift?"

When the Master proposed that Tsi-tiau K'ai should enter the government service, the latter replied, "I can scarcely credit it." The Master was gratified.

"Good principles are making no progress," once exclaimed the Master. "If I were to take a raft, and drift about on the sea, would Tsz-lu, I wonder, be my follower there?" That disciple was delighted at hearing the suggestion; whereupon the Master continued, "He surpasses me in his love of deeds of daring. But he does not in the least grasp the pith of my remark."

In reply to a question put to him by Mang Wu respecting Tsz-lu — as to whether he might be called good-natured towards others, the Master said, "I cannot tell"; but, on the question being put again, he answered, "Well, in an important State he might be intrusted with the management of the military levies; but I cannot answer for his good nature."

"What say you then of Yen Yu?"

"As for Yen," he replied, "in a city of a thousand families, or in a secondary fief, he might be charged with the governorship; but I cannot answer for his

good-naturedness."

"Take Tsz-hwa, then; what of him?"

"Tsz-hwa," said he, "with a cincture girt upon him, standing as attendant at Court, might be charged with the addressing of visitors and guests; but as to his good-naturedness I cannot answer."

Addressing Tsz-kung, the Master said, "Which of the two is ahead of the other — yourself or Hwúi?" "How shall I dare," he replied, "even to look at Hwúi? Only let him hear one particular, and from that he knows ten; whereas I, if I hear one, may from it know two."

"You are not a match for him, I grant you," said the Master. "You are not his match."

Tsai Yu, a disciple, used to sleep in the daytime. Said the Master, "One may hardly carve rotten wood, or use a trowel to the wall of a manure-yard! In his case, what is the use of reprimand?

"My attitude towards a man in my first dealings with him," he added, "was to listen to his professions and to trust to his conduct. My attitude now is to listen to his professions, and to watch his conduct. My experience with Tsai Yu has led to this change.

"I have never seen," said the Master, "a man of inflexible firmness." Some one thereupon mentioned Shin Ch'ang, a disciple. "Ch'ang," said he, "is wanton; where do you get at his inflexibleness?"

Tsz-kung made the remark: "That which I do not wish others to put upon me, I also wish not to put upon others." "Nay," said the Master, "you have not got so far as that."

The same disciple once remarked, "There may be access so as to hear the Master's literary discourses, but when he is treating of human nature and the way of Heaven, there may not be such success."

Tsz-lu, after once hearing him upon some subject, and feeling himself as yet incompetent to carry into practice what he had heard, used to be apprehensive only lest he should hear the subject revived.

Tsz-kung asked how it was that Kung Wan had come to be so styled Wan (the talented). The Master's answer was, "Because, though a man of an active nature, he was yet fond of study, and he was not ashamed to stoop to put questions to his inferiors."

Respecting Tsz-ch'an, the Master said that he had four of the essential qualities of the 'superior man': — in his own private walk he was humble-minded; in serving his superiors he was deferential; in his looking after the material welfare of the people he was generously kind; and in his exaction of public service from the latter he was just.

Speaking of Yen Ping, he said, “He was one who was happy in his mode of attaching men to him. However long the intercourse, he was always deferential to them.”

Referring to Tsang Wan, he asked, “What is to be said of this man’s discernment? — this man with his tortoise-house, with the pillar-heads and posts bedizened with scenes of hill and mere!”

Tsz-chang put a question relative to the chief Minister of Tsu, Tsz-wan. He said, “Three times he became chief Minister, and on none of these occasions did he betray any sign of exultation. Three times his ministry came to an end, and he showed no sign of chagrin. He used without fail to inform the new Minister as to the old mode of administration. What say you of him?”

“That he was a loyal man,” said the Master.

“But was he a man of fellow-feeling?” said the disciple.

“Of that I am not sure,” he answered; “how am I to get at that?”

The disciple went on to say:— “After the assassination of the prince of Ts’i by the officer Ts’ui, the latter’s fellow-official Ch’in Wan, who had half a score teams of horses, gave up all, and turned his back upon him. On coming to another State, he observed, ‘There are here characters somewhat like that of our minister Ts’ui,’ and he turned his back upon them. Proceeding to a certain other State, he had occasion to make the same remark, and left. What say you of him?”

“That he was a pure-minded man,” answered the Master.

“But was he a man of fellow-feeling?” urged the disciple.

“Of that I am not sure,” he replied; “how am I to get at that?”

Ki Wan was one who thought three times over a thing before he acted. The Master hearing this of him, observed, “Twice would have been enough.”

Of Ning Wu, the Master said that when matters went well in the State he used to have his wits about him: but when they went wrong, he lost them. His intelligence might be equalled, but not his witlessness!

Once, when the Master lived in the State of Ch’in, he exclaimed, “Let me get home again! Let me get home! My school-children are wild and impetuous! Though they are somewhat accomplished, and perfect in one sense in their attainments, yet they know not how to make nice discriminations.”

Of Peh-I and Shuh Ts’i he said, “By the fact of their not remembering old grievances, they gradually did away with resentment.”

Of Wei-shang Kau he said, “Who calls him straightforward? A person once begged some vinegar of him, and he begged it from a neighbor, and then presented him with it!”

“Fine speech,” said he, “and studied mien, and superfluous show of deference — of such things Tso-k’iu Ming was ashamed, I too am ashamed of such things. Also of hiding resentment felt towards an opponent and treating him as a friend — of this kind of thing he was ashamed, and so too am I.”

Attended once by the two disciples Yen Yuen and Tsz-lu, he said, “Come now, why not tell me, each of you, what in your hearts you are really after?”

“I should like,” said Tsz-lu, “for myself and my friends and associates, carriages and horses, and to be clad in light furs! nor would I mind much if they should become the worse for wear.”

“And I should like,” said Yen Yuen, “to live without boasting of my abilities, and without display of meritorious deeds.”

Tsz-lu then said, “I should like, sir, to hear what your heart is set upon.”

The Master replied, “It is this: — in regard to old people, to give them quiet and comfort; in regard to friends and associates, to be faithful to them; in regard to the young, to treat them with fostering affection and kindness.”

On one occasion the Master exclaimed, “Ah, ’tis hopeless! I have not yet seen the man who can see his errors, so as inwardly to accuse himself.”

“In a small cluster of houses there may well be,” said he, “some whose integrity and sincerity may compare with mine; but I yield to none in point of love of learning.”

[Footnote 10: Lit., a State of 1,000 war chariots.]

[Footnote 11: Lit., a House of 100 war chariots.]

[Footnote 12: A great statesman of Confucius’s time.]

[Footnote 13: A familiar way of speaking of his disciples in their hearing.]

BOOK VI

More Characteristics — Wisdom — Philanthropy

Of Yen Yung, a disciple, the Master said, “Yung might indeed do for a prince!”

On being asked by this Yen Yung his opinion of a certain individual, the Master replied, “He is passable. Impetuous, though.”

“But,” argued the disciple, “if a man habituate himself to a reverent regard for duty — even while in his way of doing things he is impetuous — in the oversight of the people committed to his charge, is he not passable? If, on the other hand, he habituate himself to impetuosity of mind, and show it also in his way of doing things, is he not then over-impetuous?”

“You are right,” said the Master.

When the Duke Ngai inquired which of the disciples were devoted to learning, Confucius answered him, “There was one Yen Hwúi who loved it — a man whose angry feelings towards any particular person he did not suffer to visit upon another; a man who would never fall into the same error twice. Unfortunately his allotted time was short, and he died, and now his like is not to be found; I have never heard of one so devoted to learning.”

While Tsz-hwa, a disciple, was away on a mission to Ts’i, the disciple Yen Yu, on behalf of his mother, applied for some grain. “Give her three pecks,” said the Master. He applied for more. “Give her eight, then.” Yen gave her fifty times that amount. The Master said, “When Tsz-hwa went on that journey to Ts’i, he had well-fed steeds yoked to his carriage, and was arrayed in light furs. I have learnt that the ‘superior man’ should help those whose needs are urgent, not help the rich to be more rich.”

When Yuen Sz became prefect under him, he gave him nine hundred measures of grain, but the prefect declined to accept them. “You must not,” said the Master. “May they not be of use to the villages and hamlets around you?”

Speaking of Yen Yung again, the Master said, “If the offspring of a speckled ox be red in color, and horned, even though men may not wish to take it for sacrifice, would the spirits of the hills and streams reject it?”

Adverting to Hwúi again, he said, “For three months there would not be in his breast one thought recalcitrant against his feeling of good-will towards his

fellow-men. The others may attain to this for a day or for a month, but there they end."

When asked by Ki K'ang whether Tsz-lu was fit to serve the government, the Master replied, "Tsz-lu is a man of decision: what should prevent him from serving the government?"

Asked the same question respecting Tsz-kung and Yen Yu he answered similarly, pronouncing Tsz-kung to be a man of perspicacity, and Yen Yu to be one versed in the polite arts.

When the head of the Ki family sent for Min Tsz-k'ien to make him governor of the town of Pi, that disciple said, "Politely decline for me. If the offer is renewed, then indeed I shall feel myself obliged to go and live on the further bank of the Wan."

Peh-niu had fallen ill, and the Master was inquiring after him. Taking hold of his hand held out from the window, he said, "It is taking him off! Alas, his appointed time has come! Such a man, and to have such an illness!"

Of Hwúi, again: "A right worthy man indeed was he! With his simple wooden dish of rice, and his one gourd-basin of drink, away in his poor back lane, in a condition too grievous for others to have endured, he never allowed his cheery spirits to droop. Aye, a right worthy soul was he!"

"It is not," Yen Yu once apologized, "that I do not take pleasure in your doctrines; it is that I am not strong enough." The Master rejoined, "It is when those who are not strong enough have made some moderate amount of progress that they fail and give up; but you are now drawing your own line for yourself."

Addressing Tsz-hiá, the Master said, "Let your scholarship be that of gentlemen, and not like that of common men."

When Tsz-yu became governor of Wu-shing, the Master said to him, "Do you find good men about you?" The reply was, "There is Tan-t'ai Mieh-ming, who when walking eschews by-paths, and who, unless there be some public function, never approaches my private residence."

"Mang Chi-fan," said the Master, "is no sounder of his own praises. During a stampede he was in the rear, and as they were about to enter the city gate he whipped up his horses, and said, 'Twas not my daring made me lag behind. My horses would not go.'"

Obiter dicta of the Master:

"Whoever has not the glib utterance of the priest T'o, as well as the handsomeness of Prince Cháu of Sung, will find it hard to keep out of harm's way in the present age.

"Who can go out but by that door? Why walks no one by these guiding principles?

“Where plain naturalness is more in evidence than polish, we have — the man from the country. Where polish is more in evidence than naturalness, we have — the town scribe. It is when naturalness and polish are equally evident that we have the ideal man.

“The life of a man is — his rectitude. Life without it — such may you have the good fortune to avoid!

“They who know it are not as those who love it, nor they who love it as those who rejoice in it — that is, have the fruition of their love for it.

“To the average man, and those above the average, it is possible to discourse on higher subjects; to those from the average downwards, it is not possible.”

Fan Ch’i put a query about wisdom. The Master replied, “To labor for the promoting of righteous conduct among the people of the land; to be serious in regard to spiritual beings, and to hold aloof from them; — this may be called wisdom.”

To a further query, about philanthropy, he replied, “Those who possess that virtue find difficulty with it at first, success later.

“Men of practical knowledge,” he said, “find their gratification among the rivers of the lowland, men of sympathetic social feeling find theirs among the hills. The former are active and bustling, the latter calm and quiet. The former take their day of pleasure, the latter look to length of days.”

Alluding to the States of Ts’i and Lu, he observed, that Ts’i, by one change, might attain to the condition of Lu; and that Lu, by one change, might attain to good government.

An exclamation of the Master (satirizing the times, when old terms relating to government were still used while bereft of their old meaning):— “A quart, and not a quart! *quart*, indeed! *quart*, indeed!”

Tsai Wo, a disciple, put a query. Said he, “Suppose a philanthropic person were told, ‘There’s a fellow-creature down in the well!’ Would he go down after him?”

“Why should he really do so?” answered the Master. “The good man or, a superior man might be induced to go, but not to go down. He may be misled, but not befooled.”

“The superior man,” said he, “with his wide study of books, and hedging himself round by the Rules of Propriety, is not surely, after all that, capable of overstepping his bounds.”

Once when the Master had had an interview with Nan-tsz, which had scandalized his disciple Tsz-lu, he uttered the solemn adjuration, “If I have done aught amiss, may Heaven reject me! may Heaven reject me!”

“How far-reaching,” said he, “is the moral excellence that flows from the Constant Mean! It has for a long time been rare among the people.”

Tsz-kung said, “Suppose the case of one who confers benefits far and wide upon the people, and who can, in so doing, make his bounty universally felt — how would you speak of him? Might he be called philanthropic?”

The Master exclaimed, “What a work for philanthropy! He would require indeed to be a sage! He would put into shade even Yau and Shun! — Well, a philanthropic person, desiring for himself a firm footing, is led on to give one to others; desiring for himself an enlightened perception of things, he is led on to help others to be similarly enlightened. If one could take an illustration coming closer home to us than yours, that might be made the starting-point for speaking about philanthropy.”

[Footnote 14: At this time Confucius was Criminal Judge in his native State of Lu. Yuen Sz had been a disciple. The commentators add that this was the officer’s proper salary, and that he did wrong to refuse it.]

[Footnote 15: The doctrine afterwards known by that name, and which gave its title to a Confucian treatise.]

BOOK VII

Characteristics of Confucius — An Incident

Said the Master:

"I, as a transmitter and not an originator, and as one who believes in and loves the ancients, venture to compare myself with our old P'ang.

"What find you indeed in me? — a quiet brooder and memorizer; a student never satiated with learning; an unwearied monitor of others!

"The things which weigh heavily upon my mind are these — failure to improve in the virtues, failure in discussion of what is learnt, inability to walk according to knowledge received as to what is right and just, inability also to reform what has been amiss."

In his hours of recreation and refreshment the Master's manner was easy and unconstrained, affable and winning.

Once he exclaimed, "Alas! I must be getting very feeble; 'tis long since I have had a repetition of the dreams in which I used to see the Duke of Chow.

"Concentrate the mind," said he, "upon the Good Way.

"Maintain firm hold upon Virtue.

"Rely upon Philanthropy.

"Find recreation in the Arts.

"I have never withheld instruction from any, even from those who have come for it with the smallest offering.

"No subject do I broach, however, to those who have no eager desire to learn; no encouraging hint do I give to those who show no anxiety to speak out their ideas; nor have I anything more to say to those who, after I have made clear one corner of the subject, cannot from that give me the other three."

If the Master was taking a meal, and there were any in mourning beside him, he would not eat to the full.

On one day on which he had wept, on that day he would not sing.

Addressing his favorite disciple, he said, "To you only and myself it has been given to do this — to go when called to serve, and to go back into quiet retirement when released from office."

Tsz-lu, hearing the remark said, "But if, sir, you had the handling of the army of one of the greater States, whom would you have associated with you in that

case?”

The Master answered:

“Not the one ‘who’ll rouse the tiger,’
Not the one ‘who’ll wade the Ho;’

not the man who can die with no regret. He must be one who should watch over affairs with apprehensive caution, a man fond of strategy, and of perfect skill and effectiveness in it.”

As to wealth, he remarked, “If wealth were an object that I could go in quest of, I should do so even if I had to take a whip and do grooms’ work. But seeing that it is not, I go after those objects for which I have a liking.”

Among matters over which he exercised great caution were times of fasting, war, and sickness.

When he was in the State of Ts’i, and had heard the ancient Shau music, he lost all perception of the taste of his meat. “I had no idea,” said he, “that music could have been brought to this pitch.”

In the course of conversation Yen Yu said, “Does the Master take the part of the Prince of Wei?” “Ah yes!” said Tsz-kung, “I will go and ask him that.”

On going in to him, that disciple began, “What sort of men were Peh-I and Shuh Ts’i?” “Worthies of the olden time,” the Master replied. “Had they any feelings of resentment?” was the next question. “Their aim and object,” he answered, “was that of doing the duty which every man owes to his fellows, and they succeeded in doing it; — what room further for feelings of resentment?” The questioner on coming out said, “The Master does not take his part.”

“With a meal of coarse rice,” said the Master, “and with water to drink, and my bent arm for my pillow — even thus I can find happiness. Riches and honors without righteousness are to me as fleeting clouds.”

“Give me several years more to live,” said he, “and after fifty years’ study of the ‘Book of Changes’ I might come to be free from serious error.”

The Master’s regular subjects of discourse were the “Books of the Odes” and “History,” and the up-keeping of the Rules of Propriety. On all of these he regularly discoursed.

The Duke of Shih questioned Tsz-lu about Confucius, and the latter did not answer.

Hearing of this, the Master said, “Why did you not say, He is a man with a mind so intent on his pursuits that he forgets his food, and finds such pleasure in them that he forgets his troubles, and does not know that old age is coming upon him?”

“As I came not into life with any knowledge of it,” he said, “and as my likings are for what is old, I busy myself in seeking knowledge there.”

Strange occurrences, exploits of strength, deeds of lawlessness, references to spiritual beings — such-like matters the Master avoided in conversation.

“Let there,” he said, “be three men walking together: from that number I should be sure to find my instructors; for what is good in them I should choose out and follow, and what is not good I should modify.”

On one occasion he exclaimed, “Heaven begat Virtue in me; what can man do unto me?”

To his disciples he once said, “Do you look upon me, my sons, as keeping anything secret from you? I hide nothing from you. I do nothing that is not manifest to your eyes, my disciples. That is so with me.”

Four things there were which he kept in view in his teaching — scholarliness, conduct of life, honesty, faithfulness.

“It is not given to me,” he said, “to meet with a sage; let me but behold a man of superior mind, and that will suffice. Neither is it given to me to meet with a good man; let me but see a man of constancy, and it will suffice. It is difficult for persons to have constancy, when they pretend to have that which they are destitute of, to be full when they are empty, to do things on a grand scale when their means are contracted!”

When the Master fished with hook and line, he did not also use a net.
When out with his bow, he would never shoot at game in cover.

“Some there may be,” said he, “who do things in ignorance of what they do. I am not of these. There is an alternative way of knowing things, *viz.* — to sift out the good from the many things one hears, and follow it; and to keep in memory the many things one sees.”

Pupils from Hu-hiang were difficult to speak with. One youth came to interview the Master, and the disciples were in doubt whether he ought to have been seen. “Why so much ado,” said the Master, “at my merely permitting his approach, and not rather at my allowing him to draw back? If a man have cleansed himself in order to come and see me, I receive him as such; but I do not undertake for what he will do when he goes away.”

“Is the philanthropic spirit far to seek, indeed?” the Master exclaimed;
“I wish for it, and it is with me!”

The Minister of Crime in the State of Ch'in asked Confucius whether Duke Ch'an, of Lu was acquainted with the Proprieties; and he answered, "Yes, he knows them."

When Confucius had withdrawn, the minister bowed to Wu-ma K'i, a disciple, and motioned to him to come forward. He said, "I have heard that superior men show no partiality; are they, too, then, partial? That prince took for his wife a lady of the Wu family, having the same surname as himself, and had her named 'Lady Tsz of Wu, the elder,' If he knows the Proprieties, then who does not?"

The disciple reported this to the Master, who thereupon remarked, "Well for me! If I err in any way, others are sure to know of it."

When the Master was in company with any one who sang, and who sang well, he must needs have the song over again, and after that would join in it.

"Although in letters," he said, "I may have none to compare with me, yet in my personification of the 'superior man' I have not as yet been successful."

"'A Sage and a Philanthropist?' How should I have the ambition?" said he. "All that I can well be called is this — An insatiable student, an unwearied teacher; — this, and no more."— "Exactly what we, your disciples, cannot by any learning manage to be," said Kung-si Hwa.

Once when the Master was seriously ill, Tsz-lu requested to be allowed to say prayers for him. "Are such available?" asked the Master. "Yes," said he; "and the Manual of Prayers says, 'Pray to the spirits above and to those here below,'"

"My praying has been going on a long while," said the Master.

"Lavish living," he said, "renders men disorderly; miserliness makes them hard. Better, however, the hard than the disorderly."

Again, "The man of superior mind is placidly composed; the small-minded man is in a constant state of perturbation."

The Master was gentle, yet could be severe; had an over-awing presence, yet was not violent; was deferential, yet easy.

[Footnote 16: In reference to his editing the six Classics of his time.]

[Footnote 17: This was one of his "beloved ancients," famous for what he did in helping to found the dynasty of Chow, a man of great political wisdom, a scholar also, and poet. It was the "dream" of Confucius's life to restore the country to the condition in which the Duke of Chow left it.]

[Footnote 18: These were six in number, viz.: Ceremonial, Music, Archery, Horsemanship, Language, and Calculation.]

[Footnote 19: Lit., three forces. Each force consisted of 12,500 men, and three of such forces were the equipment of a greater State.]

BOOK VIII

Sayings of Tsang — Sentences of the Master

Speaking of T'ai-pih the Master said that he might be pronounced a man of the highest moral excellence; for he allowed the empire to pass by him onwards to a third heir; while the people, in their ignorance of his motives, were unable to admire him for so doing.

"Without the Proprieties," said the Master, "we have these results: for deferential demeanor, a worried one; for calm attentiveness, awkward bashfulness; for manly conduct, disorderliness; for straightforwardness, perversity.

"When men of rank show genuine care for those nearest to them in blood, the people rise to the duty of neighborliness and sociability. And when old friendships among them are not allowed to fall off, there will be a cessation of underhand practices among the people."

The Scholar Tsang was once unwell, and calling his pupils to him he said to them, "Disclose to view my feet and my hands. What says the Ode?

'Act as from a sense of danger,
With precaution and with care,
As a yawning gulf o'erlooking,
As on ice that scarce will bear,'

At all times, my children, I know how to keep myself free from bodily harm."

Again, during an illness of his, Mang King, an official, went to ask after him. The Scholar had some conversation with him, in the course of which he said

"'Doleful the cries of a dying bird,
Good the last words of a dying man,'

There are three points which a man of rank in the management of his duties should set store upon: — A lively manner and deportment, banishing both severity and laxity; a frank and open expression of countenance, allied closely with sincerity; and a tone in his utterances utterly free from any approach to vulgarity and impropriety. As to matters of bowls and dishes, leave such things to those who are charged with the care of them."

Another saying of the Scholar Tsang: “I once had a friend who, though he possessed ability, would go questioning men of none, and, though surrounded by numbers, would go with his questions to isolated individuals; who also, whatever he might have, appeared as if he were without it, and, with all his substantial acquirements, made as though his mind were a mere blank; and when insulted would not retaliate; — this was ever his way.”

Again he said: “The man that is capable of being intrusted with the charge of a minor on the throne, and given authority over a large territory, and who, during the important term of his superintendence cannot be forced out of his position, is not such a ‘superior man’? That he is, indeed.”

Again:— “The learned official must not be without breadth and power of endurance: the burden is heavy, and the way is long.

“Suppose that he take his duty to his fellow-men as his peculiar burden, is that not indeed a heavy one? And since only with death it is done with, is not the way long?”

Sentences of the Master:

“From the ‘Book of Odes’ we receive impulses; from the ‘Book of the Rules,’ stability; from the ‘Book on Music,’ refinement.

“The people may be put into the way they should go, though they may not be put into the way of understanding it.

“The man who likes bravery, and yet groans under poverty, has mischief in him. So, too, has the misanthrope, groaning at any severity shown towards him.

“Even if a person were adorned with the gifts of the Duke of Chow, yet if he were proud and avaricious, all the rest of his qualities would not indeed be worth looking at.

“Not easily found is the man who, after three years’ study, has failed to come upon some fruit of his toil.

“The really faithful lover of learning holds fast to the Good Way till death.

“He will not go into a State in which a downfall is imminent, nor take up his abode in one where disorder reigns. When the empire is well ordered he will show himself; when not, he will hide himself away. Under a good government it will be a disgrace to him if he remain in poverty and low estate; under a bad one, it would be equally disgraceful to him to hold riches and honors.

“If not occupying the office, devise not the policy.

“When the professor Chi began his duties, how grand the finale of the First of the Odes used to be! How it rang in one’s ears!

"I cannot understand persons who are enthusiastic and yet not straightforward; nor those who are ignorant and yet not attentive; nor again those folks who are simple-minded and yet untrue.

"Learn, as if never overtaking your object, and yet as if apprehensive of losing it.

"How sublime was the handling of the empire by Shun and Yu! — it was as nothing to them!

"How great was Yau as a prince! Was he not sublime! Say that Heaven only is great, then was Yau alone after its pattern! How profound was he! The people could not find a name for him. How sublime in his achievements! How brilliant in his scholarly productions!"

Shun had for his ministers five men, by whom he ordered the empire.

King Wu (in his day) stated that he had ten men as assistants for the promotion of order.

With reference to these facts Confucius observed, "Ability is hard to find. Is it not so indeed? During the three years' interregnum between Yau and Shun there was more of it than in the interval before this present dynasty appeared. There were, at this latter period, one woman, and nine men only.

"When two-thirds of the empire were held by King Wan, he served with that portion the House of Yin. We speak of the virtue of the House of Chow; we may say, indeed, that it reached the pinnacle of excellence."

"As to Yu," added the Master, "I can find no flaw in him. Living on meagre food and drink; yet providing to the utmost in his filial offerings to the spirits of the dead! Dressing in coarse garments; yet most elegant when vested in his sacrificial apron and coronet! Dwelling in a poor palace; yet exhausting his energies over those boundary-ditches and watercourses! I can find no flaw in Yu."

[Footnote 20: Comparison of three of the Classics: the "Shi-King," the "Li Ki," and the "Yoh." The last is lost.]

BOOK IX

His Favorite Disciple's Opinion of Him

Topics on which the Master rarely spoke were — Advantage, and Destiny, and Duty of man to man.

A man of the village of Tah-hiang exclaimed of him, "A great man is Confucius! — a man of extensive learning, and yet in nothing has he quite made himself a name!"

The Master heard of this, and mentioning it to his disciples he said, "What then shall I take in hand? Shall I become a carriage driver, or an archer? Let me be a driver!"

"The sacrificial cap," he once said, "should, according to the Rules, be of linen; but in these days it is of pure silk. However, as it is economical, I do as all do.

"The Rule says, 'Make your bow when at the lower end of the hall'; but nowadays the bowing is done at the upper part. This is great freedom; and I, though I go in opposition to the crowd, bow when at the lower end."

The Master barred four words: — he would have no "shall's," no "must's," no "certainty's," no "I's."

Once, in the town of K'wang fearing that his life was going to be taken, the Master exclaimed, "King Wan is dead and gone; but is not '*wan*' with you here? If Heaven be about to allow this '*wan*' to perish, then they who survive its decease will get no benefit from it. But so long as Heaven does not allow it to perish, what can the men of K'wang do to me?"

A high State official, after questioning Tsz-kung, said, "Your Master is a sage, then? How many and what varied abilities must be his!"

The disciple replied, "Certainly Heaven is allowing him full opportunities of becoming a sage, in addition to the fact that his abilities are many and varied."

When the Master heard of this he remarked, "Does that high official know me? In my early years my position in life was low, and hence my ability in many ways, though exercised in trifling matters. In the gentleman is there indeed such variety of ability? No."

From this, the disciple Lau used to say, "'Twas a saying of the Master: 'At a time when I was not called upon to use them, I acquired my proficiency in the polite arts.'"

"Am I, indeed," said the Master, "possessed of knowledge? I know nothing. Let a vulgar fellow come to me with a question — a man with an emptyish head

— I may thrash out with him the matter from end to end, and exhaust myself in doing it!"

"Ah!" exclaimed he once, "the phoenix does not come! and no symbols issue from the river! May I not as well give up?"

Whenever the Master met with a person in mourning, or with one in full-dress cap and kirtle, or with a blind person, although they might be young persons, he would make a point of rising on their appearance, or, if crossing their path, would do so with quickened step!

Once Yen Yuen exclaimed with a sigh (with reference to the Master's doctrines), "If I look up to them, they are ever the higher; if I try to penetrate them, they are ever the harder; if I gaze at them as if before my eyes, lo, they are behind me! — Gradually and gently the Master with skill lures men on. By literary lore he gave me breadth; by the Rules of Propriety he narrowed me down. When I desire a respite, I find it impossible; and after I have exhausted my powers, there seems to be something standing straight up in front of me, and though I have the mind to make towards it I make no advance at all."

Once when the Master was seriously ill, Tsz-lu induced the other disciples to feign they were high officials acting in his service. During a respite from his malady the Master exclaimed, "Ah! how long has Tsz-lu's conduct been false? Whom should I delude, if I were to pretend to have officials under me, having none? Should I deceive Heaven? Besides, were I to die, I would rather die in the hands of yourselves, my disciples, than in the hands of officials. And though I should fail to have a grand funeral over me, I should hardly be left on my death on the public highway, should I?"

Tsz-kung once said to him, "Here is a fine gem. Would you guard it carefully in a casket and store it away, or seek a good price for it and sell it?" "Sell it, indeed," said the Master— "that would I; but I should wait for the bidder."

The Master protested he would "go and live among the nine wild tribes."

"A rude life," said some one;— "how could you put up with it?"

"What rudeness would there be," he replied, "if a 'superior man' was living in their midst?"

Once he remarked, "After I came back from Wei to Lu the music was put right, and each of the Festal Odes and Hymns was given its appropriate place and use."

"Ah! which one of these following," he asked on one occasion, "are to be found exemplified in me — proper service rendered to superiors when abroad; duty to father and elder brother when at home; duty that shrinks from no exertion when dear ones die; and keeping free from the confusing effects of wine?"

Standing once on the bank of a mountain stream, he said (musingly),
"Like this are those that pass away — no cessation, day or night!"

Other sayings:

"Take an illustration from the making of a hill. A simple basketful is wanting to complete it, and the work stops. So I stop short.

"Take an illustration from the levelling of the ground. Suppose again just one basketful is left, when the work has so progressed. There I desist!

"Ah! it was Hwúi, was it not? who, when I had given him his lesson, was the unflagging one!

"Alas for Hwúi! I saw him ever making progress. I never saw him stopping short.

"Blade, but no bloom — or else bloom, but no produce; aye, that is the way with some!

"Reverent regard is due to youth. How know we what difference there may be in them in the future from what they are now? Yet when they have reached the age of forty or fifty, and are still unknown in the world, then indeed they are no more worthy of such regard.

"Can any do otherwise than assent to words said to them by way of correction? Only let them reform by such advice, and it will then be reckoned valuable. Can any be other than pleased with words of gentle suasion? Only let them comply with them fully, and such also will be accounted valuable. With those who are pleased without so complying, and those who assent but do not reform, I can do nothing at all.

"Give prominent place to loyalty and sincerity.

"Have no associates in study who are not advanced somewhat like yourself.

"When you have erred, be not afraid to correct yourself.

"It may be possible to seize and carry off the chief commander of a large army, but not possible so to rob one poor fellow of his will.

"One who stands — clad in hempen robe, the worse for wear — among others clad in furs of fox and badger, and yet unabashed— 'tis Tsz-lu, that, is it not?"

Tsz-lu used always to be humming over the lines

"From envy and enmity free,
What deed doth he other than good?"

"How should such a rule of life," asked the Master, "be sufficient to make any one good?"

“When the year grows chilly, we know the pine and cypress are the last to fade.

“The wise escape doubt; the good-hearted, trouble; the bold, apprehension.

“Some may study side by side, and yet be asunder when they come to the logic of things. Some may go on together in this latter course, but be wide apart in the standards they reach in it. Some, again, may together reach the same standard, and yet be diverse in weight of character.”

“The blossom is out on the cherry tree,
With a flutter on every spray.
Dost think that my thoughts go not out to thee?
Ah, why art thou far away!”

Commenting on these lines the Master said, “There can hardly have been much ‘thought going out,’ What does distance signify?”

[Footnote 21: “Wan” was the honorary appellation of the great sage and ruler, whose praise is in the “Shi-King” as one of the founders of the Chow dynasty, and the term represented civic talent and virtues, as distinct from Wu, the martial talent — the latter being the honorary title of his son and successor. “Wan” also often stands for literature and polite accomplishments. Here Confucius simply means, “If you kill me, you kill a sage.”]

BOOK X

Confucius in Private and Official Life

In his own village, Confucius presented a somewhat plain and simple appearance, and looked unlike a man who possessed ability of speech.

But in the ancestral temple, and at Court, he spoke with the fluency and accuracy of a debater, but ever guardedly.

At Court, conversing with the lower order of great officials, he spoke somewhat firmly and directly; with those of the higher order his tone was somewhat more affable.

When the prince was present he was constrainedly reverent in his movements, and showed a proper degree of grave dignity in demeanor.

Whenever the prince summoned him to act as usher to the Court, his look would change somewhat, and he would make as though he were turning round to do obeisance.

He would salute those among whom he took up his position, using the right hand or the left, and holding the skirts of his robe in proper position before and behind. He would make his approaches with quick step, and with elbows evenly bent outwards.

When the visitor withdrew, he would not fail to report the execution of his commands, with the words, “The visitor no longer looks back.”

When he entered the palace gate, it was with the body somewhat bent forward, almost as though he could not be admitted. When he stood still, this would never happen in the middle of the gateway; nor when moving about would he ever tread on the threshold. When passing the throne, his look would change somewhat, he would turn aside and make a sort of obeisance, and the words he spoke seemed as though he were deficient in utterance.

On going up the steps to the audience chamber, he would gather up with both hands the ends of his robe, and walk with his body bent somewhat forward, holding back his breath like one in whom respiration has ceased. On coming out, after descending one step his countenance would relax and assume an appearance of satisfaction. Arrived at the bottom, he would go forward with quick step, his elbows evenly bent outwards, back to his position, constrainedly reverent in every movement.

When holding the sceptre in his hand, his body would be somewhat bent forward, as if he were not equal to carrying it; wielding it now higher, as in a salutation, now lower, as in the presentation of a gift; his look would also be

changed and appear awestruck; and his gait would seem retarded, as if he were obeying some restraining hand behind.

When he presented the gifts of ceremony, he would assume a placid expression of countenance. At the private interview he would be cordial and affable.

The good man would use no purple or violet colors for the facings of his dress. Nor would he have red or orange color for his undress. For the hot season he wore a singlet, of either coarse or fine texture, but would also feel bound to have an outer garment covering it. For his black robe he had lamb's wool; for his white one, fawn's fur; and for his yellow one, fox fur. His furred undress robe was longer, but the right sleeve was shortened. He would needs have his sleeping-dress one and a half times his own length. For ordinary home wear he used thick substantial fox or badger furs. When he left off mourning, he would wear all his girdle trinkets. His kirtle in front, when it was not needed for full cover, he must needs have cut down. He would never wear his (black) lamb's-wool, or a dark-colored cap, when he went on visits of condolence to mourners. On the first day of the new moon, he must have on his Court dress and to Court. When observing his fasts, he made a point of having bright, shiny garments, made of linen. He must also at such times vary his food, and move his seat to another part of his dwelling-room.

As to his food, he never tired of rice so long as it was clean and pure, nor of hashed meats when finely minced. Rice spoiled by damp, and sour, he would not touch, nor tainted fish, nor bad meat, nor aught of a bad color or smell, nor aught overdone in cooking, nor aught out of season. Neither would he eat anything that was not properly cut, or that lacked its proper seasonings. Although there might be an abundance of meat before him, he would not allow a preponderance of it to rob the rice of its beneficial effect in nutrition. Only in the matter of wine did he set himself no limit, yet he never drank so much as to confuse himself. Tradesmen's wines, and dried meats from the market, he would not touch. Ginger he would never have removed from the table during a meal. He was not a great eater. Meat from the sacrifices at the prince's temple he would never put aside till the following day. The meat of his own offerings he would never give out after three days' keeping, for after that time none were to eat it.

At his meals he would not enter into discussions; and when reposing (afterwards) he would not utter a word.

Even should his meal consist only of coarse rice and vegetable broth or melons, he would make an offering, and never fail to do so religiously.

He would never sit on a mat that was not straight.

After a feast among his villagers, he would wait before going away until the old men had left.

When the village people were exorcising the pests, he would put on his Court robes and stand on the steps of his hall to receive them.

When he was sending a message of inquiry to a person in another State, he would bow twice on seeing the messenger off.

Ki K'ang once sent him a present of some medicine. He bowed, and received it; but remarked, "Until I am quite sure of its properties I must not venture to taste it."

Once when the stabling was destroyed by fire, he withdrew from the Court, and asked, "Is any person injured? " — without inquiring as to the horses.

Whenever the prince sent him a present of food, he was particular to set his mat in proper order, and would be the first one to taste it. If the prince's present was one of raw meat, he must needs have it cooked, and make an oblation of it. If the gift were a live animal, he would be sure to keep it and care for it.

When he was in waiting, and at a meal with the prince, the prince would make the offering, and he (the Master) was the pregustator.

When unwell, and the prince came to see him, he would arrange his position so that his head inclined towards the east, would put over him his Court robes, and draw his girdle across them.

When summoned by order of the prince, he would start off without waiting for his horses to be put to.

On his entry into the Grand Temple, he inquired about everything connected with its usages.

If a friend died, and there were no near relatives to take him to, he would say, "Let him be buried from my house."

For a friend's gift — unless it consisted of meat that had been offered in sacrifice — he would not bow, even if it were a carriage and horses.

In repose he did not lie like one dead. In his home life he was not formal in his manner.

Whenever he met with a person in mourning, even though it were a familiar acquaintance, he would be certain to change his manner; and when he met with any one in full-dress cap, or with any blind person, he would also unfailingly put on a different look, even though he were himself in undress at the time.

In saluting any person wearing mourning he would bow forwards towards the front bar of his carriage; in the same manner he would also salute the bearer of a census-register.

When a sumptuous banquet was spread before him, a different expression would be sure to appear in his features, and he would rise up from his seat.

At a sudden thunder-clap, or when the wind grew furious, his look would also invariably be changed.

On getting into his car, he would never fail (first) to stand up erect, holding on by the strap. When in the car, he would never look about, nor speak hastily, nor bring one hand to the other.

"Let one but make a movement in his face,
And the bird will rise and seek some safer place."

Apropos of this, he said, "Here is a hen-pheasant from Shan Liang — and in season! and in season!" After Tsz-lu had got it prepared, he smelt it thrice, and then rose up from his seat.

[Footnote 22: Because, it is said, such colors were adopted in fasting and mourning.]

[Footnote 23: Because they did not belong to the five correct colors (viz. green, yellow, carnation, white, and black), and were affected more by females.]

[Footnote 24: Since white was, as it is still, the mourning color.]

[Footnote 25: The act of "grace," before eating.]

BOOK XI

Comparative Worth of His Disciples

"The first to make progress in the Proprieties and in Music," said the Master, "are plain countrymen; after them, the men of higher standing. If I had to employ any of them, I should stand by the former."

"Of those," said he, "who were about me when I was in the Ch'in and Ts'ai States, not one now is left to approach my door."

"As for Hwui," said the Master, "he is not one to help me on: there is nothing I say but he is not well satisfied with."

"What a dutiful son was Min Tsz-k'ien!" he exclaimed. "No one finds occasion to differ from what his parents and brothers have said of him."

Nan Yung used to repeat three times over the lines in the Odes about the white sceptre. Confucius caused his own elder brother's daughter to be given in marriage to him.

When Ki K'ang inquired which of the disciples were fond of learning, Confucius answered him, "There was one Yen Hwúi who was fond of it; but unfortunately his allotted time was short, and he died; and now his like is not to be found."

When Yen Yuen died, his father, Yen Lu, begged for the Master's carriage in order to get a shell for his coffin. "Ability or no ability," said the Master, "every father still speaks of 'my son.' When my own son Li died, and the coffin for him had no shell to it, I know I did not go on foot to get him one; but that was because I was, though retired, in the wake of the ministers, and could not therefore well do so."

On the death of Yen Yuen the Master exclaimed, "Ah me! Heaven is ruining me, Heaven is ruining me!"

On the same occasion, his wailing for that disciple becoming excessive, those who were about him said, "Sir, this is too much!"— "Too much?" said he; "if I am not to do so for him, then — for whom else?"

The disciples then wished for the deceased a grand funeral. The Master could not on his part consent to this. They nevertheless gave him one. Upon this he remarked, "He used to look upon me as if I were his father. I could never, however, look on him as a son. Twas not my mistake, but yours, my children."

Tsz-lu propounded a question about ministering to the spirits of the departed. The Master replied, “Where there is scarcely the ability to minister to living men, how shall there be ability to minister to the spirits?” On his venturing to put a question concerning death, he answered, “Where there is scarcely any knowledge about life, how shall there be any about death?”

The disciple Min was by his side, looking affable and bland; Tsz-lu also, looking careless and intrepid; and Yen Yu and Tsz-kung, firm and precise. The Master was cheery. “One like Tsz-lu there,” said he, “does not come to a natural end.”

Some persons in Lu were taking measures in regard to the Long Treasury House. Min Tsz-k’ien observed, “How if it were repaired on the old lines?” The Master upon this remarked, “This fellow is not a talker, but when he does speak he is bound to hit the mark!”

“There is Yu’s harpsichord,” exclaimed the Master— “what is it doing at my door?” On seeing, however, some disrespect shown to him by the other disciples, he added, “Yu has got as far as the top of the hall; only he has not yet entered the house.”

Tsz-kung asked which was the worthier of the two — Tsz-chang or Tsz-hiá. “The former,” answered the Master, “goes beyond the mark; the latter falls short of it.”

“So then Tsz-chang is the better of the two, is he?” said he.

“To go too far,” he replied, “is about the same as to fall short.”

The Chief of the Ki family was a wealthier man than the Duke of Chow had been, and yet Yen Yu gathered and hoarded for him, increasing his wealth more and more.

“He is no follower of mine,” said the Master. “It would serve him right, my children, to sound the drum, and set upon him.”

Characteristics of four disciples: — Tsz-káu was simple-minded; Tsang Si, a dullard; Tsz-chang, full of airs; Tsz-lu, rough.

“As to Hwúi,” said the Master, “he comes near to perfection, while frequently in great want. Tsz-kung does not submit to the appointments of Heaven; and yet his goods are increased; — he is often successful in his calculations.”

Tsz-chang wanted to know some marks of the naturally Good Man.

“He does not walk in others’ footprints,” said the Master; “yet he does not get beyond the hall into the house.”

Once the Master said, “Because we allow that a man’s words have something genuine in them, are they necessarily those of a superior man? or words carrying only an outward semblance and show of gravity?”

Tsz-lu put a question about the practice of precepts one has heard. The Master's reply was, "In a case where there is a father or elder brother still left with you, how should you practise all you hear?"

When, however, the same question was put to him by Yen Yu, his reply was, "Yes; do so."

Kung-si Hwa animadverted upon this to the Master. "Tsz-lu asked you, sir," said he, "about the practice of what one has learnt, and you said, 'There may be a father or elder brother still alive'; but when Yen Yu asked the same question, you answered, 'Yes, do so.' I am at a loss to understand you, and venture to ask what you meant."

The Master replied, "Yen Yu backs out of his duties; therefore I push him on. Tsz-lu has forwardness enough for them both; therefore I hold him back."

On the occasion of that time of fear in K'wang, Yen Yuen having fallen behind, the Master said to him (afterwards), "I took it for granted you were a dead man." "How should I dare to die," said he, "while you, sir, still lived?"

On Ki Tsz-jen putting to him a question anent Tsz-lu and Yen Yu, as to whether they might be called "great ministers," the Master answered, "I had expected your question, sir, to be about something extraordinary, and lo! it is only about these two. Those whom we call 'great ministers' are such as serve their prince conscientiously, and who, when they cannot do so, retire. At present, as regards the two you ask about, they may be called 'qualified ministers.'"

"Well, are they then," he asked, "such as will follow their leader?"

"They would not follow him who should slay his father and his prince!" was the reply.

Through the intervention of Tsz-lu, Tsz-kau was being appointed governor of Pi.

"You are spoiling a good man's son," said the Master.

Tsz-lu rejoined, "But he will have the people and their superiors to gain experience from, and there will be the altars; what need to read books? He can become a student afterwards."

"Here is the reason for my hatred of glib-tongued people," said the Master.

On one occasion Tsz-lu, Tsang Sin, Yen Yu, and Kung-si Hwa were sitting near him. He said to them, "Though I may be a day older than you, do not (for the moment) regard me as such. While you are living this unoccupied life you are saying, 'We do not become known.' Now suppose some one got to know you, what then?"

Tsz-lu — first to speak — at once answered, “Give me a State of large size and armament, hemmed in and hampered by other larger States, the population augmented by armies and regiments, causing a dearth in it of food of all kinds; give me charge of that State, and in three years’ time I should make a brave country of it, and let it know its place.”

The Master smiled at him. “Yen,” said he, “how would it be with you?”

“Give me,” said Yen, “a territory of sixty or seventy li square, or of fifty or sixty square; put me in charge of that, and in three years I should make the people sufficiently prosperous. As regards their knowledge of ceremonial or music, I should wait for superior men to teach them that.”

“And with you, Kung-si, how would it be?”

This disciple’s reply was, “I have nothing to say about my capabilities for such matters; my wish is to learn. I should like to be a junior assistant, in dark robe and cap, at the services of the ancestral temple, and at the Grand Receptions of the Princes by the Sovereign.”

“And with you, Tsang Sin?”

This disciple was strumming on his harpsichord, but now the twanging ceased, he turned from the instrument, rose to his feet, and answered thus: “Something different from the choice of these three.” “What harm?” said the Master; “I want each one of you to tell me what his heart is set upon.” “Well, then,” said he, “give me — in the latter part of spring — dressed in full spring-tide attire — in company with five or six young fellows of twenty, or six or seven lads under that age, to do the ablutions in the I stream, enjoy a breeze in the rain-dance, and finish up with songs on the road home.”

The Master drew in his breath, sighed, and exclaimed, “Ah, I take with you!”

The three other disciples having gone out, leaving Tsang Sin behind, the latter said, “What think you of the answers of those three?”— “Well, each told me what was uppermost in his mind,” said the Master;— “simply that.”

“Why did you smile at Tsz-lu, sir?”

“I smiled at him because to have the charge of a State requires due regard to the Rules of Propriety, and his words betrayed a lack of modesty.”

“But Yen, then — he had a State in view, had he not?”

“I should like to be shown a territory such as he described which does not amount to a State.”

“But had not Kung-si also a State in view?”

“What are ancestral temples and Grand Receptions, but for the feudal lords to take part in? If Kung-si were to become an unimportant assistant at these functions, who could become an important one?”

[Footnote 26: The men of virtuous life were Yen Yuen (Hwúi), Min Tsz-k'ien, Yen Pihniu, and Chung-kung (Yen Yung); the speakers and debaters were Tsai Wo and Tsz-kung; the (capable) government servants were Yen Yu and Tsz-lu; the literary students, Tsz-yu and Tsz-hiá.]

[Footnote 27: Lit., capped ones. At twenty they underwent the ceremony of capping, and were considered men.]

[Footnote 28: I.e., before the altars, where offerings were placed with prayer for rain. A religious dance.]

BOOK XII

The Master's Answers — Philanthropy — Friendships

Yen Yuen was asking about man's proper regard for his fellow-man. The Master said to him, "Self-control, and a habit of falling back upon propriety, virtually effect it. Let these conditions be fulfilled for one day, and every one round will betake himself to the duty. Is it to begin in one's self, or think you, indeed! it is to begin in others?"

"I wanted you to be good enough," said Yen Yuen, "to give me a brief synopsis of it."

Then said the Master, "Without Propriety use not your eyes; without it use not your ears, nor your tongue, nor a limb of your body."

"I may be lacking in diligence," said Yen Yuen, "but with your favor I will endeavor to carry out this advice."

Chung-kung asked about man's proper regard for his fellows.

To him the Master replied thus: "When you go forth from your door, be as if you were meeting some guest of importance. When you are making use of the common people (for State purposes), be as if you were taking part in a great religious function. Do not set before others what you do not desire yourself. Let there be no resentful feelings against you when you are away in the country, and none when at home."

"I may lack diligence," said Chung-kung, "but with your favor I will endeavor to carry out this advice."

Sz-ma Niu asked the like question. The answer he received was this: "The words of the man who has a proper regard for his fellows are uttered with difficulty."

"'His words — uttered with difficulty?'" he echoed, in surprise. "Is that what is meant by proper regard for one's fellow-creatures?"

"Where there is difficulty in doing," the Master replied, "will there not be some difficulty in utterance?"

The same disciple put a question about the "superior man." "Superior men," he replied, "are free from trouble and apprehension."

"'Free from trouble and apprehension!'" said he. "Does that make them 'superior men'?"

The Master added, "Where there is found, upon introspection, to be no chronic disease, how shall there be any trouble? how shall there be any apprehension?"

The same disciple, being in trouble, remarked, “I am alone in having no brother, while all else have theirs — younger or elder.”

Tsz-hiá said to him, “I have heard this: ‘Death and life have destined times; wealth and honors rest with Heaven. Let the superior man keep watch over himself without ceasing, showing deference to others, with propriety of manners — and all within the four seas will be his brethren. How should he be distressed for lack of brothers!’”

Tsz-chang asked what sort of man might be termed “enlightened.”

The Master replied, “That man with whom drenching slander and cutting calumny gain no currency may well be called enlightened. Ay, he with whom such things make no way may well be called enlightened in the extreme.”

Tsz-kung put a question relative to government. In reply the Master mentioned three essentials: — sufficient food, sufficient armament, and the people’s confidence.

“But,” said the disciple, “if you cannot really have all three, and one has to be given up, which would you give up first?”

“The armament,” he replied.

“And if you are obliged to give up one of the remaining two, which would it be?”

“The food,” said he. “Death has been the portion of all men from of old.
Without the people’s trust nothing can stand.”

Kih Tsz-shing once said, “Give me the inborn qualities of a gentleman, and I want no more. How are such to come from book-learning?”

Tsz-kung exclaimed, “Ah! sir, I regret to hear such words from you. A gentleman! — But ‘a team of four can ne’er o’er-take the tongue!’ Literary accomplishments are much the same as inborn qualities, and inborn qualities as literary accomplishments. A tiger’s or leopard’s skin without the hair might be a dog’s or sheep’s when so made bare.”

Duke Ngai was consulting Yu Joh. Said he, “It is a year of dearth, and there is an insufficiency for Ways and Means — what am I to do?”

“Why not apply the Tithing Statute?” said the minister.

“But two tithings would not be enough for my purposes,” said the duke; “what would be the good of applying the Statute?”

The minister replied, “So long as the people have enough left for themselves, who of them will allow their prince to be without enough? But — when the people have not enough, who will allow their prince all that he wants?”

Tsz-chang was asking how the standard of virtue was to be raised, and how to discern what was illusory or misleading. The Master's answer was, "Give a foremost place to honesty and faithfulness, and tread the path of righteousness, and you will raise the standard of virtue. As to discerning what is illusory, here is an example of an illusion: — Whom you love you wish to live; whom you hate you wish to die. To have wished the same person to live and also to be dead — there is an illusion for you."

Duke King of Ts'i consulted Confucius about government. His answer was, "Let a prince be a prince, and ministers be ministers; let fathers be fathers, and sons be sons."

"Good!" exclaimed the duke; "truly if a prince fail to be a prince, and ministers to be ministers, and if fathers be not fathers, and sons not sons, then, even though I may have my allowance of grain, should I ever be able to relish it?"

"The man to decide a cause with half a word," exclaimed the Master, "is Tsz-lu!"

Tsz-lu never let a night pass between promise and performance.

"In hearing causes, I am like other men," said the Master. "The great point is — to prevent litigation."

Tsz-chang having raised some question about government, the Master said to him, "In the settlement of its principles be unwearied; in its administration — see to that loyally."

"The man of wide research," said he, "who also restrains himself by the Rules of Propriety, is not likely to transgress."

Again, "The noble-minded man makes the most of others' good qualities, not the worst of their bad ones. Men of small mind do the reverse of this."

Ki K'ang was consulting him about the direction of public affairs. Confucius answered him, "A director should be himself correct. If you, sir, as a leader show correctness, who will dare not to be correct?"

Ki K'ang, being much troubled on account of robbers abroad, consulted Confucius on the matter. He received this reply: "If you, sir, were not covetous, neither would they steal, even were you to bribe them to do so."

Ki K'ang, when consulting Confucius about the government, said, "Suppose I were to put to death the disorderly for the better encouragement of the orderly — what say you to that?"

“Sir,” replied Confucius, “in the administration of government why resort to capital punishment? Covet what is good, and the people will be good. The virtue of the noble-minded man is as the wind, and that of inferior men as grass; the grass must bend, when the wind blows upon it.”

Tsz-chang asked how otherwise he would describe the learned official who might be termed influential.

“What, I wonder, do you mean by one who is influential?” said the Master.

“I mean,” replied the disciple, “one who is sure to have a reputation throughout the country, as well as at home.”

“That,” said the Master, “is reputation, not influence. The influential man, then, if he be one who is genuinely straightforward and loves what is just and right, a discriminator of men’s words, and an observer of their looks, and in honor careful to prefer others to himself — will certainly have influence, both throughout the country and at home. The man of mere reputation, on the other hand, who speciously affects philanthropy, though in his way of procedure he acts contrary to it, while yet quite evidently engrossed with that virtue — will certainly have reputation, both in the country and at home.”

Fan Ch’i, strolling with him over the ground below the place of the rain-dance, said to him, “I venture to ask how to raise the standard of virtue, how to reform dissolute habits, and how to discern what is illusory?”

“Ah! a good question indeed!” he exclaimed. “Well, is not putting duty first, and success second, a way of raising the standard of virtue? And is not attacking the evil in one’s self, and not the evil which is in others, a way of reforming dissolute habits? And as to illusions, is not one morning’s fit of anger, causing a man to forget himself, and even involving in the consequences those who are near and dear to him — is not that an illusion?”

The same disciple asked him what was meant by “a right regard for one’s fellow-creatures.” He replied, “It is love to man.”

Asked by him again what was meant by wisdom, he replied, “It is knowledge of man.”

Fan Ch’i did not quite grasp his meaning.

The Master went on to say, “Lift up the straight, set aside the crooked, so can you make the crooked straight.”

Fan Ch’i left him, and meeting with Tsz-hiá he said, “I had an interview just now with the Master, and I asked him what wisdom was. In his answer he said,

‘Lift up the straight, set aside the crooked, and so can you make the crooked straight.’ What was his meaning?”

“Ah! words rich in meaning, those,” said the other. “When Shun was emperor, and was selecting his men from among the multitude, he ‘lifted up’ Káu-yáu; and men devoid of right feelings towards their kind went far away. And when T’ang was emperor, and chose out his men from the crowd, he ‘lifted up’ I-yin — with the same result.”

Tsz-kung was consulting him about a friend. “Speak to him frankly, and respectfully,” said the Master, “and gently lead him on. If you do not succeed, then stop; do not submit yourself to indignity.”

The learned Tsang observed, “In the society of books the ‘superior man’ collects his friends; in the society of his friends he is furthering good-will among men.”

[Footnote 29: From Confucius, it is generally thought.]

BOOK XIII

Answers on the Art of Governing — Consistency

Tsz-lu was asking about government. “Lead the way in it,” said the Master, “and work hard at it.”

Requested to say more, he added, “And do not tire of it.”

Chung-kung, on being made first minister to the Chief of the Ki family, consulted the Master about government, and to him he said, “Let the heads of offices be heads. Excuse small faults. Promote men of sagacity and talent.”

“But,” he asked, “how am I to know the sagacious and talented, before promoting them?”

“Promote those whom you do know,” said the Master.

“As to those of whom you are uncertain, will others omit to notice them?”

Tsz-lu said to the Master, “As the prince of Wei, sir, has been waiting for you to act for him in his government, what is it your intention to take in hand first?”

“One thing of necessity,” he answered— “the rectification of terms.”

“That!” exclaimed Tsz-lu. “How far away you are, sir! Why such rectification?”

“What a rustic you are, Tsz-lu!” rejoined the Master. “A gentleman would be a little reserved and reticent in matters which he does not understand. If terms be incorrect, language will be incongruous; and if language be incongruous, deeds will be imperfect. So, again, when deeds are imperfect, propriety and harmony cannot prevail, and when this is the case laws relating to crime will fail in their aim; and if these last so fail, the people will not know where to set hand or foot. Hence, a man of superior mind, certain first of his terms, is fitted to speak; and being certain of what he says can proceed upon it. In the language of such a person there is nothing heedlessly irregular — and that is the sum of the matter.”

Fan Ch’i requested that he might learn something of husbandry. “For that.” said the Master, “I am not equal to an old husbandman.” Might he then learn something of gardening? he asked. “I am not equal to an old gardener.” was the reply.

“A man of little mind, that!” said the Master, when Fan Ch’i had gone out. “Let a man who is set over the people love propriety, and they will not presume to be disrespectful. Let him be a lover of righteousness, and they will not presume to be aught but submissive. Let him love faithfulness and truth, and they will not presume not to lend him their hearty assistance. Ah, if all this only

were so, the people from all sides would come to such a one, carrying their children on their backs. What need to turn his hand to husbandry?

"Though a man," said he, "could hum through the Odes — the three hundred — yet should show himself unskilled when given some administrative work to do for his country; though he might know much of that other lore, yet if, when sent on a mission to any quarter, he could answer no question personally and unaided, what after all is he good for?

"Let a leader," said he, "show rectitude in his own personal character, and even without directions from him things will go well. If he be not personally upright, his directions will not be complied with."

Once he made the remark, "The governments of Lu and of Wei are in brotherhood."

Of King, a son of the Duke of Wei, he observed that "he managed his household matters well. On his coming into possession, he thought, 'What a strange conglomeration!' — Coming to possess a little more, it was, 'Strange, such a result!' And when he became wealthy, 'Strange, such elegance!'"

The Master was on a journey to Wei, and Yen Yu was driving him. "What multitudes of people!" he exclaimed. Yen Yu asked him, "Seeing they are so numerous, what more would you do for them?"

"Enrich them," replied the Master.

"And after enriching them, what more would you do for them?"

"Instruct them."

"Were any one of our princes to employ me," he said, "after a twelvemonth I might have made some tolerable progress;"

Again, "How true is that saying, 'Let good men have the management of a country for a century, and they would be adequate to cope with evil-doers, and thus do away with capital punishments,'"

Again, "Suppose the ruler to possess true kingly qualities, then surely after one generation there would be good-will among men."

Again, "Let a ruler but see to his own rectitude, and what trouble will he then have in the work before him? If he be unable to rectify himself, how is he to rectify others?"

Once when Yen Yu was leaving the Court, the Master accosted him. "Why so late?" he asked. "Busy with legislation," Yen replied. "The details of it," suggested the Master; "had it been legislation, I should have been there to hear it, even though I am not in office."

Duke Ting asked if there were one sentence which, if acted upon, might have the effect of making a country prosperous.

Confucius answered, “A sentence could hardly be supposed to do so much as that. But there is a proverb people use which says, ‘To play the prince is hard, to play the minister not easy.’ Assuming that it is understood that ‘to play the prince is hard,’ would it not be probable that with that one sentence the country should be made to prosper?”

“Is there, then,” he asked, “one sentence which, if acted upon, would have the effect of ruining a country?”

Confucius again replied, “A sentence could hardly be supposed to do so much as that. But there is a proverb men have which says, ‘Not gladly would I play the prince, unless my words were ne’er withstood.’ Assuming that the words were good, and that none withstood them, would not that also be good? But assuming that they were not good, and yet none withstood them, would it not be probable that with that one saying he would work his country’s ruin?”

When the Duke of Sheh consulted him about government, he replied, “Where the near are gratified, the far will follow.”

When Tsz-hiá became governor of Kü-fu, and consulted him about government, he answered, “Do not wish for speedy results. Do not look at trivial advantages. If you wish for speedy results, they will not be far-reaching; and if you regard trivial advantages you will not successfully deal with important affairs.”

The Duke of Sheh in a conversation with Confucius said, “There are some straightforward persons in my neighborhood. If a father has stolen a sheep, the son will give evidence against him.”

“Straightforward people in my neighborhood are different from those,” said Confucius. “The father will hold a thing secret on his son’s behalf, and the son does the same for his father. They are on their way to becoming straightforward.”

Fan Ch’i was asking him about duty to one’s fellow-men. “Be courteous,” he replied, “in your private sphere; be serious in any duty you take in hand to do; be leal-hearted in your intercourse with others. Even though you were to go amongst the wild tribes, it would not be right for you to neglect these duties.”

In answer to Tsz-kung, who asked, “how he would characterize one who could fitly be called ‘learned official,’” the Master said, “He may be so-called who in his private life is affected with a sense of his own unworthiness, and who, when sent on a mission to any quarter of the empire, would not disgrace his prince’s commands.”

“May I presume,” said his questioner, “to ask what sort you would put next to such?”

“Him who is spoken of by his kinsmen as a dutiful son, and whom the folks of his neighborhood call’ good brother.’”

“May I still venture to ask whom you would place next in order?”

“Such as are sure to be true to their word, and effective in their work — who are given to hammering, as it were, upon one note — of inferior calibre indeed, but fit enough, I think, to be ranked next.”

“How would you describe those who are at present in the government service?”

“Ugh! mere peck and panier men! — not worth taking into the reckoning.”

Once he remarked, “If I cannot get *via media* men to impart instruction to, then I must of course take the impetuous and undisciplined! The impetuous ones will at least go forward and lay hold on things; and the undisciplined have at least something in them which needs to be brought out.”

“The Southerners,” said he, “have the proverb, ‘The man who sticks not to rule will never make a charm-worker or a medical man,’ Good!— ‘Whoever is intermittent in his practise of virtue will live to be ashamed of it.’ Without prognostication,” he added, “that will indeed be so.”

“The nobler-minded man,” he remarked, “will be agreeable even when he disagrees; the small-minded man will agree and be disagreeable.”

Tsz-kung was consulting him, and asked, “What say you of a person who was liked by all in his village?”

“That will scarcely do,” he answered.

“What, then, if they all disliked him?”

“That, too,” said he, “is scarcely enough. Better if he were liked by the good folk in the village, and disliked by the bad.”

“The superior man,” he once observed, “is easy to serve, but difficult to please. Try to please him by the adoption of wrong principles, and you will fail. Also, when such a one employs others, he uses them according to their capacity. The inferior man is, on the other hand, difficult to serve, but easy to please. Try to please him by the adoption of wrong principles, and you will succeed. And when he employs others he requires them to be fully prepared for everything.”

Again, “The superior man can be high without being haughty. The inferior man can be haughty if not high.”

“The firm, the unflinching, the plain and simple, the slow to speak,” said he once, “are approximating towards their duty to their fellow-men.”

Tsz-lu asked how he would characterize one who might fitly be called an educated gentleman. The master replied, “He who can properly be so-called will have in him a seriousness of purpose, a habit of controlling himself, and an

agreeableness of manner: among his friends and associates the seriousness and the self-control, and among his brethren the agreeableness of manner."

"Let good and able men discipline the people for seven years," said the Master, "and after that they may do to go to war."

But, said he, "To lead an undisciplined people to war — that I call throwing them away."

BOOK XIV

Good and Bad Government — Miscellaneous Sayings

Yuen Sz asked what might be considered to bring shame on one.

"Pay," said the Master; "pay — ever looking to that, whether the country be well or badly governed."

"When imperiousness, boastfulness, resentments, and covetousness cease to prevail among the people, may it be considered that mutual good-will has been effected?" To this question the Master replied, "A hard thing overcome, it may be considered. But as to the mutual good-will — I cannot tell."

"Learned officials," said he, "who hanker after a home life, are not worthy of being esteemed as such."

Again, "In a country under good government, speak boldly, act boldly. When the land is ill-governed, though you act boldly, let your words be moderate."

Again, "Men of virtue will needs be men of words — will speak out — but men of words are not necessarily men of virtue. They who care for their fellow-men will needs be bold, but the bold may not necessarily be such as care for their fellow-men."

Nan-kung Kwoh, who was consulting Confucius, observed respecting I, the skilful archer, and Ngau, who could propel a boat on dry land, that neither of them died a natural death; while Yu and Tsih, who with their own hands had labored at husbandry, came to wield imperial sway.

The Master gave him no reply. But when the speaker had gone out he exclaimed, "A superior man, that! A man who values virtue, that!"

"There have been noble-minded men," said he, "who yet were wanting in philanthropy; but never has there been a small-minded man who had philanthropy in him."

He asked, "Can any one refuse to toil for those he loves? Can any one refuse to exhort, who is true-hearted?"

Speaking of the preparation of Government Notifications in his day he said, "P'i would draw up a rough sketch of what was to be said; the Shishuh then looked it carefully through and put it into proper shape; Tsz-yu next, who was master of the ceremonial of State intercourse, improved and adorned its phrases; and Tsz-ch'an of Tung-li added his scholarly embellishments thereto."

To some one who asked his opinion of the last-named, he said, "He was a kind-hearted man." Asked what he thought of Tsz-si, he exclaimed, "Alas for him! alas for him!" — Asked again about Kwan Chung, his answer was, "As to

him, he once seized the town of P'in with its three hundred families from the Chief of the Pih clan, who, afterwards reduced to living upon coarse rice, with all his teeth gone, never uttered a word of complaint."

"It is no light thing," said he, "to endure poverty uncomplainingly; and a difficult thing to bear wealth without becoming arrogant."

Respecting Mang Kung-ch'oh, he said that, while he was fitted for something better than the post of chief officer in the Cháu or Wei families, he was not competent to act as minister in small States like those of T'ang or Sieh.

Tsz-lu asked how he would describe a perfect man. He replied, "Let a man have the sagacity of Tsang Wu-chung, the freedom from covetousness of Kung-ch'oh, the boldness of Chwang of P'in, and the attainments in polite arts of Yen Yu; and gift him further with the graces taught by the 'Books of Rites' and 'Music' — then he may be considered a perfect man. But," said he, "what need of such in these days? The man that may be regarded as perfect now is the one who, seeing some advantage to himself, is mindful of righteousness; who, seeing danger, risks his life; and who, if bound by some covenant of long standing, never forgets its conditions as life goes on."

Respecting Kung-shuh Wan, the Master inquired of Kung-ming Kiá, saying, "Is it true that your master never speaks, never laughs, never takes aught from others?"

"Those who told you that of him," said he, "have gone too far. My master speaks when there is occasion to do so, and men are not surfeited with his speaking. When there is occasion to be merry too, he will laugh, but men have never overmuch of his laughing. And whenever it is just and right to take things from others, he will take them, but never so as to allow men to think him burdensome." "Is that the case with him?" said the Master. "Can it be so?"

Respecting Tsang Wu-chung the Master said, "When he sought from Lu the appointment of a successor to him, and for this object held on to his possession of the fortified city of Fang — if you say he was not then using constraint towards his prince, I must refuse to believe it."

Duke Wan of Tsin he characterized as "artful but not upright"; and Duke Hwan of Ts'i as "upright but not artful."

Tsz-lu remarked, "When Duke Hwan caused his brother Kiu to be put to death, Shau Hwuh committed suicide, but Kwan Chung did not. I should say he was not a man who had much good-will in him — eh?"

The Master replied, "When Duke Hwan held a great gathering of the feudal lords, dispensing with military equipage, it was owing to Kwan Chung's energy

that such an event was brought about. Match such good-will as that — match it if you can."

Tsz-kung then spoke up. "But was not Kwan Chung wanting in good-will? He could not give up his life when Duke Hwan caused his brother to be put to death. Besides, he became the duke's counsellor."

"And in acting as his counsellor put him at the head of all the feudal lords," said the Master, "and unified and reformed the whole empire; and the people, even to this day, reap benefit from what he did. Had it not been for him we should have been going about with locks unkempt and buttoning our jackets (like barbarians) on the left. Would you suppose that he should show the same sort of attachment as exists between a poor yokel and his one wife — that he would asphyxiate himself in some sewer, leaving no one the wiser?"

Kung-shuh Wan's steward, who became the high officer Sien, went up accompanied by Wan to the prince's hall of audience.

When Confucius heard of this he remarked, "He may well be esteemed a 'Wan,'"

The Master having made some reference to the lawless ways of Duke Ling of Wei, Ki K'ang said to him, "If he be like that, how is it he does not ruin his position?"

Confucius answered, "The Chung-shuh, Yu, is charged with the entertainment of visitors and strangers; the priest T'o has charge of the ancestral temple; and Wang-sun Kiá has the control of the army and its divisions: — with men such as those, how should he come to ruin?"

He once remarked, "He who is unblushing in his words will with difficulty substantiate them."

Ch'in Shing had slain Duke Kien. Hearing of this, Confucius, after performing his ablutions, went to Court and announced the news to Duke Ngai, saying, "Ch'in Hang has slain his prince. May I request that you proceed against him?"

"Inform the Chiefs of the Three Families," said the duke.

Soliloquizing upon this, Confucius said, "Since he uses me to back his ministers, I did not dare not to announce the matter to him; and now he says, 'Inform the Three Chiefs.'"

He went to the Three Chiefs and informed them, but nothing could be done. Whereupon again he said, "Since he uses me to back his ministers, I did not dare not to announce the matter."

Tsz-lu was questioning him as to how he should serve his prince.

Tsz-lu was questioning him as to how he should serve his prince.
"Deceive him not, but reprove him," he answered.

"The minds of superior men," he observed, "trend upwards; those of inferior men trend downwards."

Again, "Students of old fixed their eyes upon themselves: now they learn with their eyes upon others."

Kü Pih-yuh despatched a man with a message to Confucius. Confucius gave him a seat, and among other inquiries he asked, "How is your master managing?" "My master," he replied, "has a great wish to be seldom at fault, and as yet he cannot manage it."

"What a messenger!" exclaimed he admiringly, when the man went out.
"What a messenger!"

"When not occupying the office," was a remark of his, "devise not the policy."

The Learned Tsang used to say, "The thoughts of the 'superior man' do not wander from his own office."

"Superior men," said the Master, "are modest in their words, profuse in their deeds."

Again, "There are three attainments of the superior man which are beyond me — the being sympathetic without anxiety, wise without scepticism, brave without fear."

"Sir," said Tsz-kung, "that is what you say of yourself."

Whenever Tsz-kung drew comparisons from others, the Master would say, "Ah, how wise and great you must have become! Now I have no time to do that."

Again, "My great concern is, not that men do not know me, but that they cannot."

Again, "If a man refrain from making preparations against his being imposed upon, and from counting upon others' want of good faith towards him, while he is foremost to perceive what is passing — surely that is a wise and good man."

Wi-shang Mau accosted Confucius, saying, "Kiu, how comes it that you manage to go perching and roosting in this way? Is it not because you show yourself so smart a speaker, now?"

"I should not dare do that," said Confucius. "Tis that I am sick of men's immovableness and deafness to reason."

"In a well-bred horse," said he, "what one admires is not its speed, but its good points."

Some one asked, “What say you of the remark, ‘Requite enmity with kindness’?”

“How then,” he answered, “would you requite kindness? Requite enmity with straightforwardness, and kindness with kindness.”

“Ah! no one knows me!” he once exclaimed.

“Sir,” said Tsz-kung, “how comes it to pass that no one knows you?”

“While I murmur not against Heaven,” continued the Master, “nor cavil at men; while I stoop to learn and aspire to penetrate into things that are high; yet ’tis Heaven alone knows what I am.”

Liáu, a kinsman of the duke, having laid a complaint against Tsz-lu before Ki K’ang, an officer came to Confucius to inform him of the fact, and he added, “My lord is certainly having his mind poisoned by his kinsman Liáu, but through my influence perhaps we may yet manage to see him exposed in the marketplace or the Court.”

“If right principles are to have their course, it is so destined,” said the Master; “if they are not to have their course, it is so destined. What can Liáu do against Destiny?”

“There are worthy men,” said the Master, “fleeing from the world; some from their district; some from the sight of men’s looks; some from the language they hear.”

“The men who have risen from their posts and withdrawn in this manner are seven in number.”

Tsz-lu, having lodged overnight in Shih-mun, was accosted by the gate-keeper in the morning. “Where from?” he asked. “From Confucius,” Tsz-lu responded. “That is the man,” said he, “who knows things are not up to the mark, and is making some ado about them, is it not?”

When the Master was in Wei, he was once pounding on the musical stone, when a man with a basket of straw crossed his threshold, and exclaimed, “Ah, there is a heart that feels! Aye, drub the stone!” After which he added, “How vulgar! how he hammers away on one note! — and no one knows him, and he gives up, and all is over!

Be it deep, our skirts we’ll raise to the waist,
— Or shallow, then up to the knee,’”

“What determination!” said the Master. “Yet it was not hard to do.”

Tsz-chang once said to him, “In the ‘Book of the Annals’ it is stated that while Káu-tsung was in the Mourning Shed he spent the three years without speaking. What is meant by that?”

“Why must you name Káu-tsung?” said the Master. “It was so with all other ancient sovereigns: when one of them died, the heads of every department agreed between themselves that they should give ear for three years to the Prime Minister.”

“When their betters love the Rules, then the folk are easy tools,” was a saying of the Master.

Tsz-lu having asked what made a “superior man,” he answered,
“Self-culture, with a view to becoming seriously-minded.”

“Nothing more than that?” said he.

“Self-culture with a view to the greater satisfaction of others,” added the Master.

“That, and yet no more?”

“Self-culture with a view to the greater satisfaction of all the clans and classes,” he again added. “Self-culture for the sake of all — a result that, that would almost put Yau and Shun into the shade!”

To Yuen Jang, who was sitting waiting for him in a squatting (disrespectful) posture, the Master delivered himself as follows: “The man who in his youth could show no humility or subordination, who in his prime misses his opportunity, and who when old age comes upon him will not die — that man is a miscreant.” And he tapped him on the shin with his staff.

Some one asked about his attendant — a youth from the village of Kiueh — whether he was one who improved. He replied, “I note that he seats himself in the places reserved for his betters, and that when he is walking he keeps abreast with his seniors. He is not one of those who care for improvement: he wants to be a man all at once.”

[Footnote 30: Confucius had now retired from office, and this incident occurred only two years before his death.]

[Footnote 31: It is a habit with the Chinese, when a number are out walking together, for the eldest to go first, the others pairing off according to their age. It is a custom much older than the time of Confucius.]

BOOK XV

Practical Wisdom — Reciprocity the Rule of Life

Duke Ling of Wei was consulting Confucius about army arrangements. His answer was, “Had you asked me about such things as temple requisites, I have learnt that business, but I have not yet studied military matters.” And he followed up this reply by leaving on the following day.

After this, during his residence in the State of Ch’in, his followers, owing to a stoppage of food supply, became so weak and ill that not one of them could stand. Tsz-lu, with indignation pictured on his countenance, exclaimed, “And is a gentleman to suffer starvation?”

“A gentleman,” replied the Master, “will endure it unmoved, but a common person breaks out into excesses under it.”

Addressing Tsz-kung, the Master said, “You regard me as one who studies and stores up in his mind a multiplicity of things — do you not?”— “I do,” he replied; “is it not so?”— “Not at all. I have one idea — one cord on which to string all.”

To Tsz-lu he remarked, “They who know Virtue are rare.”

“If you would know one who without effort ruled well, was not Shun such a one? What did he indeed do? He bore himself with reverent dignity and undeviatingly ‘faced the south,’ and that was all.”

Tsz-chang was consulting him about making way in life. He answered, “Be true and honest in all you say, and seriously earnest in all you do, and then, even if your country be one inhabited by barbarians, South or North, you will make your way. If you do not show yourself thus in word and deed how should you succeed, even in your own district or neighborhood? — When you are afoot, let these two counsels be two companions preceding you, yourself viewing them from behind; when you drive, have them in view as on the yoke of your carriage. Then may you make your way.”

Tsz-chang wrote them on the two ends of his cincture.

“Straight was the course of the Annalist Yu,” said the Master— “aye, straight as an arrow flies; were the country well governed or ill governed, his was an arrow-like course.

“A man of masterly mind, too, is Kü Pih-yuh! When the land is being rightly governed he will serve; when it is under bad government he is apt to recoil, and brood.”

“Not to speak to a man.” said he, “to whom you ought to speak, is to lose your man; to speak to one to whom you ought not to speak is to lose your words. Those who are wise will not lose their man nor yet their words.”

Again, “The scholar whose heart is in his work, and who is philanthropic, seeks not to gain a livelihood by any means that will do harm to his philanthropy. There have been men who have destroyed their own lives in the endeavor to bring that virtue in them to perfection.”

Tsz-kung asked how to become philanthropic. The Master answered him thus: “A workman who wants to do his work well must first sharpen his tools. In whatever land you live, serve under some wise and good man among those in high office, and make friends with the more humane of its men of education.”

Yen Yuen consulted him on the management of a country. He answered:

“Go by the Hiá Calendar. Have the State carriages like those of the Yin princes. Wear the Chow cap. For your music let that of Shun be used for the posturers. Put away the songs of Ch’ing, and remove far from you men of artful speech: the Ch’ing songs are immodest, and artful talkers are dangerous.”

Other sayings of the Master:

“They who care not for the morrow will the sooner have their sorrow.

“Ah, ’tis hopeless! I have not yet met with the man who loves Virtue as he loves Beauty.

“Was not Tsang Wan like one who surreptitiously came by the post he held? He knew the worth of Hwúi of Liu-hiá, and could not stand in his presence.

“Be generous yourself, and exact little from others; then you banish complaints.

“With one who does not come to me inquiring ‘What of this?’ and ‘What of that?’ I never can ask ‘What of this?’ and give him up.

“If a number of students are all day together, and in their conversation never approach the subject of righteousness, but are fond merely of giving currency to smart little sayings, they are difficult indeed to manage.

“When the ‘superior man’ regards righteousness as the thing material, gives operation to it according to the Rules of Propriety, lets it issue in humility, and become complete in sincerity — there indeed is your superior man!

“The trouble of the superior man will be his own want of ability: it will be no trouble to him that others do not know him.

“Such a man thinks it hard to end his days and leave a name to be no longer named.

“The superior man is exacting of himself; the common man is exacting of others.

“A superior man has self-respect, and does not strive; is sociable, yet no party man.

“He does not promote a man because of his words, or pass over the words because of the man.”

Tsz-kung put to him the question, “Is there one word upon which the whole life may proceed?”

The Master replied, “Is not Reciprocity such a word? — what you do not yourself desire, do not put before others.”

“So far as I have to do with others, whom do I over-censure? whom do I over-praise? If there be something in them that looks very praiseworthy, that something I put to the test. I would have the men of the present day to walk in the straight path whereby those of the Three Dynasties have walked.

“I have arrived as it were at the annalist’s blank page. — Once he who had a horse would lend it to another to mount; now, alas! it is not so.

“Artful speech is the confusion of Virtue. Impatience over little things introduces confusion into great schemes.

“What is disliked by the masses needs inquiring into; so also does that which they have a preference for.

“A man may give breadth to his principles: it is not principles (in themselves) that give breadth to the man.

“Not to retract after committing an error may itself be called error.

“If I have passed the whole day without food and the whole night without sleep, occupied with my thoughts, it profits me nothing: I were better engaged in learning.

“The superior man deliberates upon how he may walk in truth, not upon what he may eat. The farmer may plough, and be on the way to want: the student learns, and is on his way to emolument. To live a right life is the concern of men of nobler minds: poverty gives them none.

“Whatsoever the intellect may attain to, unless the humanity within is powerful enough to keep guard over it, is assuredly lost, even though it be gained.

“If there be intellectual attainments, and the humanity within is powerful enough to keep guard over them, yet, unless (in a ruler) there be dignity in his rule, the people will fail to show him respect.

“Again, given the intellectual attainments, and humanity sufficient to keep watch over them, and also dignity in ruling, yet if his movements be not in accordance with the Rules of Propriety, he is not yet fully qualified.

“The superior man may not be conversant with petty details, and yet may have important matters put into his hands. The inferior man may not be charged

with important matters, yet may be conversant with the petty details.

"Good-fellowship is more to men than fire and water. I have seen men stepping into fire and into water, and meeting with death thereby; I have not yet seen a man die from planting his steps in the path of good-fellowship.

"Rely upon good nature. 'Twill not allow precedence even to a teacher.

"The superior man is inflexibly upright, and takes not things upon trust.

"In serving your prince, make your service the serious concern, and let salary be a secondary matter.

"Where instruction is to be given, there must be no distinction of persons.

"Where men's methods are not identical, there can be no planning by one on behalf of another.

"In speaking, perspicuity is all that is needed."

When the blind music-master Mien paid him a visit, on his approaching the steps the Master called out "Steps," and on his coming to the mat, said "Mat." When all in the room were seated, the Master told him "So-and-so is here, so-and-so is here."

When the music-master had left, Tsz-chang said to him, "Is that the way to speak to the music-master?" "Well," he replied, "it is certainly the way to assist him."

BOOK XVI

Against Intestine Strife — Good and Bad Friendships

The Chief of the Ki family was about to make an onslaught upon the Chuen-yu domain.

Yen Yu and Tsz-lu in an interview with Confucius told him, “The Ki is about to have an affair with Chuen-yu.”

“Yen,” said Confucius, “does not the fault lie with you? The Chief of Chuen-yu in times past was appointed lord of the East Mung (mountain); besides, he dwells within the confines of your own State, and is an official of the State-worship; how can you think of making an onslaught upon him?”

“It is the wish of our Chief,” said Yen Yu, “not the wish of either of us ministers.”

Confucius said, “Yen, there is a sentence of Cháu Jin which runs thus: ‘Having made manifest their powers and taken their place in the official list, when they find themselves incompetent they resign; if they cannot be firm when danger threatens the government, nor lend support when it is reeling, of what use then shall they be as Assistants?’ — Besides, you are wrong in what you said. When a rhinoceros or tiger breaks out of its cage — when a jewel or tortoise-shell ornament is damaged in its casket — whose fault is it?”

“But,” said Yen Yu, “so far as Chuen-yu is concerned, it is now fortified, and it is close to Pi; and if he does not now take it, in another generation it will certainly be a trouble to his descendants.”

“Yen!” exclaimed Confucius, “it is a painful thing to a superior man to have to desist from saying, ‘My wish is so-and-so,’ and to be obliged to make apologies. For my part, I have learnt this — that rulers of States and heads of Houses are not greatly concerned about their small following, but about the want of equilibrium in it — that they do not concern themselves about their becoming poor, but about the best means of living quietly and contentedly; for where equilibrium is preserved there will be no poverty, where there is harmony their following will not be small, and where there is quiet contentment there will be no decline nor fall. Now if that be the case, it follows that if men in outlying districts are not submissive, then a reform in education and morals will bring them to; and when they have been so won, then will you render them quiet and contented. At the present time you two are Assistants of your Chief; the people in the outlying districts are not submissive, and cannot be brought round. Your

dominion is divided, prostrate, dispersed, cleft in pieces, and you as its guardians are powerless. And plans are being made for taking up arms against those who dwell within your own State. I am apprehensive that the sorrow of the Ki family is not to lie in Chuen-yu, but in those within their own screen."

"When the empire is well-ordered," said Confucius, "it is from the emperor that edicts regarding ceremonial, music, and expeditions to quell rebellion go forth. When it is being ill governed, such edicts emanate from the feudal lords; and when the latter is the case, it will be strange if in ten generations there is not a collapse. If they emanate merely from the high officials, it will be strange if the collapse do not come in five generations. When the State-edicts are in the hands of the subsidiary ministers, it will be strange if in three generations there is no collapse.

"When the empire is well-ordered, government is not left in the hands of high officials.

"When the empire is well-ordered, the common people will cease to discuss public matters."

"For five generations," he said, "the revenue has departed from the ducal household. Four generations ago the government fell into the hands of the high officials. Hence, alas! the straitened means of the descendants of the three Hwan families."

"There are," said he, "three kinds of friendships which are profitable, and three which are detrimental. To make friends with the upright, with the trustworthy, with the experienced, is to gain benefit; to make friends with the subtly perverse, with the artfully pliant, with the subtle in speech, is detrimental."

Again, "There are three kinds of pleasure which are profitable, and three which are detrimental. To take pleasure in going regularly through the various branches of Ceremonial and Music, in speaking of others' goodness, in having many worthy wise friends, is profitable. To take pleasure in wild bold pleasures, in idling carelessly about, in the too jovial accompaniments of feasting, is detrimental."

Again, "Three errors there be, into which they who wait upon their superior may fall: — (1) to speak before the opportunity comes to them to speak, which I call heedless haste; (2) refraining from speaking when the opportunity has come, which I call concealment; and (3) speaking, regardless of the mood he is in, which I call blindness."

Again, "Three things a superior should guard against: — (1) against the lusts of the flesh in his earlier years while the vital powers are not fully developed and fixed; (2) against the spirit of combativeness when he has come to the age of

robust manhood and when the vital powers are matured and strong, and (3) against ambitiousness when old age has come on and the vital powers have become weak and decayed."

"Three things also such a man greatly reveres: — (1) the ordinances of Heaven, (2) great men, (3) words of sages. The inferior man knows not the ordinances of Heaven and therefore reveres them not, is unduly familiar in the presence of great men, and scoffs at the words of sages."

"They whose knowledge comes by birth are of all men the first in understanding; they to whom it comes by study are next; men of poor intellectual capacity, who yet study, may be added as a yet inferior class; and lowest of all are they who are poor in intellect and never learn."

"Nine things there are of which the superior man should be mindful: — to be clear in vision, quick in hearing, genial in expression, respectful in demeanor, true in word, serious in duty, inquiring in doubt, firmly self-controlled in anger, just and fair when the way to success opens out before him."

"Some have spoken of 'looking upon goodness as upon something beyond their reach,' and of 'looking upon evil as like plunging one's hands into scalding liquid'; — I have seen the men, I have heard the sayings.

"Some, again, have talked of 'living in seclusion to work out their designs,' and of 'exercising themselves in righteous living in order to render their principles the more effective'; — I have heard the sayings, I have not seen the men."

"Duke King of Ts'i had his thousand teams of four, yet on the day of his death the people had nothing to say of his goodness. Peh-I and Shuh-Ts'i starved at the foot of Shau-yang, and the people make mention of them to this day.

'E'en if not wealth thine object be,
'Tis all the same, thou'rt changed to me.'

"Is not this apropos in such cases?"

Tsz-k'in asked of Pih-yu, "Have you heard anything else peculiar from your father?"

"Not yet," said he. "Once, though, he was standing alone when I was hurrying past him over the vestibule, and he said, 'Are you studying the Odes?' 'Not yet,' I replied. 'If you do not learn the Odes,' said he, 'you will not have the wherewithal for conversing,' I turned away and studied the Odes. Another day, when he was again standing alone and I was hurrying past across the vestibule, he said to me, 'Are you learning the Rules of Propriety?' 'Not yet,' I replied. 'If

you have not studied the Rules, you have nothing to stand upon,' said he. I turned away and studied the Rules. — These two things I have heard from him."

Tsz-k'in turned away, and in great glee exclaimed, "I asked one thing, and have got three. I have learnt something about the Odes, and about the Rules, and moreover I have learnt how the superior man will turn away his own son."

The wife of the ruler of a State is called by her husband "My helpmeet." She speaks of herself as "Your little handmaiden." The people of that State call her "The prince's helpmeet," but addressing persons of another State they speak of her as "Our little princess." When persons of another State name her they say also "Your prince's helpmeet."

BOOK XVII

The Master Induced to Take Office — Nature and Habit

Yang Ho was desirous of having an interview with Confucius, but on the latter's failing to go and see him, he sent a present of a pig to his house. Confucius went to return his acknowledgments for it at a time when he was not at home. They met, however, on the way.

He said to Confucius, "Come, I want a word with you. Can that man be said to have good-will towards his fellow-men who hugs and hides his own precious gifts and allows his country to go on in blind error?"

"He cannot," was the reply.

"And can he be said to be wise who, with a liking for taking part in the public service, is constantly letting slip his opportunities?"

"He cannot," was the reply again.

"And the days and months are passing; and the years do not wait for us."

"True," said Confucius; "I will take office."

It was a remark of the Master that while "by nature we approximate towards each other, by experience we go far asunder."

Again, "Only the supremely wise and the most deeply ignorant do not alter."

The Master once, on his arrival at Wu-shing, heard the sound of stringed instruments and singing. His face beamed with pleasure, and he said laughingly, "To kill a cock — why use an ox-knife?"

Tsz-yu, the governor, replied, "In former days, sir, I heard you say, 'Let the superior man learn right principles, and he will be loving to other men; let the ordinary person learn right principles, and he will be easily managed.'"

The Master (turning to his disciples) said, "Sirs, what he says is right: what I said just now was only in play."

Having received an invitation from Kung-shan Fuh-jau, who was in revolt against the government and was holding to his district of Pi, the Master showed an inclination to go.

Tsz-lu was averse to this, and said, "You can never go, that is certain; how should you feel you must go to that person?"

"Well," said the Master, "he who has invited me must surely not have done so without a sufficient reason! And if it should happen that my services were enlisted, I might create for him another East Chow — don't you think so?"

Tsz-chang asked Confucius about the virtue of philanthropy. His answer was, "It is the being able to put in practice five qualities, in any place under the sun."

“May I ask, please, what these are?” said the disciple.

“They are,” he said, “dignity, indulgence, faithfulness, earnestness, kindness. If you show dignity you will not be mocked; if you are indulgent you will win the multitude; if faithful, men will place their trust in you; if earnest, you will do something meritorious; and if kind, you will be enabled to avail yourself amply of men’s services.”

Pih Hih sent the Master an invitation, and he showed an inclination to go.

Tsz-lu (seeing this) said to him, “In former days, sir, I have heard you say, ‘A superior man will not enter the society of one who does not that which is good in matters concerning himself’; and this man is in revolt, with Chung-man in his possession; if you go to him, how will the case stand?”

“Yes,” said the Master, “those are indeed my words; but is it not said, ‘What is hard may be rubbed without being made thin,’ and ‘White may be stained without being made black’? — I am surely not a gourd! How am I to be strung up like that kind of thing — and live without means?”

“Tsz-lu,” said the Master, “you have heard of the six words with their six obfuscations?”

“No,” said he, “not so far.”

“Sit down, and I will tell you them. They are these six virtues, cared for without care for any study about them: — philanthropy, wisdom, faithfulness, straightforwardness, courage, firmness. And the six obfuscations resulting from not liking to learn about them are, respectively, these: — fatuity, mental dissipation, mischievousness, perversity, insubordination, impetuosity.”

“My children,” said he once, “why does no one of you study the Odes? — They are adapted to rouse the mind, to assist observation, to make people sociable, to arouse virtuous indignation. They speak of duties near and far — the duty of ministering to a parent, the duty of serving one’s prince; and it is from them that one becomes conversant with the names of many birds, and beasts, and plants, and trees.”

To his son Pih-yu he said, “Study you the Odes of Chow and the South, and those of Shau and the South. The man who studies not these is, I should say, somewhat in the position of one who stands facing a wall!”

“‘Etiquette demands it.’ ‘Etiquette demands it,’ so people plead,” said he; “but do not these hankerings after jewels and silks indeed demand it? Or it is, ‘The study of Music requires it’— ‘Music requires it’; but do not these predilections for bells and drums require it?”

Again, “They who assume an outward appearance of severity, being inwardly weak, may be likened to low common men; nay, are they not somewhat like thieves that break through walls and steal?”

Again, “The plebeian kind of respect for piety is the very pest of virtue.”

Again, “Listening on the road, and repeating in the lane — this is abandonment of virtue.”

“Ah, the low-minded creatures!” he exclaimed. “How is it possible indeed to serve one’s prince in their company? Before they have got what they wanted they are all anxiety to get it, and after they have got it they are all anxiety lest they should lose it; and while they are thus full of concern lest they should lose it, there is no length to which they will not go.”

Again, “In olden times people had three moral infirmities; which, it may be, are now unknown. Ambitiousness in those olden days showed itself in momentary outburst; the ambitiousness of to-day runs riot. Austerity in those days had its sharp angles; in these it is irritable and perverse. Feebleness of intellect then was at least straightforward; in our day it is never aught but deceitful.”

Again, “Rarely do we find mutual good feeling where there is fine speech and studied mien.”

Again, “To me it is abhorrent that purple color should be made to detract from that of vermilion. Also that the Odes of Ch’ing should be allowed to introduce discord in connection with the music of the Festal Songs and Hymns. Also that sharp-whetted tongues should be permitted to subvert governments.”

Once said he, “Would that I could dispense with speech!”

“Sir,” said Tsz-kung, “if you were never to speak, what should your pupils have to hand down from you?”

“Does Heaven ever speak?” said the Master. “The four seasons come and go, and all creatures live and grow. Does Heaven indeed speak?”

Once Ju Pi desired an interview with Confucius, from which the latter excused himself on the score of ill-health; but while the attendant was passing out through the doorway with the message he took his lute and sang, in such a way as to let him hear him.

Tsai Wo questioned him respecting the three years’ mourning, saying that one full twelve-month was a long time — that, if gentlemen were for three years to cease from observing rules of propriety, propriety must certainly suffer, and that if for three years they neglected music, music must certainly die out — and that seeing nature has taught us that when the old year’s grain is finished the new has sprung up for us — seeing also that all the changes in procuring fire by friction have been gone through in the four seasons — surely a twelve-month might suffice.

The Master asked him, “Would it be a satisfaction to you — that returning to better food, that putting on of fine clothes?”

“It would,” said he.

“Then if you can be satisfied in so doing, do so. But to a gentleman, who is in mourning for a parent, the choicest food will not be palatable, nor will the listening to music be pleasant, nor will comforts of home make him happy in mind. Hence he does not do as you suggest. But if you are now happy in your mind, then do so.”

Tsai Wo went out. And the Master went on to say, “It is want of human feeling in this man. After a child has lived three years it then breaks away from the tender nursing of its parents. And this three years’ mourning is the customary mourning prevalent all over the empire. Can this man have enjoyed the three years of loving care from his parents?”

“Ah, it is difficult,” said he, “to know what to make of those who are all day long cramming themselves with food and are without anything to apply their minds to! Are there no dice and chess players? Better, perhaps, join in that pursuit than do nothing at all!”

“Does a gentleman,” asked Tsz-lu, “make much account of bravery?”

“Righteousness he counts higher,” said the Master. “A gentleman who is brave without being just may become turbulent; while a common person who is brave and not just may end in becoming a highwayman.”

Tsz-kung asked, “I suppose a gentleman will have his aversions as well as his likings?”

“Yes,” replied the Master, “he will dislike those who talk much about other people’s ill-deeds. He will dislike those who, when occupying inferior places, utter defamatory words against their superiors. He will dislike those who, though they may be brave, have no regard for propriety. And he will dislike those hastily decisive and venturesome spirits who are nevertheless so hampered by limited intellect.”

“And you, too, Tsz-kung,” he continued, “have your aversions, have you not?”

“I dislike,” said he, “those plagiarists who wish to pass for wise persons. I dislike those people who wish their lack of humility to be taken for bravery. I dislike also those divulgers of secrets who think to be accounted straightforward.”

“Of all others,” said the Master, “women-servants and men-servants are the most difficult people to have the care of. Approach them in a familiar manner, and they take liberties; keep them at a distance, and they grumble.”

Again, “When a man meets with odium at forty, he will do so to the end.”

[Footnote 32: Different woods were adopted for this purpose at the various seasons.]

BOOK XVIII

Good Men in Seclusion — Duke of Chow to His Son

"In the reign of the last king of the Yin dynasty," Confucius I said, "there were three men of philanthropic spirit: — the viscount of Wei, who withdrew from him; the viscount of Ki, who became his bondsman; and Pi-kan, who reproved him and suffered death."

Hwúi of Liu-hiá, who filled the office of Chief Criminal Judge, was thrice dismissed. A person remarked to him, "Can you not yet bear to withdraw?" He replied, "If I act in a straightforward way in serving men, whither in these days should I go, where I should not be thrice dismissed? Were I to adopt crooked ways in their service, why need I leave the land where my parents dwell?"

Duke King of Ts'i remarked respecting his attitude towards Confucius,
"If he is to be treated like the Chief of the Ki family, I cannot do it.
I should treat him as somewhere between the Ki and Mang Chiefs. — I am
old," he added, "and not competent to avail myself of him."

Confucius, hearing of this, went away.

The Ts'i officials presented to the Court of Lu a number of female musicians. Ki Hwan accepted them, and for three days no Court was held.

Confucius went away.

Tsieh-yu, the madman of Ts'u, was once passing Confucius, singing as he went along. He sang

"Ha, the phoenix! Ha, the phoenix!
How is Virtue lying prone!
Vain to chide for what is o'er,
Plan to meet what's yet in store.
Let alone! Let alone!
Risky now to serve a throne."

Confucius alighted, wishing to enter into conversation with him; but the man hurried along and left him, and he was therefore unable to get a word with him.

Ch'ang-tsü and Kieh-nih were working together on some ploughed land. Confucius was passing by them, and sent Tsz-lu to ask where the ford was.

Ch'ang-tsü said, "Who is the person driving the carriage?"

“Confucius,” answered Tsz-lu.

“He of Lu?” he asked.

“The same,” said Tsz-lu.

“He knows then where the ford is,” said he.

Tsz-lu then put his question to Kieh-nih; and the latter asked, “Who are you?”

Tsz-lu gave his name.

“You are a follower of Confucius of Lu, are you not?”

“You are right,” he answered.

“Ah, as these waters rise and overflow their bounds,” said he, “’tis so with all throughout the empire; and who is he that can alter the state of things? And you are a follower of a learned man who withdraws from his chief; had you not better be a follower of such as have forsaken the world?” And he went on with his harrowing, without stopping.

Tsz-lu went and informed his Master of all this. He was deeply touched, and said, “One cannot herd on equal terms with beasts and birds: if I am not to live among these human folk, then with whom else should I live? Only when the empire is well ordered shall I cease to take part in the work of reformation.”

Tsz-lu was following the Master, but had dropped behind on the way, when he encountered an old man with a weed-basket slung on a staff over his shoulder. Tsz-lu inquired of him, “Have you seen my Master, sir?” Said the old man, “Who is your master? — you who never employ your four limbs in laborious work; you who do not know one from another of the five sorts of grain!” And he stuck his staff in the ground, and began his weeding.

Tsz-lu brought his hands together on his breast and stood still.

The old man kept Tsz-lu and lodged him for the night, killed a fowl and prepared some millet, entertained him, and brought his two sons out to see him.

On the morrow Tsz-lu went on his way, and told all this to the Master, who said, “He is a recluse,” and sent Tsz-lu back to see him again. But by the time he got there he was gone.

Tsz-lu remarked upon this, “It is not right he should evade official duties. If he cannot allow any neglect of the terms on which elders and juniors should live together, how is it that he neglects to conform to what is proper as between prince and public servant? He wishes for himself personally a pure life, yet creates disorder in that more important relationship. When a gentleman undertakes public work, he will carry out the duties proper to it; and he knows beforehand that right principles may not win their way.”

Among those who have retired from public life have been Peh-I and Shuh-Ts’i, Yu-chung, I-yih, Chu-chang, Hwúi of Liuhia, and Sháu-lien.

“Of these,” said the Master, “Peh-I and Shuh-Ts’i may be characterized, I should say, as men who never declined from their high resolve nor soiled themselves by aught of disgrace.

“Of Hwúi of Liu-hiá and Sháu-lien, if one may say that they did decline from high resolve, and that they did bring disgrace upon themselves, yet their words were consonant with established principles, and their action consonant with men’s thoughts and wishes; and this is all that may be said of them.

“Of Yu-chung and I-yih, if it be said that when they retired into privacy they let loose their tongues, yet in their aim at personal purity of life they succeeded, and their defection was also successful in its influence.

“My own rule is different from any adopted by these: I will take no liberties, I will have no curtailing of my liberty.”

The chief music-master went off to Ts’i. Kan, the conductor of the music at the second repast, went over to Ts’u. Liáu, conductor at the third repast, went over to Ts’ai. And Kiueh, who conducted at the fourth, went to Ts’in.

Fang-shuh, the drummer, withdrew into the neighborhood of the Ho. Wu the tambourer went to the Han. And Yang the junior music-master, and Siang who played on the musical stone, went to the sea-coast.

Anciently the Duke of Chow, addressing his son the Duke of Lu, said, “A good man in high place is not indifferent about the members of his own family, and does not give occasion to the chief ministers to complain that they are not employed; nor without great cause will he set aside old friendships; nor does he seek for full equipment for every kind of service in any single man.”

There were once eight officials during this Chow dynasty, who were four pairs of twins, all brothers — the eldest pair Tab and Kwoh, the next Tub and Hwuh, the third Yé and Hiá, the youngest Sui and Kwa.

[Footnote 33: He only pretended to be mad, in order to escape being employed in the public service.]

[Footnote 34: Two worthies who had abandoned public life, owing to the state of the times.]

BOOK XIX

Teachings of Various Chief Disciples

"The learned official," said Tsz-chang, "who when he sees danger ahead will risk his very life, who when he sees a chance of success is mindful of what is just and proper, who in his religious acts is mindful of the duty of reverence, and when in mourning thinks of his loss, is indeed a fit and proper person for his place."

Again he said, "If a person hold to virtue but never advance in it, and if he have faith in right principles and do not build himself up in them, how can he be regarded either as having such, or as being without them?"

Tsz-hiá's disciples asked Tsz-chang his views about intercourse with others. "What says your Master?" he rejoined. "He says," they replied, "'Associate with those who are qualified, and repel from you such as are not,'" Tsz-chang then said, "That is different from what I have learnt. A superior man esteems the worthy and wise, and bears with all. He makes much of the good and capable, and pities the incapable. Am I eminently worthy and wise? — who is there then among men whom I will not bear with? Am I not worthy and wise? — others will be minded to repel me: I have nothing to do with repelling them."

Sayings of Tsz-hiá:

"Even in inferior pursuits there must be something worthy of contemplation, but if carried to an extreme there is danger of fanaticism; hence the superior man does not engage in them.

"The student who daily recognizes how much he yet lacks, and as the months pass forgets not what he has succeeded in learning, may undoubtedly be called a lover of learning.

"Wide research and steadfast purpose, eager questioning and close reflection — all this tends to humanize a man.

"As workmen spend their time in their workshops for the perfecting of their work, so superior men apply their minds to study in order to make themselves thoroughly conversant with their subjects.

"When an inferior man does a wrong thing, he is sure to gloss it over.

"The superior man is seen in three different aspects: — look at him from a distance, he is imposing in appearance; approach him, he is gentle and warm-hearted; hear him speak, he is acute and strict.

"Let such a man have the people's confidence, and he will get much work out of them; so long, however, as he does not possess their confidence they will

regard him as grinding them down.

"When confidence is reposed in him, he may then with impunity administer reproof; so long as it is not, he will be regarded as a detractor.

"Where there is no over-stepping of barriers in the practice of the higher virtues, there may be freedom to pass in and out in the practice of the lower ones."

Tsz-yu had said, "The pupils in the school of Tsz-hiá are good enough at such things as sprinkling and scrubbing floors, answering calls and replying to questions from superiors, and advancing and retiring to and from such; but these things are only offshoots — as to the root of things they are nowhere. What is the use of all that?"

When this came to the ears of Tsz-hiá, he said, "Ah! there he is mistaken. What does a master, in his methods of teaching, consider first in his precepts? And what does he account next, as that about which he may be indifferent? It is like as in the study of plants — classification by *differentiae*. How may a master play fast and loose in his methods of instruction? Would they not indeed be sages, who could take in at once the first principles and the final developments of things?"

Further observations of Tsz-hiá:

"In the public service devote what energy and time remain to study.
After study devote what energy and time remain to the public service.

"As to the duties of mourning, let them cease when the grief is past.

"My friend Tsz-chang, although he has the ability to tackle hard things, has not yet the virtue of philanthropy."

The learned Tsang observed, "How loftily Tsz-chang bears himself!
Difficult indeed along with him to practise philanthropy!"

Again he said, "I have heard this said by the Master, that 'though men may not exert themselves to the utmost in other duties, yet surely in the duty of mourning for their parents they will do so!'"

Again, "This also I have heard said by the Master: 'The filial piety of Mang Chwang in other respects might be equalled, but as manifested in his making no changes among his father's ministers, nor in his father's mode of government — that aspect of it could not easily be equalled.'"

Yang Fu, having been made senior Criminal Judge by the Chief of the Mang clan, consulted with the learned Tsang. The latter advised him as follows: "For a

long time the Chiefs have failed in their government, and the people have become unsettled. When you arrive at the facts of their cases, do not rejoice at your success in that, but rather be sorry for them, and have pity upon them."

Tsz-kung once observed, "We speak of 'the iniquity of Cháu' — but 'twas not so great as this. And so it is that the superior man is averse from settling in this sink, into which everything runs that is foul in the empire."

Again he said, "Faults in a superior man are like eclipses of the sun or moon: when he is guilty of a trespass men all see it; and when he is himself again, all look up to him."

Kung-sun Ch'an of Wei inquired of Tsz-kung how Confucius acquired his learning.

Tsz-kung replied, "The teachings of Wan and Wu have not yet fallen to the ground. They exist in men. Worthy and wise men have the more important of these stored up in their minds; and others, who are not such, store up the less important of them; and as no one is thus without the teachings of Wan and Wu, how should our Master not have learned? And moreover what permanent preceptor could he have?"

Shuh-sun Wu-shuh, addressing the high officials at the Court, remarked that Tsz-kung was a greater worthy than Confucius.

Tsz-fuh King-pih went and informed Tsz-kung of this remark.

Tsz-kung said, "Take by way of comparison the walls outside our houses. My wall is shoulder-high, and you may look over it and see what the house and its contents are worth. My Master's wall is tens of feet high, and unless you should effect an entrance by the door, you would fail to behold the beauty of the ancestral hall and the rich array of all its officers. And they who effect an entrance by the door, methinks, are few! Was it not, however, just like him — that remark of the Chief?"

Shuh-sun Wu-shuh had been casting a slur on the character of Confucius.

"No use doing that," said Tsz-kung; "he is irreproachable. The wisdom and worth of other men are little hills and mounds of earth: traversible. He is the sun, or the moon, impossible to reach and pass. And what harm, I ask, can a man do to the sun or the moon, by wishing to intercept himself from either? It all shows that he knows not how to gauge capacity."

Tsz-k'in, addressing Tsz-kung, said, "You depreciate yourself. Confucius is surely not a greater worthy than yourself."

Tsz-kung replied, "In the use of words one ought never to be incautious; because a gentleman for one single utterance of his is apt to be considered a wise man, and for a single utterance may be accounted unwise. No more might one think of attaining to the Master's perfections than think of going upstairs to

Heaven! Were it ever his fortune to be at the head of the government of a country, then that which is spoken of as ‘establishing the country’ would be establishment indeed; he would be its guide and it would follow him, he would tranquillize it and it would render its willing homage: he would give forward impulses to it to which it would harmoniously respond. In his life he would be its glory, at his death there would be great lamentation. How indeed could such as he be equalled?”

BOOK XX

Extracts from the Book of History

The Emperor Yau said to Shun, “Ah, upon you, upon your person, lies the Heaven-appointed order of succession! Faithfully hold to it, without any deflection; for if within the four seas necessity and want befall the people, your own revenue will forever come to an end.”

Shun also used the same language in handing down the appointment to Yu.

The Emperor T’ang in his prayer, said, “I, the child Li, presume to avail me of an ox of dusky hue, and presume to manifestly announce to Thee, O God, the most high and Sovereign Potentate, that to the transgressor I dare not grant forgiveness, nor yet keep in abeyance Thy ministers. Judgment rests in Thine heart, O God. Should we ourself transgress, may the guilt not be visited everywhere upon all. Should the people all transgress, be the guilt upon ourself!”

Chow possessed great gifts, by which the able and good were richly endowed.

“Although,” said King Wu, “he is surrounded by his near relatives, they are not to be compared with men of humane spirit. The people are suffering wrongs, and the remedy rests with me — the one man.”

After Wu had given diligent attention to the various weights and measures, examined the laws and regulations, and restored the degraded officials, good government everywhere ensued.

He caused ruined States to flourish again, reinstated intercepted heirs, and promoted to office men who had gone into retirement; and the hearts of the people throughout the empire drew towards him.

Among matters of prime consideration with him were these — food for the people, the duty of mourning, and sacrificial offerings to the departed.

He was liberal and large-hearted, and so won all hearts; true, and so was trusted by the people; energetic, and thus became a man of great achievements; just in his rule, and all were well content.

Tsz-chang in a conversation with Confucius asked, “What say you is essential for the proper conduct of government?”

The Master replied, “Let the ruler hold in high estimation the five excellences, and eschew the four evils; then may he conduct his government properly.”

“And what call you the five excellences?” he was asked.

“They are,” he said, “Bounty without extravagance; burdening without exciting discontent; desire without covetousness; dignity without haughtiness;

show of majesty without fierceness."

"What mean you," asked Tsz-chang, "by bounty without extravagance?"

"Is it not this," he replied— "to make that which is of benefit to the people still more beneficial? When he selects for them such labors as it is possible for them to do, and exacts them, who will then complain? So when his desire is the virtue of humaneness, and he attains it, how shall he then be covetous? And if — whether he have to do with few or with many, with small or with great — he do not venture ever to be careless, is not this also to have dignity without haughtiness? And if — when properly vested in robe and cap, and showing dignity in his every look — his appearance be so imposing that the people look up to and stand in awe of him, is not this moreover to show majesty without fierceness?"

"What, then, do you call the four evils?" said Tsz-chang.

The answer here was, "Omitting to instruct the people and then inflicting capital punishment on them — which means cruel tyranny. Omitting to give them warning and yet looking for perfection in them — which means oppression. Being slow and late in issuing requisitions, and exacting strict punctuality in the returns — which means robbery. And likewise, in intercourse with men, to expend and to receive in a stingy manner — which is to act the part of a mere commissioner."

"None can be a superior man," said the Master, "who does not recognize the decrees of Heaven.

"None can have stability in him without a knowledge of the proprieties.

"None can know a man without knowing his utterances."

MENCIUS — 孟子

Translated by James Legge

Mencius is a collection of anecdotes and conversations of the Confucian thinker and philosopher Mencius, concerning topics in moral and political philosophy. Mencius was a disciple of one of the students of Zisi, a grandson of Confucius, and the *Mencius*, one of the Four Books of Confucian thought, records his travels and audiences with the various rulers of the Warring States period, his students and other contemporaries. A number of linguistic and textual clues suggest that the text was not written by Mencius himself, but by his disciples, most likely during the late fourth century BC.

The text comprises seven chapters, each divided into two halves, with alternating short sayings and extensive dialogues on specific philosophical arguments. The fundamental positions of Mencius, including the philosopher's famous argument in chapter 6A that human nature is inherently good, are often presented as conversations between Mencius and contemporaneous thinkers, while arguments on specific issues usually appear in records of his advice and counsel to various rulers.

The book would become one of the most important texts of early Confucianism, representing a notable advance over the *Analects* in terms of sophistication of argument. In spite of its early importance to Confucianism, the *Mencius* was not canonised as one of the Chinese Classics until over a thousand years later during the Song dynasty.

Mencius (372-289 BC) was a Chinese philosopher, who is the most famous Confucian after Confucius.

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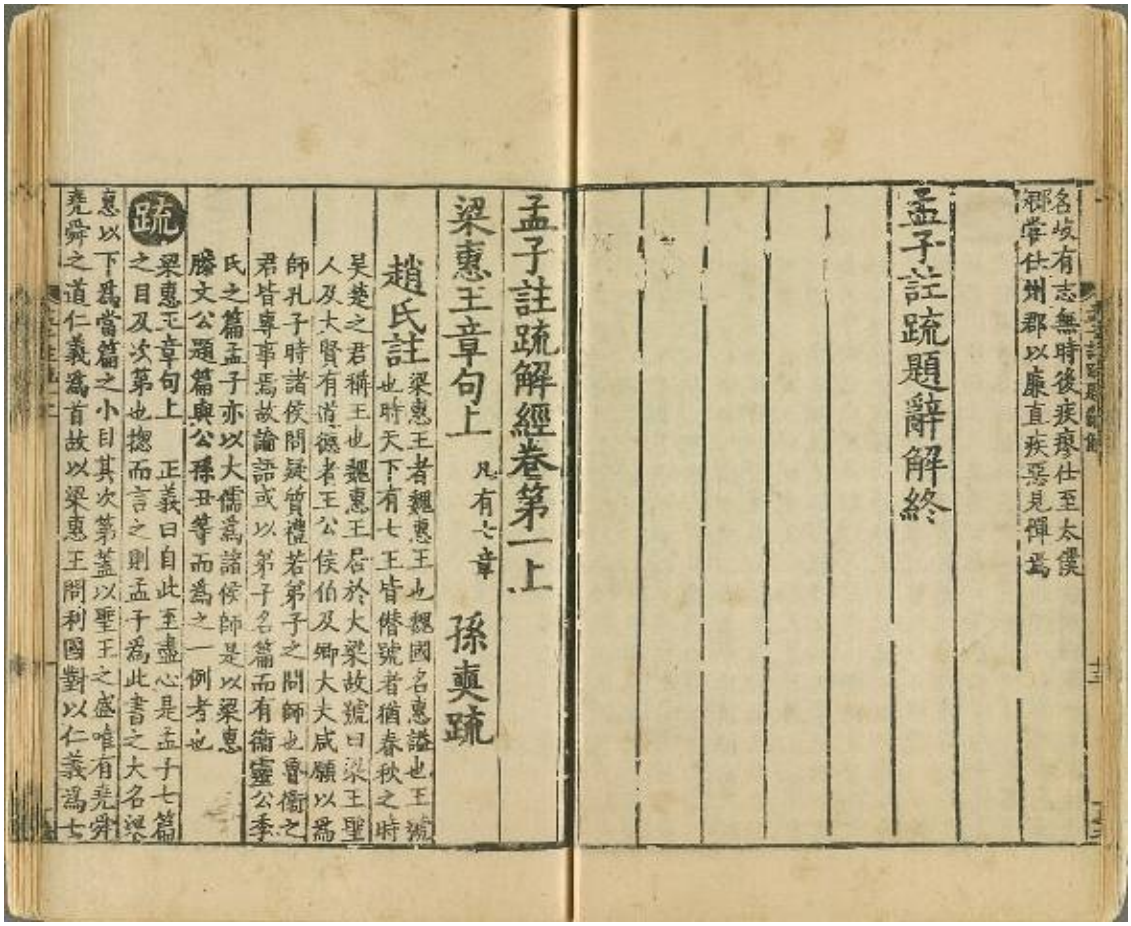


名垓有志無時後疾辭仕至太僕
卿掌仕州郡以廉直疾惡見憚焉

孟子註疏題辭解終

孟子註疏解經卷第一上

梁惠王章句上 凡有七章 孫奭疏

趙氏註 梁惠王者魏惠王也魏國名惠謚也王號也時天下有七王皆僭號者猶春秋之時吳楚之君稱王也魏惠王居於大梁故號曰梁王聖人及大賢有道德者王公侯伯及卿大夫咸願以爲師孔子時諸侯問疑質禮若弟子之問師也魯卿之君皆尊事焉故論語或以弟子名篇而有衛靈公季氏之篇孟子亦以大儒爲諸侯師是以梁惠滕文公題篇與公孫丑等而爲之一例考也

疏 梁惠王章句上 正義曰自此至盡心是孟子七篇之目及次第也揔而言之則孟子爲此書之大名梁惠以下爲當篇之小目其次第蓋以聖王之盛唯有堯舜之道仁義爲首故以梁惠王問利國對以仁義爲七

Early thirteenth century printing of 'Mencius' held in National Palace Museum

Book I, Part I, King Hûi of Liang

Chapter 1.

Benvolence and righteousness Mencius's only topics with the princes of his time; and the only principles which can make a country prosperous.

1. Mencius went to see king Hûi of Liang.

2. The king said, 'Venerable sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand lî, may I presume that you are provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?'

3. Mencius replied, 'Why must your Majesty use that word "profit?" What I am provided with, are counsels to benevolence and righteousness, and these are my only topics.

4. 'If your Majesty say, "What is to be done to profit my kingdom?" the great officers will say, "What is to be done to profit our families?" and the inferior officers and the common people will say, "What is to be done to profit our persons?" Superiors and inferiors will try to snatch this profit the one from the other, and the kingdom will be endangered. In the kingdom of ten thousand chariots, the murderer of his sovereign shall be the chief of a family of a thousand chariots. In the kingdom of a thousand chariots, the murderer of his prince shall be the chief of a family of a hundred chariots. To have a thousand in ten thousand, and a hundred in a thousand, cannot be said not to be a large allotment, but if righteousness be put last, and profit be put first, they will not be satisfied without snatching all.

5. 'There never has been a benevolent man who neglected his parents. There never has been a righteous man who made his sovereign an after consideration.

6. 'Let your Majesty also say, "Benevolence and righteousness, and let these be your only themes." Why must you use that word— "profit?".

Chapter 2.

Rulers must share their pleasures with the people. They can only be happy when they rule over happy subjects.

1. Mencius, another day, saw King Hûi of Liang. The king went and stood with him by a pond, and, looking round at the large geese and deer, said, ‘Do wise and good princes also find pleasure in these things?’

2. Mencius replied, ‘Being wise and good, they have pleasure in these things. If they are not wise and good, though they have these things, they do not find pleasure.

3. ‘It is said in the Book of Poetry,

He measured out and commenced his marvellous tower;
He measured it out and planned it.
The people addressed themselves to it,
And in less than a day completed it.
When he measured and began it, he said to them —
Be not so earnest:
But the multitudes came as if they had been his children.
The king was in his marvellous park;
The does reposed about,
The does so sleek and fat:
And the white birds came glistening.
The king was by his marvellous pond;
How full was it of fishes leaping about!”

‘King Wan used the strength of the people to make his tower and his pond, and yet the people rejoiced to do the work, calling the tower “the marvellous tower,” calling the pond “the marvellous pond,” and rejoicing that he had his large deer, his fishes, and turtles. The ancients caused the people to have pleasure as well as themselves, and therefore they could enjoy it.

4. ‘In the Declaration of T’ang it is said, “O sun, when wilt thou expire? We will die together with thee.” The people wished for Chieh’s death, though they should die with him. Although he had towers, ponds, birds, and animals, how could he have pleasure alone?’

Chapter 3.

Half measures are of little use. The great principles of royal government must be faithfully and in their spirit carried out.

1. King Hûi of Liang said, ‘Small as my virtue is, in the government of my kingdom, I do indeed exert my mind to the utmost. If the year be bad on the inside of the river, I remove as many of the people as I can to the east of the river, and convey grain to the country in the inside. When the year is bad on the east of the river, I act on the same plan. On examining the government of the neighboring kingdoms, I do not find that there is any prince who exerts his mind as I do. And yet the people of the neighboring kingdoms do not decrease, nor do my people increase. How is this?’

2. Mencius replied, ‘Your majesty is fond of war; — let me take an illustration from war. — The soldiers move forward to the sound of the drums; and after their weapons have been crossed, on one side they throw away their coats of mail, trail their arms behind them, and run. Some run a hundred paces and stop; some run fifty paces and stop. What would you think if those who run fifty paces were to laugh at those who run a hundred paces?’ The kind said, ‘They should not do so. Though they did not run a hundred paces, yet they also ran away.’ ‘Since your Majesty knows this,’ replied Mencius, ‘you need not hope that your people will become more numerous than those of the neighboring kingdoms.

3. ‘If the seasons of husbandry be not interfered with, the grain will be more than can be eaten. If close nets are not allowed to enter the pools and ponds, the fishes and turtles will be more than can be consumed. If the axes and bills enter the hills and forests only at the proper time, the wood will be more than can be used. When the grain and fish and turtles are more than can be eaten, and there is more wood than can be used, this enables the people to nourish their living and mourn for their dead, without any feeling against any. This condition, in which the people nourish their living and bury their dead without any feeling against any, is the first step of royal government.

4. ‘Let mulberry trees be planted about the homesteads with their five mâu, and persons of fifty years may be clothed with silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years may eat flesh. Let there not be taken away the time that is proper for the cultivation of the farm with its hundred mâ, and the family of several mouths that is supported by it shall not suffer from hunger. Let careful attention be paid

to education in schools, inculcating in it especially the filial and fraternal duties, and grey-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads. It never has been that the ruler of a State, where such results were seen, — persons of seventy wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black-haired people suffering neither from hunder nor cold, — did not attain to the royal dignity.

5. ‘Your dogs and swine eat the food of men, and you do not make any restrictive arrangements. There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not issue the stores of your granaries for them. When people die, you say, “It is not owing to me; it is owing to the year.” In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying— “It was not I; it was the weapon?” Let your Majesty cease to lay the blame on the year, and instantly from all the nation the people will come to you.’

Chapter 4.

A continuation of the former chapter, carrying on the appeal, in the last paragraph, on the character of king Hû's own government.

1. King Hûi of Liang said, 'I wish quietly to receive your instructions.'

2. Mencius replied, 'Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick and with a sword ?' The king said, 'There is no difference!

3. 'Is there any difference between doing it with a sword and with the style of government? 'There is no difference,' was the reply.

4. Mencius then said, 'In your kitchen there is fat meat; in your stables there are fat horses. But your people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men.

5. 'Beasts devour one another, and men hate them for doing so. When a prince, being the parent of his people, administers his government so as to be chargeable with leading on beasts to devour men, where is his parental relation to the people?'

6. Chung-nî said, 'Was he not without posterity who first made wooden images to bury with the dead? So he said, because that man made the semblances of men, and used them for that purpose: — what shall be thought of him who causes his people to die of hunger?'

Chapter 5.

How a ruler may best take satisfaction for losses which he has sustained. That benevolent government will raise him high above his enemies.

1. King Hûi of Liang said, ‘There was not in the nation a stronger State than Tsin, as you, venerable Sir, know. But since it descended to me, on the east we have been defeated by Ch’i, and then my eldest son perished; on the west we have lost seven hundred lî of territory to Ch’in; and on the south we have sustained disgrace at the hands of Ch’û. I have brought shame on my departed predecessors, and wish on their account to wipe it away, once for all. What course is to be pursued to accomplish this?’

2. Mencius replied, ‘With a territory which is only a hundred lî square, it is possible to attain to the royal dignity.

3. ‘If Your Majesty will indeed dispense a benevolent government to the people, being sparing in the use of punishments and fines, and making the taxes and levies light, so causing that the fields shall be ploughed deep, and the weeding of them be carefully attended to, and that the strong-bodied, during their days of leisure, shall cultivate their filial piety, fraternal respectfulness, sincerity, and truthfulness, serving thereby, at home, their fathers and elder brothers, and, abroad, their elders and superiors, — you will then have a people who can be employed, with sticks which they have prepared, to oppose the strong mail and sharp weapons of the troops of Ch’in and Ch’û.

4. ‘The rulers of those States rob their people of their time, so that they cannot plough and weed their fields, in order to support their parents. Their parents suffer from cold and hunger. Brothers, wives, and children are separated and scattered abroad.

5. ‘Those rulers, as it were, drive their people into pit-falls, or drown them. Your Majesty will go to punish them. In such a case, who will oppose your Majesty?

6. ‘In accordance with this is the saying,— “The benevolent has no enemy.” I beg your Majesty not to doubt what I say.’

Chapter 6.

Disappointment of Mencius with the king Hsiang. By whom the torn nation may be united under one sway.

1. Mencius went to see the king Hsiang of Liang.

2. On coming out from the interview, he said to some persons, ‘When I looked at him from a distance, he did not appear like a sovereign; when I drew near to him, I saw nothing venerable about him. Abruptly he asked me, “How can the kingdom be settled?” I replied, “It will be settled by being united under one sway.”

3. “‘Who can so unite it?”

4. ‘I replied, “He who has no pleasure in killing men can so unite it.”

5. “‘Who can give it to him?”

6. ‘I replied, “ All the people of the nation will unanimously give it to him. Does your Majesty understand the way of the growing grain? During the seventh and eighth months, when drought prevails, the plants become dry. Then the clouds collect densely in the heavens, they send down torrents of rain, and the grain erects itself, as if by a shoot. When it does so, who can keep it back? Now among the shepherds of men throughout the nation, there is not one who does not find pleasure in killing men. If there were one who did not find pleasure in killing men, all the people in the nation would look towards him with outstretched necks. Such being indeed the case, the people would flock to him, as water flows downwards with a rush, which no one can repress.”’

Chapter 7.

Loving and protecting the people is the characteristic of royal government, and the sure path to the royal dignity.

1. The king Hsüan of Ch'î asked, saying, 'May I be informed by you of the transactions of Hwan of Ch'î, and Wan of Tsin?'

2. Mencius replied, 'There were none of the disciples of Chuncg-nî who spoke about the affairs of Hwan and WAn, and therefore they have not been transmitted to these after-ages ; — your servant has not heard them. If you will have me speak, let it be about royal government.'

3. The king said, 'What virtue must there be in order to attain to royal sway?' Mencius answered, 'The love and protection of the people; with this there is no power which can prevent a ruler from attaining to it.'

4. The king asked again, 'Is such an one as I competent to love and protect the people?' Mencius said, 'Yes.' 'How do you know that I am competent for that?' 'I heard the following incident from Hû Ho:— "The king," said he, "was sitting aloft in the hall, when a man appeared, leading an ox past the lower part of it. The king saw him, and asked, Where is the ox going? The man replied, We are going to consecrate a bell with its blood. The king said, Let it go. I cannot bear its frightened appearance, as if it were an innocent person going to the place of death. The man answered, Shall we then omit the consecration of the bell ? The king said, How can that be omitted? Change it for a sheep." I do not know whether this incident really occurred.'

5. The king replied, 'It did,' and then Mencius said, 'The heart seen in this is sufficient to carry you to the royal sway. The people all supposed that your Majesty grudged the animal, but your servant knows surely, that it was your Majesty's not being able to bear the sight, which made you do as you did.'

6. The king said, 'You are right. And yet there really was an appearance of what the people condemned. But though Chî be a small and narrow State, how should I grudge one ox? Indeed it was because I could not bear its frightened appearance, as if it were an innocent person going to the place of death, that therefore I changed it for a sheep.'

7. Mencius pursued, 'Let not your Majesty deem it strange that the people should think you were grudging the animal. When you changed a large one for a small, how should they know the true reason? If you felt pained by its being led without guilt to the place of death, what was there to choose between an ox and a sheep? The king laughed and said, 'What really was my mind in the matter? I

did not grudge the expense of it, and changed it for a sheep! — There was reason in the people's saying that I grudged it.'

8. 'There is no harm in their saying so,' said Mencius. 'Your conduct was an artifice of benevolence. You saw the ox, and had not seen the sheep. So is the superior man affected towards animals, that, having seen them alive, he cannot bear to see them die; having heard their dying cries, he cannot bear to eat their flesh. Therefore he keeps away from his slaughter-house and cook-room.'

9. The king was pleased, and said, 'It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The minds of others, I am able by reflection to measure;" — this is verified, my Master, in your discovery of my motive. I indeed did the thing, but when I turned my thoughts inward, and examined into it, I could not discover my own mind. When you, Master, spoke those words, the movements of compassion began to work in my mind. How is it that this heart has in it what is equal to the royal sway?'

10. Mencius replied, 'Suppose a man were to make this statement to your Majesty:— "My strength is sufficient to lift three thousand catties, but it is not sufficient to lift one feather; — my eyesight is sharp enough to examine the point of an autumn hair, but I do not see a waggon-load of faggots;— "would your Majesty allow what he said?' 'No,' was the answer, on which Mencius proceeded, 'Now here is kindness sufficient to reach to animals, and no benefits are extended from it to the people. — How is this? Is an exception to be made here? The truth is, the feather is not lifted , because strength is not used; the waggon-load of firewood is not seen, because the eyesight is not used; and the people are not loved and protected, because kindness is not employed. Therefore your Majesty's not exercising the royal sway, is because you do not do it, not because you are not able to do it.'

11. The king asked, 'How may the difference between the not doing a thing, and the not being able to do it, be represented? Mencius replied,'In such a thing as taking the T'âi mountain under your arm, and leaping over the north sea with it, if you say to people— "I am not able to do it," that is a real case of not being able. In such a matter as breaking off a branch from a tree at the order of a superior, if you say to people— "I am not able to do it," that is a case of not doing it, it is not a case of not being able to do it. Therefore your Majesty's not exercising the royal sway, is not such a case as that of taking the T'âi mountain under your arm, and leaping over the north sea with it. Your Majesty's not exercising the royal sway is a case like that of breaking off a branch from a tree.

12. 'Treat with the reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the

families of others shall be similarly treated: — do this, and the kingdom may be made to go round in your palm. It is said in the Book of Poetry, “His example affected his wife. It reached to his brothers, and his family of the State was governed by it.” — The language shows how king Wan simply took his kindly heart, and exercised it towards those parties. Therefore the carrying out his kindness of heart by a prince will suffice for the love and protection of all within the four seas, and if he do not carry it out, he will not be able to protect his wife and children. The way in which the ancients came greatly to surpass other men, was no other but this: — simply that they knew well how to carry out, so as to affect others, what they themselves did. Now your kindness is sufficient to reach to animals, and no benefits are extended from it to reach the people. — How is this? Is an exception to be made here?

13. ‘By weighing, we know what things are light, and what heavy. By measuring, we know what things are long, and what short. The relations of all things may be thus determined, and it is of the greatest importance to estimate the motions of the mind. I beg your Majesty to measure it.

Loving and protecting the people is the characteristic of royal government, and the sure path to the royal dignity.

14. ‘You collect your equipments of war, endanger your soldiers and officers, and excite the resentment of the other princes; — do these things cause you pleasure in your mind?’

15. The king replied, ‘No. How should I derive pleasure from these things? My object in them is to seek for what I greatly desire.’

16. Mencius said, ‘May I hear from you what it is that you greatly desire?’ The king laughed and did not speak. Mencius resumed, ‘Are you led to desire it, because you have not enough of rich and sweet food for your mouth? Or because you have not enough of light and warm clothing for your body? Or because you have not enough of beautifully coloured objects to delight your eyes? Or because you have not voices and tones enough to please your ears? Or because you have not enough of attendants and favourites to stand before you and receive your orders? Your Majesty’s various officers are sufficient to supply you with those things. How can your Majesty be led to entertain such a desire on account of them?’ ‘No,’ said the king; ‘my desire is not on account of them.’ Mencius added, ‘Then, what your Majesty greatly desires may be known. You wish to enlarge your territories, to have Ch’in and Ch’û wait at your court, to rule the Middle Kingdom, and to attract to you the barbarous tribes that surround it. But

doing what you do to seek for what you desire is like climbing a tree to seek for fish.'

17. The king said, 'Is it so bad as that?' 'It is even worse,' was the reply. 'If you climb a tree to seek for fish, although you do not get the fish, you will not suffer any subsequent calamity. But doing what you do to seek for what you desire, doing it moreover with all your heart, you will assuredly afterwards meet with calamities.' The king asked, 'May I hear from you the proof of that?' Mencius said, 'If the people of Tsâu should fight with the people of Ch'û, which of them does your Majesty think would conquer?' 'The people of Ch'û would conquer.' 'Yes; — and so it is certain that a small country cannot contend with a great, that few cannot contend with many, that the weak cannot contend with the strong. The territory within the four seas embraces nine divisions, each of a thousand lî square. All Ch'î together is but one of them. If with one part you try to subdue the other eight, what is the difference between that and Tsâu's contending with Ch'û? For, with such a desire, you must turn back to the proper course for its attainment.

18. 'Now if your Majesty will institute a government whose action shall be benevolent, this will cause all the officers in the kingdom to wish to stand in your Majesty's court, and all the farmers to wish to plough in your Majesty's fields, and all the merchants, both travelling and stationary, to wish to store their goods in your Majesty's market-places, and all travelling strangers to wish to make their tours on your Majesty's roads, and all throughout the kingdom who feel aggrieved by their rulers to wish to come and complain to your Majesty. And when they are so bent, who will be able to keep them back?'

19. The king said, 'I am stupid, and not able to advance to this. I wish you, my Master, to assist my intentions. Teach me clearly; although I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will essay and try to carry your instructions into effect.'

20. Mencius replied, 'They are only men of education, who, without a certain livelihood, are able to maintain a fixed heart. As to the people, if they have not a certain livelihood, it follows that they will not have a fixed heart. And if they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do, in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild license. When they thus have been involved in crime, to follow them up and punish them; — this is to entrap the people. How can such a thing as entrapping the people be done under the rule of a benevolent man?

21. 'Therefore an intelligent ruler will regulate the livelihood of the people, so as to make sure that, for those above them, they shall have sufficient wherewith to serve their parents, and, for those below them, sufficient wherewith

to support their wives and children; that in good years they shall always be abundantly satisfied, and that in bad years they shall escape the danger of perishing. After this he may urge them, and they will proceed to what is good, for in this case the people will follow after it with ease.

22. ‘Now, the livelihood of the people is so regulated, that, above, they have not sufficient wherewith to serve their parents, and, below, they have not sufficient wherewith to support their wives and children. Notwithstanding good years, their lives are continually embittered, and, in bad years, they do not escape perishing. In such circumstances they only try to save themselves from death, and are afraid they will not succeed. What leisure have they to cultivate propriety and righteousness?’

23. ‘If your Majesty wishes to effect this regulation of the livelihood of the people, why not turn to that which is the essential step to it?

24. ‘Let mulberry-trees be planted about the homesteads with their five mâu, and persons of fifty years may be clothed with silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years may eat flesh. Let there not be taken away the time that is proper for the cultivation of the farm with its hundred mâu, and the family of eight mouths that is supported by it shall not suffer from hunger. Let careful attention be paid to educatlon in schools, — the inculcation in it especially of the filial and fraternal duties, and grey-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads. It never has been that the ruler of a State where such results were seen, — the old wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black-haired people suffering neither from hunger nor cold, — did not attain to the royal dignity.’

Book I, Part II: King Hûi of Liang

Chapter 1.

How the love of music may be made subservient to good government, and to a prince's own advancement.

1. Chwang Pâ'o, seeing Mencius, said to him, 'I had an interview with the king. His Majesty told me that he loved music, and I was not prepared with anything to reply to him. What do you pronounce about that love of music?' Mencius replied, 'If the king's love of music were very great, the kingdom of Ch'î would be near to a state of good government!'

2. Another day, Mencius, having an interview with the king, said, 'Your Majesty, I have heard, told the officer Chwang, that you love music; — was it so?' The king changed colour, and said, 'I am unable to love the music of the ancient sovereigns; I only love the music that suits the manners of the present age.'

3. Mencius said, 'If your Majesty's love of music were very great, Ch'î would be near to a state of good government! The music of the present day is just like the music of antiquity, as regards effecting that.'

4. The king said, 'May I hear from you the proof of that?' Mencius asked, 'Which is the more pleasant, — to enjoy music by yourself alone, or to enjoy it with others?' 'To enjoy it with others,' was the reply. 'And which is the more pleasant, — to enjoy music with a few, or to enjoy it with many?' 'To enjoy it with many.'

5. Mencius proceeded, 'Your servant begs to explain what I have said about music to your Majesty.

6. 'Now, your Majesty is having music here. — The people hear the noise of your bells and drums, and the notes of your fifes and pipes, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows, and say to one another, "That's how our king likes his music! But why does he reduce us to this extremity of distress? — Fathers and sons cannot see one another. Elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad." Now, your Majesty is hunting here. — The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses, and see the beauty of your plumes and streamers, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows, and say to one another, "That's how our king likes his hunting! But why does he reduce us to this extremity of distress? — Fathers and sons cannot see one another. Elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad." Their feeling thus is from no other reason but that you do not allow the people to have pleasure as well as yourself.

7. ‘Now, your Majesty is having music here. The people hear the noise of your bells and drums, and the notes of your fifes and pipes, and they all, delighted, and with joyful looks, say to one another, “That sounds as if our king were free from all sickness! If he were not, how could he enjoy this music?” Now, your Majesty is hunting here. — The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses, and see the beauty of your plumes and streamers, and they all, delighted, and with joyful looks, say to one another, “That looks as if our king were free from all sickness! If he were not, how could he enjoy this hunting?” Their feeling thus is from no other reason but that you cause them to have their pleasure as you have yours.

8. ‘If your Majesty now will make pleasure a thing common to the people and yourself, the royal sway awaits you.’

Chapter 2.

How a ruler must not indulge his love for parks and hunting to the discomfort of his people.

1. The king Hsüan of Ch'î asked, 'Was it so, that the park of king Wan contained seventy square lî?' Mencius replied, 'It is so in the records.'

2. 'Was it so large as that?' exclaimed the king. 'The people,' said Mencius, 'still looked on it as small.' The king added, 'My park contains only forty square lî, and the people still look on it as large. How is this?' 'The park of king Wan,' was the reply, 'contained seventy square lî, but the grass-cutters and fuel-gatherers had the privilege of entrance into it; so also had the catchers of pheasants and hares. He shared it with the people, and was it not with reason that they looked on it as small?

3. 'When I first arrived at the borders of your kingdom, I inquired about the great prohibitory regulations, before I would venture to enter it; and I heard, that inside the barrier-gates there was a park of forty square lî, and that he who killed a deer in it, was held guilty of the same crime as if he had killed a man. — Thus those forty square lî are a pitfall in the middle of the kingdom. Is it not with reason that the people look upon them as large?'

Chapter 3.

How friendly intercourse with neighboring kingdoms may be maintained, and the love of valour made subservient to the good of the people, and the glory of the prince.

1. The king Hsüan of Ch'î asked, saying, 'Is there any way to regulate one's maintenance of intercourse with neighbouring kingdoms?' Mencius replied, 'There is. But it requires a perfectly virtuous prince to be able, with a great country, to serve a small one, — as, for instance, T'ang served Ko, and king Wan served the Kwan barbarians. And it requires a wise prince to be able, with a small country, to serve a large one, — as the king T'âi served the Hsün-yü, and Kâu-ch'ien served Wû.

2. 'He who with a areat State serves a small one, delights in Heaven. He who with a small State serves a large one, stands in awe of Heaven. He who delights in Heaven, will affect with his love and protection the whole kingdom. He who stands in awe of Heaven, will affect with his love and protection his own kingdom.

3. 'It is said in the Book of Poetry, "I fear the Majesty of Heaven, and will thus preserve its favouring decree."'

4. The king said,'A great saying! But I have an infirmity; — I love valour.'

5. I beg your Majesty,' was the reply, 'not to love small valour. If a man brandishes his sword, looks fiercely, and says, "How dare he withstand me?" — this is the valour of a common man, who can be the opponent only of a single individual. I beg your Majesty to greaten it.

6. 'It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"The king blazed with anger,
And he marshalled his hosts,
To stop the march to Chü,
To consolidate the prosperity of Châu,
To meet the expectations of the nation."

This was the valour of king Wan. King Wan, in one burst of his anger, gave repose to all the people of the kingdom.

7. 'In the Book of History it is said, "Heaven having produced the inferior people, made for them rulers and teachers, with the purpose that they should be assisting to God, and therefore distinguished them throughout the four quarters

of the land. Whoever are offenders, and whoever are innocent, here am I to deal with them. How dare any under heaven give indulgence to their refractory wills?" There was one man pursuing a violent and disorderly course in the kingdom, and king Wû was ashamed of it. This was the valour of king Wû. He also, by one display of his anger, gave repose to all the people of the kingdom.

8. 'Let now your Majesty also, in one burst of anger, give repose to all the people of the kingdom. The people are only afraid that your Majesty does not love valour.'

Chapter 4.

A ruler's prosperity depends on his exercising a restraint upon himself, and sympathizing with the people in their joys and sorrows.

1. The king Hsüan of Ch'î had an interview with Mencius in the Snow palace, and said to him, 'Do men of talents and worth likewise find pleasure in these things?' Mencius replied, 'They do; and if people generally are not able to enjoy themselves, they condemn their superiors.

2. 'For them, when they cannot enjoy themselves, to condemn their superiors is wrong, but when the superiors of the people do not make enjoyment a thing common to the people and themselves, they also do wrong.

3. 'When a ruler rejoices in the joy of his people, they also rejoice in his joy; when he grieves at the sorrow of his people, they also grieve at his sorrow. A sympathy of joy will pervade the kingdom ; a sympathy of sorrow will do the same: — in such a state of things, it cannot be but that the ruler attain to the royal dignity.

4. 'Formerly, the duke Ching of Ch'î asked the minister Yen, saying, "I wish to pay a visit of inspection to Chwan-fû, and Cbâo-wû, and then to bend my course southward along the shore, till I come to Lang-yê. What shall I do that my tour may be fit to be compared with the visits of inspection made by the ancient sovereigns?"

5. 'The minister Yen replied, "An excellent inquiry! When the Son of Heaven visited the princes, it was called a tour of inspection, that is, be surveyed the States under their care. When the princes attended at the court of the Son of Heaven, it was called a report of office, that is, they reported their administration of their offices. Thus, neither of the proceedings was without a purpose. And moreover, in the spring they examined the ploughing, and supplied any deficiency of seed; in the autumn they examined the reaping, and supplied any deficiency of yield. There is the saying of the Hsiâ dynasty, — If our king do not take his ramble, what will become of our happiness? If our king do not make his excursion, what will become of our help? That ramble, and that excursion, were a pattern to the princes.

6. '"Now, the state of things is different. — A host marches in attendance on the ruler, and stores of provisions are consumed. The hungry are deprived of their food, and there is no rest for those who are called to toil. Maledictions are uttered by one to another with eyes askance, and the people proceed to the commission of wickedness. Thus the royal ordinances are violated, and the

people are oppressed, and the supplies of food and drink flow away like water. The rulers yield themselves to the current, or they urge their way against it; they are wild; they are utterly lost: — these things proceed to the grief of the inferior princes.

7. '"Descending along with the current, and forgetting to return, is what I call yielding to it. Pressing up against it, and forgetting to return, is what I call urging their way against it. Pursuing the chase without satiety is what I call being wild. Delighting in wine without satiety is what I call being lost.

8. '"The ancient sovereigns had no pleasures to which they gave themselves as on the flowing stream; no doings which might be so characterized as wild and lost.

9. '"It is for you, my prince, to pursue your course."'

10. 'The duke Ching was pleased. He issued a proclamation throughout his State, and went out and occupied a shed in the borders. From that time he began to open his granaries to supply the wants of the people, and calling the Grand music-master, he said to him— "Make for me music to suit a prince and his minister pleased with each other." And it was then that the Chî-shâo and Chio-shâo were made, in the words to which it was said, "Is it a fault to restrain one's prince?" He who restrains his prince loves his prince.'

Chapter 5.

True royal government will assuredly raise to the supreme dignity, and neither greed of wealth, nor love of woman, need interfere with its exercise.

1. The king Hsüan of Ch'î said, 'People all tell me to pull down and remove the Hall of Distinction. Shall I pull it down, or stop the movement for that object?'

2. Mencius replied, 'The Hall of Distinction is a Hall appropriate to the sovereigns. If your Majesty wishes to practise the true royal government, then do not pull it down.'

3. The king said, 'May I hear from you what the true royal government is?' 'Formerly,' was the reply, 'king Wan's government of Ch'î was as follows: — The husbandmen cultivated for the government one-ninth of the land; the descendants of officers were salaried; at the passes and in the markets, strangers were inspected, but goods were not taxed: there were no prohibitions respecting the ponds and weirs; the wives and children of criminals were not involved in their guilt. There were the old and wifeless, or widowers; the old and husbandless, or widows; the old and childless, or solitaries ; the young and fatherless, or orphans: — these four classes are the most destitute of the people, and have none to whom they can tell their wants, and king Wan, in the institution of his government with its benevolent action, made them the first objects of his regard, as it is said in the Book of Poetry,

"The rich may get through life well;
But alas! for the miserable and solitary!"'

4. The king said, 'O excellent words!' Mencius said, 'Since your Majesty deems them excellent, why do you not practise them?' 'I have an infirmity,' said the king; 'I am fond of wealth.' The reply was, 'Formerly, Kung-lîu was fond of wealth. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"He reared his ricks, and filled his granaries,
He tied up dried provisions and grain,
In bottomless bags, and sacks,
That he might gather his people together, and glorify his State.
With bows and arrows all-displayed,
With shields, and spears, and battle-axes, large and small,
He commenced his march."

In this way those who remained in their old seat had their ricks and granaries, and those who marched had their bags of provisions. It was not till after this that he thought he could begin his march. If your Majesty loves wealth, give the people power to gratify the same feeling, and what difficulty will there be in your attaining the royal sway?'

5. The king said, 'I have an infirmity; I am fond of beauty.' The reply was, 'Formerly, king T'âi was fond of beauty, and loved his wife. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"Kû-kung T'an-fû
Came in the morning, galloping his horse,
By the banks of the western waters,
As far as the foot of Ch'î hill,
Along with the lady of Chiang;
They came and together chose the site for their settlement."

At that time, in the seclusion of the house, there were no dissatisfied women, and abroad, there were no unmarried men. If your Majesty loves beauty, let the people be able to gratify the same feeling, and what difficulty will there be in your attaining the royal sway?'

Chapter 6.

Bringing home his bad government to the king of Ch'î.

1. Mencius said to the king Hsüan of Ch'î, 'Suppose that one of your Majesty's ministers were to entrust his wife and children to the care of his friend, while he himself went into Ch'û to travel, and that, on his return, he should find that the friend had let his wife and children suffer from cold and hunger; — how ought he to deal with him?' The king said, 'He should cast him off.'

2. Mencius proceeded, 'Suppose that the chief criminal judge could not regulate the officers under him, how would you deal with him?' The king said, 'Dismiss him.'

3. Mencius again said, 'If within the four borders of your kingdom there is not good government, what is to be done?' The king looked to the right and left, and spoke of other matters.

Chapter 7.

The care to be employed by a prince in the employment of ministers; and their relation to himself and the stability of the kingdom.

1. Mencius, having an interview with the king Hsüan of Ch'î, said to him, 'When men speak of "an ancient kingdom," it is not meant thereby that it has lofty trees in it, but that it has ministers sprung from families which have been noted in it for generations. Your Majesty has no intimate ministers even. Those whom you advanced yesterday are gone to-day, and you do not know it.'

2. The king said, 'How shall I know that they have not ability, and so avoid employing them at all?'

3. The reply was, 'The ruler of a State advances to office men of talents and virtue only as a matter of necessity. Since he will thereby cause the low to overstep the honourable, and distant to overstep his near relatives, ought he to do so but with caution?

4. 'When all those about you say,— "This is a man of talents and worth," you may not therefore believe it. When your great officers all say,— "This is a man of talents and virtue," neither may you for that believe it. When all the people say,— "This is a man of talents and virtue," then examine into the case, and when you find that the man is such, employ him. When all those about you say, — "This man won't do," don't listen to them. When all your great officers say, — "This man won't do," don't listen to them. When the people all sav,— "This man won't do," then examine into the case, and when you find that the man won't do, send him away.

5. 'When all those about you say,— "This man deserves death," don't listen to them. When all your great officers say,— "This man deserves death," don't listen to them. When the people all say,"This man deserves death," then inquire into the case, and when you see that the man deserves death, put him to death. In accordance with this we have the saying, "The people killed him."

6. 'You must act in this way in order to be the parent of the people.'

Chapter 8.

Killing a sovereign is not necessarily rebellion or murder.

1. The king Hsüan of Ch'î asked, saying, 'Was it so, that T'ang banished Chieh, and that king Wû smote Châu?' Mencius replied, 'It is so in the records.'

2. The king said, 'May a minister then put his sovereign to death?'

3. Mencius said, 'He who outrages the benevolence proper to his nature, is called a robber; he who outrages righteousness, is called a ruffian. The robber and ruffian we call a mere fellow. I have heard of the cutting off of the fellow Châu, but I have not heard of the putting a sovereign to death, in his case.'

Chapter 9.

The absurdity of a ruler's not acting according to the counsel of the men of talents and virtue, whom he calls to aid in his government, but requiring them to follow his ways.

1. Mencius, having an interview with the king Hsüan of Ch'î, said to him, 'If you are going to build a large mansion, you will surely cause the Master of the workmen to look out for large trees, and when he has found such large trees, you will be glad, thinking that they will answer for the intended object. Should the workmen hew them so as to make them too small, then your Majesty will be angry, thinking that they will not answer for the purpose. Now, a man spends his youth in learning the principles of right government, and, being grown up to vigour, he wishes to put them in practice; — if your Majesty says to him, "For the present put aside what you have learned, and follow me," what shall we say?

2. 'Here now you have a gem unwrought, in the stone. Although it may be worth 240,000 taels, you will surely employ a lapidary to cut and polish it. But when you come to the government of the State, then you say,— "For the present put aside what you have learned, and follow me." How is it that you herein act so differently from your conduct in calling in the lapidary to cut the gem?'

Chapter 10.

The disposal of kingdoms rests with the minds of the people.

1. The people of Ch'î attacked Yen, and conquered it.

2. The king Hsüan asked, saying, 'Some tell me not to take possession of it for myself, and some tell me to take possession of it. For a kingdom of ten thousand chariots, attacking another of ten thousand chariots, to complete the conquest of it in fifty days, is an achievement beyond mere human strength. If I do not take possession of it, calamities from Heaven will surely come upon me. What do you say to my taking possession of it?'

3. Mencius replied, 'If the people of Yen will be pleased with your taking possession of it, then do so. — Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely king Wû. If the people of Yen will not be pleased with your taking possession of it, then do not do so. — Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely king Wan.

4. 'When, with all the strength of your country of ten thousand chariots, you attacked another country of ten thousand chariots, and the people brought baskets of rice and vessels of congee, to meet your Majesty's host, was there any other reason for this but that they hoped to escape out of fire and water ? If you make the water more deep and the fire more fierce, they will in like manner make another revolution.'

Chapter 11.

Ambition and avarice only make enemies and bring disasters. Safety and prosperity lie in a benevolent government.

1. The people of Ch'î, having smitten Yen, took possession of it, and upon this, the princes of the various States deliberated together, and resolved to deliver Yen from their power. The king Hsüan said to Mencius, 'The princes have formed many plans to attack me: — how shall I prepare myself for them?' Mencius replied, 'I have heard of one who with seventy lî exercised all the functions of government throughout the kingdom. That was T'ang. I have never heard of a prince with a thousand lî standing in fear of others.'

2. 'It is said in the Book of History, As soon as T'ang began his work of executing justice, he commenced with Ko. The whole kingdom had confidence in him. When he pursued his work in the east, the rude tribes on the west murmured. So did those on the north, when he was engaged in the south. Their cry was— "Why does he put us last?" Thus, the people looked to him, as we look in a time of great drought to the clouds and rainbows. The frequenters of the markets stopped not. The husbandmen made no change in their operations. While he punished their rulers, he consoled the people. His progress was like the falling of opportune rain, and the people were delighted. It is said again in the Book of History, "We have waited for our prince long; the prince's coming will be our reviving!"

3. 'Now the ruler of Yen was tyrannizing over his people, and your Majesty went and punished him. The people supposed that you were going to deliver them out of the water and the fire, and brought baskets of rice and vessels of congee, to meet your Majesty's host. But you have slain their fathers and elder brothers, and put their sons and younger brothers in confinement. You have pulled down the ancestral temple of the State, and are removing to Ch'î its precious vessels. How can such a course be deemed proper? The rest of the kingdom is indeed jealously afraid of the strength of Ch'î; and now, when with a doubled territory you do not put in practice a benevolent government; — it is this which sets the arms of the kingdom in in motion.

4. 'If your Majesty will make haste to issue an ordinance, restoring your captives, old and young, stopping the removal of the precious vessels, and saying that, after consulting with the people of Yen, you will appoint them a ruler, and withdraw from the country; — in this way you may still be able to stop the threatened attack.'

Chapter 12.

The affections of the people can only be secured through a benevolent government. As they are dealt with by their superiors, so will they deal by them.

1. There had been a brush between Tsâu and Lû, when the duke Mû asked Mencius, saying,'Of my officers there were killed thirty-three men, and none of the people would die in their defence. Though I sentenced them to death for their conduct, it is impossible to put such a multitude to death. If I do not put them to death, then there is the crime unpunished of their looking angrily on at the death of their officers, and not saving them. How is the exigency of the case to be met?'

2. Mencius replied, 'In calamitous years and years of famine, the old and weak of your people, who have been found lying in the ditches and water-channels, and the able-bodied who have been scattered about to the four quarters, have amounted to several thousands. All the while, your granaries, O prince, have been stored with grain, and your treasuries and arsenals have been full, and not one of your officers has told you of the distress. Thus negligent have the superiors in your State been, and cruel to their inferiors. The philosopher Tsang said, "Beware, beware. What proceeds from you, will return to you again." Now at length the people have paid back the conduct of their officers to them. Do not you, O prince, blame them.

3. 'If you will put in practice a benevolent government, this people will love you and all above them, and will die for their officers.'

Chapter 13.

A prince should depend on himself, and not rely on, or try to propitiate, other powers.

1. The duke Wan of T’ang asked Mencius, saying, ‘T’ang is a small kingdom, and lies between Ch’î and Ch’û. Shall I serve Ch’î? Or shall I serve Chû?’

2. Mencius replied, ‘This plan which you propose is beyond me. If you will have me counsel you, there is one thing I can suggest. Dig deeper your moats; build higher your walls; guard them as well as your people. In case of attack, be prepared to die in your defence, and have the people so that they will not leave you; — this is a proper course.

Chapter 14.

A prince, threatened by his neighbors, will find his best defence and consolation in doing what is good and right.

1. The duke Wan of T'ang asked Mencius, saying, 'The people of Ch'î are going to fortify Hsieh. The movement occasions me great alarm. What is the proper course for me to take in the case?'

2. Mencius replied, 'Formerly, when king T'âi dwelt in Pin, the barbarians of the north were continually making incursions upon it. He therefore left it, went to the foot of mount Ch'î, and there took up his residence. He did not take that situation, as having selected it. It was a matter of necessity with him.

3. 'If you do good, among your descendants, in after generations, there shall be one who will attain to the royal dignity. A prince lays the foundation of the inheritance, and hands down the beginning which he has made, doing what may be continued by his successors. As to the accomplishment of the great result, that is with Heaven. What is that Ch'î to you, O prince? Be strong to do good. That is all your business.'

Chapter 15.

Two courses open to a prince pressed by his enemies; — flight or death.

1. The duke Wan of T'ang asked Mencius, saying, 'T'ang is a small State. Though I do my utmost to serve those large kingdoms on either side of it, we cannot escape suffering from them. What course shall I take that we may do so?' Mencius replied, 'Formerly, when king T'âi dwelt in Pin, the barbarians of the north were constantly making incursions upon it. He served them with skins and silks, and still he suffered from them. He served them with dogs and horses, and still he suffered from them. He served them with pearls and gems, and still he suffered from them. Seeing this, he assembled the old men, and announced to them, saying, "What the barbarians want is my territory. I have heard this, — that a ruler does not injure his people with that wherewith he nourishes them. My children, why should you be troubled about having no prince? I will leave this." Accordingly, he left Pin, crossed the mountain Liang, built a town at the foot of mount Ch'î, and dwelt there. The people of Pin said, "He is a benevolent man. We must not lose him." Those who followed him looked like crowds hastening to market.

2. 'On the other hand, some say, "The kingdom is a thing to be kept from generation to generation. One individual cannot undertake to dispose of it in his own person. Let him be prepared to die for it. Let him not quit it."

3. 'I ask you, prince, to make your election between these two courses.'

Chapter 16.

A man's way in life is ordered by heaven. The instrumentality of other men is only subordinate.

1. The duke P'ing of Lû was about to leave his palace, when his favourite, one Tsang Ts'ang, made a request to him, saying, 'On other days, when you have gone out, you have given instructions to the officers as to where you were going. But now, the horses have been put to the carriage, and the officers do not yet know where you are going. I venture to ask.' The duke said, 'I am going to see the scholar Mang.' 'How is this?' said the other. 'That you demean yourself, prince, in paying the honour of the first visit to a common man, is, I suppose, because you think that he is a man of talents and virtue. By such men the rules of ceremonial proprieties and right are observed. But on the occasion of this Mang's second mourning, his observances exceeded those of the former. Do not go to see him, my prince.' The duke said, 'I will not.'

2. The officer Yo-chang entered the court, and had an audience. He said, 'Prince, why have you not gone to see Mang K'o?' the duke said, 'One told me that, on the occasion of the scholar Mang's second mourning, his observances exceeded those of the former. It is on that account that I have not gone to see him.' 'How is this!' answered Yo-chang. 'By what you call "exceeding," you mean, I suppose, that, on the first occasion, he used the rites appropriate to a scholar, and, on the second, those appropriate to a great officer; that he first used three tripods, and afterwards five tripods.' The duke said, 'No; I refer to the greater excellence of the coffin, the shell, the grave-clothes, and the shroud.' Yo-chAng said, 'That cannot be called "exceeding." That was the difference between being poor and being rich.'

3. After this, Yo-chang saw Mencius, and said to him, 'I told the prince about you, and he was consequently coming to see you, when one of his favourites, named Tsang Ts'ang, stopped him, and therefore he did not come according to his purpose.' Mencius said, 'A man's advancement is effected, it may be, by others, and the stopping him is, it may be, from the efforts of others. But to advance a man or to stop his advance is really beyond the power of other men. My not finding in the prince of Lû a ruler who would confide in me, and put my counsels into practice, is from Heaven. How could that scion of the Tsang family cause me not to find the ruler that would suit me?'

Book II, Part I: Kung-sun Ch’au

Chapter 1.

While Mencius wished to see a true royal government and sway in the kingdom, and could easily have realized it, from the peculiar circumstances of the time, he would not, to do so, have had recourse to any ways inconsistent with its ideas.

1. Kung-sun Ch'âu asked Mencius, saying, 'Master, if you were to obtain the ordering of the government in Ch'î, could you promise yourself to accomplish anew such results as those realized by Kwan Chung and Yen?'

2. Mencius said, 'You are indeed a true man of Ch'î. You know about Kwan Chung and Yen, and nothing more,

3. 'Some one asked Tsang Hsî, saying, "Sir, to which do you give the superiority, — to yourself or to Tsze-lû?" Tsang Hsî looked uneasy, and said, "He was an object of veneration to my grandfather." "Then," pursued the other, "Do you give the superiority to yourself or to Kwan Chung?" Tsang Hsî, flushed with anger and displeased, said, "How dare you compare me with Kwan Chung? Considering how entirely Kwan Chung possessed the confidence of his prince, how long he enjoyed the direction of the government of the State, and how low, after all, was what he accomplished, — how is it that you liken me to him?"

4. 'Thus,' concluded Mencius, 'Tsang Hsî would not play Kwan Chung, and is it what you desire for me that I should do so?'

5. Kung-sun Ch'âu said, 'Kwan Chung raised his prince to be the leader of all the other princes, and Yen made his prince illustrious, and do you still think it would not be enough for you to do what they did?'

6. Mencius answered, 'To raise Ch'î to the royal dignity would be as easy as it is to turn round the hand.'

7. 'So!' returned the other. 'The perplexity of your disciple is hereby very much increased. There was king Wan, moreover, with all the virtue which belonged to him; and who did not die till he had reached a hundred years: — and still his influence had not penetrated throughout the kingdom. It required king Wû and the duke of Châu to continue his course, before that influence greatly prevailed. Now you say that the royal dignity might be so easily obtained: — is king Wan then not a sufficient object for imitation?'

8. Mencius said, 'How can king Wan be matched? From T'ang to Wû-ting there had appeared six or seven worthy and sage sovereigns. The kingdom had been attached to Yin for a long time, and this length of time made a change difficult. Wû-ting had all the princes coming to his court, and possessed the

kingdom as if it had been a thing which he moved round in his palm. Then, Châu was removed from Wû-ting by no great interval of time. There were still remaining some of the ancient families and of the old manners, of the influence also which had emanated from the earlier sovereigns, and of their good government. Moreover, there were the viscount of Wei and his second son, their Royal Highnesses Pî-kan and the viscount of Ch'î, and Kâo-ko, all men of ability and virtue, who gave their joint assistance to Châu in his government. In consequence of these things, it took a long time for him to lose the throne. There was not a foot of ground which he did not possess. There was not one of all the people who was not his subject. So it was on his side, and king Wan at his beginning had only a territory of one hundred square lî. On all these accounts, it was difficult for him immediately to attain to the royal dignity.

9. 'The people of Ch'î have a saying— "A man may have wisdom and discernment, but that is not like embracing the favourable opportunity. A man may have instruments of husbandry, but that is not like waiting for the farming seasons." The present time is one in which the royal dignity may be easily attained.

10. 'In the flourishing periods of the Hsiâ, Yin, and Châu dynasties, the royal domain did not exceed a thousand lî, and Ch'î embraces so much territory. Cocks crow and dogs bark to one another, all the way to the four borders of the State: — so Ch'î possesses the people. No change is needed for the enlarging of its territory: no change is needed for the collecting of a population. If its ruler will put in practice a benevolent government, no power will be able to prevent his becoming sovereign.

11. 'Moreover, never was there a time farther removed than the present from the rise of a true sovereign: never was there a time when the sufferings of the people from tyrannical government were more intense than the present. The hungry readily partake of any food, and the thirsty of any drink.'

12. 'Confucius said, "The flowing progress of virtue is more rapid than the transmission of royal orders by stages and couriers."

13. 'At the present time, in a country of ten thousand chariots, let benevolent government be put in practice, and the people will be delighted with it, as if they were relieved from hanging by the heels. With half the merit of the ancients, double their achievements is sure to be realized. It is only at this time that such could be the case.'

Chapter 2.

That Mencius had attained to an unperturbed mind; that the means by which he had done so was his knowledge of words and the nourishment of his passion-nature; and that in this he was a follower of Confucius.

1. Kung-sun Ch'âu asked Mencius, saying, 'Master, if you were to be appointed a high noble and the prime minister of Ch'î, so as to be able to carry your principles into practice, though you should thereupon raise the ruler to the headship of all the other princes, or even to the royal dignity, it would not be to be wondered at. — In such a position would your mind be perturbed or not?' Mencius replied, 'No. At forty, I attained to an unperturbed mind.'

2. Ch'âu said, 'Since it is so with you, my Master, you are far beyond Mang Pan.' 'The mere attainment,' said Mencius, 'is not difficult. The scholar Kâo had attained to an unperturbed mind at an earlier period of life than I did.'

3. Ch'âu asked, 'Is there any way to an unperturbed mind?' The answer was, 'Yes.

4. 'Pî-kung Yû had this way of nourishing his valour: — He did not flinch from any strokes at his body. He did not turn his eyes aside from any thrusts at them. He considered that the slightest push from any one was the same as if he were beaten before the crowds in the market-place, and that what he would not receive from a common man in his loose large garments of hair, neither should he receive from a prince of ten thousand chariots. He viewed stabbing a prince of ten thousand chariots just as stabbing a fellow dressed in cloth of hair. He feared not any of all the princes. A bad word addressed to him be always returned.

5. 'Mang Shih-shê had this way of nourishing his valour: — He said, "I look upon not conquering and conquering in the same way. To measure the enemy and then advance; to calculate the chances of victory and then engage: — this is to stand in awe of the opposing force. How can I make certain of conquering? I can only rise superior to all fear."

6. 'Mang Shih-shê resembled the philosopher Tsang. Pî-kung Yû resembled Tsze-hsiâ. I do not know to the valour of which of the two the superiority should be ascribed, but yet Mang Shih-shê attended to what was of the greater importance.

7. 'Formerly, the philosopher Tsang said to Tsze-hsiang, "Do you love valour? I heard an account of great valour from the Master. It speaks thus:— 'If, on self-examination, I find that I am not upright, shall I not be in fear even of a

poor man in his loose garments of hair-cloth? If, on self-examination, I find that I am upright, I will go forward against thousands and tens of thousands.'"

8. Yet, what Mang Shih-shê maintained, being merely his physical energy, was after all inferior to what the philosopher Tsang maintained, which was indeed of the most importance.'

9. Kung-sun Ch'âu said, 'May I venture to ask an explanation from you, Master, of how you maintain an unperturbed mind, and how the philosopher Kâo does the same?' Mencius answered,'Kâo says,— "What is not attained in words is not to be sought for in the mind; what produces dissatisfaction in the mind, is not to be helped by passion-effort." This last, — when there is unrest in the mind, not to seek for relief from passion-effort, may be conceded. But not to seek in the mind for what is not attained in words cannot be conceded. The will is the leader of the passion-nature. The passion-nature pervades and animates the body. The will is first and chief, and the passion-nature is subordinate to it. Therefore I say, — Maintain firm the will, and do no violence to the passion-nature.'

10. Ch'âu observed, 'Since you say— "The will is chief, and the passion-nature is subordinate," how do you also say, "Maintain firm the will, and do no violence to the passion-nature?"' Mencius replied, 'When it is the will alone which is active, it moves the passion-nature. When it is the passion-nature alone which is active, it moves the will. For instance now, in the case of a man falling or running, that is from the passion-nature, and yet it moves the mind.'

11. 'I venture to ask,' said Ch'âu again, 'wherein you, Master, surpass Kâo.' Mencius told him, 'I understand words. I am skilful in nourishing my vast, flowing passion-nature.'

12. Ch'âu pursued, 'I venture to ask what you mean by your vast, flowing passion-nature!' The reply was, 'It is difficult to describe it.

13. 'This is the passion-nature: — It is exceedingly great, and exceedingly strong. Being nourished by rectitude, and sustaining no injury, it fills up all between heaven and earth.

14. 'This is the passion-nature: — It is the mate and assistant of righteousness and reason. Without it, man is in a state of starvation.

15. 'It is produced by the accumulation of righteous deeds; it is not to be obtained by incidental acts of righteousness. If the mind does not feel complacency in the conduct, the nature becomes starved. I therefore said, "Kâo has never understood righteousness, because he makes it something external."

16. 'There must be the constant practice of this righteousness, but without the object of thereby nourishing the passion-nature. Let not the mind forget its work, but let there be no assisting the growth of that nature. Let us not be like the man

of Sung. There was a man of Sung, who was grieved that his growing corn was not longer, and so he pulled it up. Having done this, he returned home, looking very stupid, and said to his people, “I am tired to-day. I have been helping the corn to grow long.” His son ran to look at it, and found the corn all withered. There are few in the world, who do not deal with their passion-nature, as if they were assisting the corn to grow long. Some indeed consider it of no benefit to them, and let it alone: — they do not weed their corn. They who assist it to grow long, pull out their corn. What they do is not only of no benefit to the nature, but it also injures it.’

17. Kung-sun Ch’âu further asked, ‘What do you mean by saying that you understand whatever words you hear?’ Mencius replied, ‘When words are one-sided, I know how the mind of the speaker is clouded over. When words are extravagant, I know how the mind is fallen and sunk. When words are all-depraved, I know how the mind has departed from principle. When words are evasive, I know how the mind is at its wit’s end. These evils growing in the mind, do injury to government, and, displayed in th government, are hurtful to the conduct of affairs. When a Sage shall again arise, he will certainly follow my words.’

18. On this Ch’âu observed, ‘Tsâi Wo and Tsze-kung were skilful in speaking. Zan Niû, the disciple Min, and Yen Yüan, while their words were good, were distinguished for their virtuous conduct. Confucius united the qualities of the disciples in himself, but still he said, “In the matter of speeches, I am not competent.” — Then, Master, have you attained to be a Sage?’

19. Mencius said, ‘Oh! what words are these? Formerly Tsze-kung asked Confucius, saying, “Master, are you a Sage?” Confucius answered him, “A Sage is what I cannot rise to. I learn without satiety, and teach without being tired.” Tsze-kung said, “You learn without satiety: — that shows your wisdom. You teach without being tired: — that shows your benevolence. Benevolent and wise: — Master, you ARE a Sage.” Now, since Confucius would not allow himself to be regarded as a Sage, what words were those?’

20. Ch’âu said, ‘Formerly, I once heard this: — Tsze-hsiâ, Tsze-yû, and Tsze-chang had each one member of the Sage. Zan Niû, the disciple Min, and Yen Yüan had all the members, but in small proportions. I venture to ask, — With which of these are you pleased to rank yourself?’

21. Mencius replied, ‘Let us drop speaking about these, if you please.’

22. Ch’âu then asked, ‘What do you say of Po-î and Î Yin?’ ‘Their ways were different from mine,’ said Mencius. ‘Not to serve a prince whom he did not esteem, nor command a people whom he did not approve; in a time of good government to take office, and on the occurrence of confusion to retire: — this

was the way of Po-î. To say— “Whom may I not serve? My serving him makes him my ruler. What people may I not command? My commanding them makes them my people.” In a time of good government to take office, and when disorder prevailed, also to take office: — that was the way of Î Yin. When it was proper to go into office, then to go into it; when it was proper to keep retired from office, then to keep retired from it; when it was proper to continue in it long, then to continue in it long - when it was proper to withdraw from it quickly, then to withdraw quickly: — that was the way of Confucius. These were all sages of antiquity, and I have not attained to do what they did. But what I wish to do is to learn to be like Confucius.’

23. Ch’âu said, ‘Comparing Po-î and Î Yin with Confucius, are they to be placed in the same rank?’ Mencius replied, ‘No. Since there were living men until now, there never was another Confucius.’

24. Ch’âu said, ‘Then, did they have any points of agreement with him?’ The reply was,— ‘Yes. If they had been sovereigns over a hundred lî of territory, they would, all of them, have brought all the princes to attend in their court, and have obtained the throne. And none of them, in order to obtain the throne, would have committed one act of unrighteousness, or put to death one innocent person. In those things they agreed with him.’

25. Ch’âu said, ‘I venture to ask wherein he differed from them.’ Mencius replied, ‘Tsâi Wo, Tsze-kung, and Yû Zo had wisdom sufficient to know the sage. Even had they been ranking themselves low, they would not have demeaned themselves to flatter their favourite.

26. ‘Now, Tsâi Wo said, “According to my view of our Master, he was far superior to Yâo and Shun.”

27. ‘Tsze-kung said, “By viewing the ceremonial ordinances of a prince, we know the character of his government. By hearing his music, we know the character of his virtue. After the lapse of a hundred ages I can arrange, according to their merits, the kings of a hundred ages; — not one of them can escape me. From the birth of mankind till now, there has never been another like our Master.”

28. ‘Yû Zo said, “Is it only among men that it is so? There is the Ch’î-lin among quadrupeds, the Fang-hwang among birds, the T’âi mountain among mounds and ant-hills, and rivers and seas among rain-pools. Though different in degree, they are the same in kind. So the sages among mankind are also the same in kind. But they stand out from their fellows, and rise above the level, and from the birth of mankind till now, there never has been one so complete as Confucius.”’

Chapter 3.

The difference between a chieftain of the princes and a sovereign of the kingdom; and between submission secured by force and that produced by virtue.

1. Mencius said, ‘He who, using force, makes a pretence to benevolence is the leader of the princes. A leader of the princes requires a large kingdom. He who, using virtue, practises benevolence is the sovereign of the kingdom. To become the sovereign of the kingdom, a prince need not wait for a large kingdom. T’ang did it with only seventy lî, and king Wan with only a hundred.

2. ‘When one by force subdues men, they do not submit to him in heart. They submit, because their strength is not adequate to resist. When one subdues men by virtue, in their hearts’ core they are pleased, and sincerely submit, as was the case with the seventy disciples in their submission to Confucius. What is said in the Book of Poetry,

“From the west, from the east,
From the south, from the north,
There was not one who thought of refusing submission,”

is an illustration of this.’

Chapter 4.

1. Mencius said, ‘Benevolence brings glory to a prince, and the opposite of it brings disgrace. For the princes of the present day to hate disgrace and yet to live complacently doing what is not benevolent, is like hating moisture and yet living in a low situation.

2. ‘If a prince hates disgrace, the best course for him to pursue, is to esteem virtue and honour virtuous scholars, giving the worthiest among them places of dignity, and the able offices of trust. When throughout his kingdom there is leisure and rest from external troubles, let him, taking advantage of such a season, clearly digest the principles of his government with its legal sanctions, and then even great kingdoms will be constrained to stand in awe of him.

3. ‘It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“Before the heavens were dark w1th rain,
I gathered the bark from the roots of the mulberry trees,

And wove it closely to form the window and door of my nest;
Now, I thought, ye people below,
Perhaps ye will not dare to insult me."

Confucius said, "Did not he who made this ode understand the way of governing?" If a prince is able rightly to govern his kingdom, who will dare to insult him?

4. 'But now the princes take advantage of the time when throughout their kingdoms there is leisure and rest from external troubles, to abandon themselves to pleasure and indolent indifference; — they in fact seek for calamities for themselves.

5. 'Calamity and happiness in all cases are men's own seeking.

6. 'This is illustrated by what is said in the Book of Poetry, —

Be always studious to be in harmony with the ordinances of God,
So you will certainly get for yourself much happiness;"

and by the passage ofthe Tâi Chiah,— "When Heaven sends down calamities, it is still possible to escape from them; when we occasion the calamities ourselves, it is not possible any longer to live."'

Chapter 5.

Various points of true royal government neglected by the princes of Mencius's time, attention to which would surely carry any one of them to the royal throne.

1. Mencius said, 'If a ruler give honour to men of talents and virtue and employ the able, so that offices shall all be filled by individuals of distinction and mark; — then all the scholars of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to stand in his court.

2. 'If, in the market-place of his capital, he levy a ground-rent on the shops but do not tax the goods, or enforce the proper regulations without levying a ground-rent; — then all the traders of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to store their goods in his market-place.

3. 'If, at his frontier-passes, there be an inspection of persons, but no taxes charged on goods or other articles, then all the travellers of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to make their tours on his roads.

4. 'If he require that the husbandmen give their mutual aid to cultivate the public feld, and exact no other taxes from them; — then all the husbandmen of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to plough in his fields.

5. 'If from the occupiers of the shops in his market-place he do not exact the fine of the individual idler, or of the hamlet's quota of cloth, then all the people of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to come and be his people.

6. 'If a ruler can truly practise these five things, then the people in the neighbouring kingdoms will look up to him as a parent. From the first birth of mankind till now, never has any one led children to attack their parent, and succeeded in his design. Thus, such a ruler will not have an enemy in all the kingdom, and he who has no enemy in the kingdom is the minister of Heaven. Never has there been a ruler in such a case who did not attain to the royal dignity.'

Chapter 6.

That benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge belong to man as naturally as his four limbs, and may easily be exercised.

1. Mencius said, ‘All men have a mind which cannot bear to see the sufferings of others.

2. ‘The ancient kings had this commiserating mind, and they, as a matter of course, had likewise a commiserating government. When with a commiserating mind was practised a commiserating government, to rule the kingdom was as easy a matter as to make anything go round in the palm.

3. ‘When I say that all men have a mind which cannot bear to see the sufferings of others, my meaning may be illustrated thus: — even now-a-days, if men suddenly see a child about to fall into a well, they will without exception experience a feeling of alarm and distress. They will feel so, not as a ground on which they may gain the favour of the child’s parents, nor as a ground on which they may seek the praise of their neighbours and friends, nor from a dislike to the reputation of having been unmoved by such a thing.

4. ‘From this case we may perceive that the feeling of commiseration is essential to man, that the feeling of shame and dislike is essential to man, that the feeling of modesty and complaisance is essential to man, and that the feeling of approving and disapproving is essential to man.

5. ‘The feeling of commiseration is the principle of benevolence. The feeling of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness. The feeling of modesty and complaisance is the principle of propriety. The feeling of approving and disapproving is the principle of knowledge.

6. ‘Men have these four principles just as they have their four limbs. When men, having these four principles, yet say of themselves that they cannot develop them, they play the thief with themselves, and he who says of his prince that he cannot develop them plays the thief with his prince.

7. ‘Since all men have these four principles in themselves, let them know to give them all their development and completion, and the issue will be like that of fire which has begun to burn, or that of a spring which has begun to find vent. Let them have their complete development, and they will suffice to love and protect all within the four seas. Let them be denied that development, and they will not suffice for a man to serve his parents with.’

Chapter 7.

An exhortation to benevolence from the disgrace which must attend the want of it, like the disgrace of a man who does not know his profession.

1. Mencius said, ‘Is the arrow-maker less benevolent than the maker of armour of defence? And yet, the arrow-maker’s only fear is lest men should not be hurt, and the armour-maker’s only fear is lest men should be hurt. So it is with the priest and the coffin-maker. The choice of a profession, therefore, is a thing in which great caution is required.

2. ‘Confucius said, “It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence of a neighbourhood. If a man, in selecting a residence, do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?” Now, benevolence is the most honourable dignity conferred by Heaven, and the quiet home in which man should awell. Since no one can hinder us from being so, if yet we are not benevolent; — this is being not wise.

3. ‘From the want of benevolence and the want of wisdom will ensue the entire absence of propriety and righteousness; — he who is in such a case must be the servant of other men. To be the servant of men and yet ashamed of such servitude, is like a bowmaker’s being ashamed to make bows, or an arrow-maker’s being ashamed to make arrows.

4. ‘If he be ashamed of his case, his best course is to practise benevolence.

5. ‘The man who would be benevolent is like the archer. The archer adjusts himself and then shoots. If he misses, he does not murmur against those who surpass himself. He simply turns round and seeks the cause of his failure in himself.’

Chapter 8.

How sages and worthies delighted in what is good.

1. Mencius said, ‘When any one told Tsze-lû that he had a fault, he rejoiced.

2. ‘When Yü heard good words, he bowed to the speaker.

3. ‘The great Shun had a still greater delight in what was good. He regarded virtue as the common property of himself and others, giving up his own way to follow that of others, and delighting to learn from others to practise what was good.

4. ‘From the time when he ploughed and sowed, exercised the potter’s art, and was a fisherman, to the time when he became emperor, he was continually learning from others.

5. ‘To take example from others to practise virtue, is to help them in the same practice. Therefore, there is no attribute of the superior man greater than his helping men to practise virtue.’

Chapter 9.

Pictures of Po-î and Hûi of Liû-hsiâ, and Mencius's judgment concerning them.

1. Mencius said, 'Po-î would not serve a prince whom he did not approve, nor associate with a friend whom he did not esteem. He would not stand in a bad prince's court, nor speak with a bad man. To stand in a bad prince's court, or to speak with a bad man, would have been to him the same as to sit with his court robes and court cap amid mire and ashes. Pursuing the examination of his dislike to what was evil, we find that he thought it necessary, if he happened to be standing with a villager whose cap was not rightly adjusted, to leave him with a high air, as if he were going to be defiled. Therefore, although some of the princes made application to him with very proper messages, he would not receive their gifts. — He would not receive their gifts, counting it inconsistent with his purity to go to them.

2. 'Hûi of Liû-hsiâ was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When neglected and left without office, he did not murmur. When straitened by poverty, he did not grieve. Accordingly, he had a saying,"You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and aims bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?" Therefore, self-possessed, he companied with men indifferently, at the same time not losing himself. When he wished to leave, if pressed to remain in office, he would remain. — He would remain in office, when pressed to do so, not counting it required by his purity to go away.'

3. Mencius said, 'Po-î was narrow-minded, and Hûi of Liû-hsiâ was wanting in self-respect. The superior man will not manifest either narrow-mindedness, or the want of self-respect.'

Book II, Part II: Kung-sun Ch’au

Chapter 1.

No advantages which a ruler can obtain to exalt him over others are to be compared with his getting the hearts of men.

1. Mencius said, ‘Opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth, and advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men.

2. ‘There is a city, with an inner wall of three lî in circumference, and an outer wall of seven. — The enemy surround and attack it, but they are not able to take it. Now, to surround and attack it, there must have been vouchsafed to them by Heaven the opportunity of time, and in such case their not taking it is because opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth.

3. ‘There is a city, whose walls are distinguished for their height, and whose moats are distinguished for their depth, where the arms of its defenders, offensive and defensive, are distinguished for their strength and sharpness, and the stores of rice and other grain are very large. Yet it is obliged to be given up and abandoned. This is because advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men.

4. ‘In accordance with these principles it is said, “A people is bounded in, not by the limits of dykes and borders; a State is secured, not by the strengths of mountains and rivers; the kingdom is overawed, not by the sharpness and strength of arms.” He who finds the proper course has many to assist him. He who loses the proper course has few to assist him. When this, — the being assisted by few, — reaches its extreme point, his own relations revolt from the prince. When the being assisted by many reaches its highest point, the whole kingdom becomes obedient to the prince.

5. ‘When one to whom the whole kingdom is prepared to be obedient, attacks those from whom their own relations revolt, what must be the result? Therefore, the true ruler will prefer not to fight; but if he do fight, he must overcome.’

Chapter 2.

How Mencius considered that it was slighting him for a prince to call him by messengers to go to see him, and the shifts he was put to to get this understood.

1. As Mencius was about to go to court to see the king, the king sent a person to him with this message,— 'I was wishing to come and see you. But I have got a cold, and may not expose myself to the wind. In the morning I will hold my court. I do not know whether you will give me the opportunity of seeing you then.' Mencius replied, 'Unfortunately, I am unwell, and not able to go to the court.'

2. Next day, he went out to pay a visit of condolence to some one of the Tung-kwoh family, when Kung-sun Ch'âu said to him, 'Yesterday, you declined going to the court on the ground of being unwell, and to-day you are going to pay a visit of condolence. May this not be regarded as improper?' 'Yesterday,' said Mencius, 'I was unwell; to-day, I am better: — why should I not pay this visit?'

3. In the mean time, the king sent a messenger to inquire about his sickness, and also a physician. Mang Chung replied to them, 'Yesterday, when the king's order came, he was feeling a little unwell, and could not go to the court. To-day he was a little better, and hastened to go to court. I do not know whether he can have reached it by this time or not.' Having said this, he sent several men to look for Mencius on the way, and say to him, 'I beg that, before you return home, you will go to the court.'

4. On this, Mencius felt himself compelled to go to Ching Ch'âu's, and there stop the night. Mr. Ching said to him, 'In the family, there is the relation of father and son; abroad, there is the relation of prince and minister. These are the two great relations among men. Between father and son the ruling principle is kindness. Between prince and minister the ruling principle is respect. I have seen the respect of the king to you, Sir, but I have not seen in what way you show respect to him.' Mencius replied, 'Oh! what words are these? Among the people of Ch'î there is no one who speaks to the king about benevolence and righteousness. Are they thus silent because they do not think that benevolence and righteousness are admirable? No, but in their hearts they say, "This man is not fit to be spoken with about benevolence and righteousness." Thus they manifest a disrespect than which there can be none greater. I do not dare to set

forth before the king any but the ways of Yâo and Shun. There is therefore no man of Ch'î who respects the king so much as I do.'

5. Mr. Ching said, 'Not so. That was not what I meant. In the Book of Rites it is said, "When a father calls, the answer must be without a moment's hesitation. When the prince's order calls, the carriage must not be waited for." You were certainly going to the court, but when you heard the king's order, then you did not carry your purpose out. This does seem as if it were not in accordance with that rule of propriety.'

6. Mencius answered him, 'How can you give that meaning to my conduct? The philosopher Tsang said, "The wealth of Tsin and Ch'û cannot be equalled. Let their rulers have their wealth: — I have my benevolence. Let them have their nobility: — I have my righteousness. Wherein should I be dissatisfied as inferior to them?" Now shall we say that these sentiments are not right? Seeing that the philosopher Tsang spoke them, there is in them, I apprehend, a real principle. — In the kingdom there are three things universally acknowledged to be honourable. Nobility is one of them; age is one of them; virtue is one of them. In courts, nobility holds the first place of the three; in villages, age holds the first place; and for helping one's generation and presiding over the people, the other two are not equal to virtue. How can the possession of only one of these be presumed on to despise one who possesses the other two?

7. 'Therefore a prince who is to accomplish great deeds will certainly have ministers whom he does not call to go to him. When he wishes to consult with them, he goes to them. The prince who does not honour the virtuous, and delight in their ways of doing, to this extent, is not worth having to do with.

8. 'Accordingly, there was the behaviour of T'ang to Î Yin: — he first learned of him, and then employed him as his minister; and so without difficulty he became sovereign. There was the behaviour of the duke Hwan to Kwan Chung: — he first learned of him, and then employed him as his minister; and so without difficulty he became chief of all the princes.

9. 'Now throughout the kingdom, the territories of the princes are of equal extent, and in their achievements they are on a level. Not one of them is able to exceed the others. This is from no other reason, but that they love to make ministers of those whom they teach, and do not love to make ministers of those by whom they might be taught.

10. 'So did T'ang behave to Î Yin, and the duke Hwan to Kwan Chung, that they would not venture to call them to go to them. If Kwan Chung might not be called to him by his prince, how much less may he be called, who would not play the part of Kwan Chung!'

Chapter 3.

By what principles Mencius was guided in declining or accepting the gifts of princes.

1. Ch'an Tsin asked Mencius, saying, 'Formerly, when you were in Ch'î, the king sent you a present Of 2,400 taels of fine silver, and you refused to accept it. When you were in Sung, 1,680 taels were sent to you, which you accepted; and when you were in Hsieh, 1,200 taels were sent, which you likewise accepted. If your declining to accept the gift in the first case was right, your accepting it in the latter cases was wrong. If your accepting it in the latter cases was right, your declining to do so in the first case was wrong. You must accept, Master, one of these alternatives.'

2. Mencius said, 'I did right in all the cases.

3. 'When I was in Sung, I was about to take a long journey. Travellers must be provided with what is necessary for their expenses. The prince's message was, 'A present against travelling-expenses." Why should I have declined the gift?

4. 'When I was in Hsieh, I was apprehensive for my safety, and taking measures for my protection. The message was, "I have heard that you are taking measures to protect yourself, and send this to help you in procuring arms." Why should I have declined the gift?

5. 'But when I was in Ch'i, I had no occasion for money. To send a man a gift when he has no occasion for it, is to bribe him. How is it possible that a superior man should be taken with a bribe?'

Chapter 4.

How Mencius brought conviction of their faults home to the king and an officer of Ch'î.

1. Mencius having gone to P'ing-lû, addressed the governor of it, saying, 'If one of your spearmen should lose his place in the ranks three times in one day, would you, Sir, put him to death or not?' 'I would not wait for three times to do so,' was the reply.

2. Mencius said, 'Well then, you, Sir, have likewise lost your place in the ranks many times. In bad calamitous years, and years of famine, the old and feeble of your people, who have been found lying in the ditches and water-channels, and the able-bodied, who have been scattered about to the four quarters, have amounted to several thousand.' The governor replied, 'That is a state of things in which it does not belong to me Chü-hsin to act.'

3. 'Here,' said Mencius, 'is a man who receives charge of the cattle and sheep of another, and undertakes to feed them for him; — of course he must search for pasture-ground and grass for them. If, after searching for those, he cannot find them, will he return his charge to the owner? or will he stand by and see them die?' 'Herein,' said the officer, 'I am guilty.'

4. Another day, Mencius had an audience of the king, and said to him, 'Of the governors of your Majesty's cities I am acquainted with five, but the only one of them who knows his faults is K'ung Chü-hsin.' He then repeated the conversation to the king, who said, 'In this matter, I am the guilty one.'

Chapter 5.

The freedom belonging to Mencius in relation to the measures of the king of Ch'î from his particular position, as unsalaried.

1. Mencius said to Ch'î Wâ, 'There seemed to be reason in your declining the governorship of Ling-ch'iû, and requesting to be appointed chief criminal judge, because the latter office would afford you the opportunity of speaking your views. Now several months have elapsed, and have you yet found nothing of which you might speak?'

2. On this, Ch'î Wâ remonstrated on some matter with the king, and, his counsel not being taken, resigned his office and went away.

3. The people of Ch'î said, 'In the course which he marked out for Ch'î Wâ he did well, but we do not know as to the course which he pursues for himself.'

4. His disciple Kung-tû told him these remarks.

5. Mencius said, 'I have heard that he who is in charge of an office, when he is prevented from fulfilling its duties, ought to take his departure, and that he on whom is the responsibility of giving his opinion, when he finds his words unattended to, ought to do the same. But I am in charge of no office; on me devolves no duty of speaking out my opinion: — may not I therefore act freely and without any constraint, either in going forward or in retiring?'

Chapter 6.

Mencius's behavior with an unworthy associate.

1. Mencius, occupying the position of a high dignitary in Ch'î, went on a mission of condolence to T'ang. The king also sent Wang Hwan, the governor of Kâ, as assistant-commissioner. Wang Hwan, morning and evening, waited upon Mencius, who, during all the way to T'ang and back, never spoke to him about the business of their mission.

2. Kung-sun Ch'âu said to Mencius, 'The position of a high dignitary of Ch'î is not a small one; the road from Ch'î to T'ang is not short. How was it that during all the way there and back, you never spoke to Hwan about the matters of your mission?' Mencius replied, 'There were the proper officers who attended to them. What occasion had I to speak to him about them?'

Chapter 7.

That one ought to do his utmost in the burial of his parents; — illustrated by Mencius's burial of his mother.

1. Mencius went from Ch'î to Lû to bury his mother. On his return to Ch'î, he stopped at Ying, where Ch'ung Yü begged to put a question to him, and said, 'Formerly, in ignorance of my incompetency, you employed me to superintend the making of the coffin. As you were then pressed by the urgency of the business, I did not venture to put any question to you. Now, however, I wish to take the liberty to submit the matter. The wood of the coffin, it appeared to me, was too good.'

2. Mencius replied, 'Anciently, there was no rule for the size of either the inner or the outer coffin. In middle antiquity, the inner coffin was made seven inches thick, and the outer one the same. This was done by all, from the sovereign to the common people, and not simply for the beauty of the appearance, but because they thus satisfied the natural feelings of their hearts.

3. 'If prevented by statutory regulations from making their coffins in this way, men cannot have the feeling of pleasure. If they have not the money to make them in this way, they cannot have the feeling of pleasure. When they were not prevented, and had the money, the ancients all used this style. Why should I alone not do so?

4. 'And moreover, is there no satisfaction to the natural feelings of a man, in preventing the earth from getting near to the bodies of his dead?

5. 'I have heard that the superior man will not for all the world be niggardly to his parents.'

Chapter 8.

Deserved punishment may not be inflicted but by proper authority. A state or nation may only be smitten by the minister of Heaven.

1. Shan T'ung, on his own impulse, asked Mencius, saying, 'May Yen be smitten?' Mencius replied, 'It may. Tsze-k'wâi had no right to give Yen to another man, and Tsze-chih had no right to receive Yen from Tsze-k'wâi. Suppose there were an officer here, with whom you, Sir, were pleased, and that, without informing the king, you were privately to give to him your salary and rank; and suppose that this officer, also without the king's orders, were privately to receive them from you — would such a transaction be allowable? And where is the difference between the case of Yen and this?'

2. The people of Ch'î smote Yen. Some one asked Mencius, saying, 'Is it really the case that you advised Ch'î to smite Yen?' He replied, 'No. Shan T'ung asked me whether Yen might be smitten, and I answered him, "It may." They accordingly went and smote it. If he had asked me— "Who may smite it?" I would have answered him, "He who is the minister of Heaven may smite it." Suppose the case of a murderer, and that one asks me— "May this man be put to death?" I will answer him— "He may." If he ask me— "Who may put him to death?" I will answer him, "The chief criminal judge may put him to death." But now with one Yen to smite another Yen: — how should I have advised this?'

Chapter 9.

How Mencius beat down the attempt to argue in excuse of errors and misconduct.

1. The people of Yen having rebelled, the king of Ch'î said, 'I feel very much ashamed when I think of Mencius.'

2. Ch'an Chiâ said to him, 'Let not your Majesty be grieved. Whether does your Majesty consider yourself or Châu-kung the more benevolent and wise?' The king replied, 'Oh! what words are those?' 'The duke of Châu,' said Chiâ, 'appointed Kwan-shû to oversee the heir of Yin, but Kwan-shû with the power of the Yin State rebelled. If knowing that this would happen he appointed Kwan-shû, he was deficient in benevolence. If he appointed him, not knowing that it would happen, he was deficient in knowledge. If the duke of Châu was not completely benevolent and wise, how much less can your Majesty be expected to be so! I beg to go and see Mencius, and relieve your Majesty from that feeling.'

3. Ch'an Chiâ accordingly saw Mencius, and asked him, saying, 'What kind of man was the duke of Châu?' 'An ancient sage,' was the reply. 'Is it the fact, that he appointed Kwan-shû to oversee the heir of Yin, and that Kwan-shû with the State of Yin rebelled?' 'It is.' 'Did the duke of Châu know that he would rebel, and purposely appoint him to that office?' Mencius said, 'He did not know.' 'Then, though a sage, he still fell into error?' 'The duke of Châu,' answered Mencius, 'was the younger brother. Kwan-shû was his elder brother. Was not the error of Châu-kung in accordance with what is right?

4. 'Moreover, when the superior men of old had errors, they reformed them. The superior men of the present time, when they have errors, persist in them. The errors of the superior men of old were like eclipses of the sun and moon. All the people witnessed them, and when they had reformed them, all the people looked up to them with their former admiration. But do the superior men of the present day only persist in their errors? They go on to apologize for them likewise.'

Chapter 10.

Mencius in leaving a country or remaining in it was not influenced by pecuniary considerations, but by the opportunity denied or accorded to him of carrying his principles into practice.

1. Mencius gave up his office, and made arrangements for returning to his native State.

2. The king came to visit him, and said, ‘Formerly, I wished to see you, but in vain. Then, I got the opportunity of being by your side, and all my court joyed exceedingly along with me. Now again you abandon me, and are returning home. I do not know if hereafter I may expect to have another opportunity of seeing you.’ Mencius replied, ‘I dare not request permission to visit you at any particular time, but, indeed, it is what I desire.’

3. Another day, the king said to the officer Shih, ‘I wish to give Mencius a house, somewhere in the middle of the kingdom, and to support his disciples with an allowance of 10,000 chung, that all the officers and the people may have such an example to reverence and imitate. Had you not better tell him this for me?’

4. Shih took advantage to convey this message by means of the disciple Ch’an, who reported his words to Mencius.

5. Mencius said, ‘Yes; but how should the officer Shih know that the thing could not be? Suppose that I wanted to be rich, having formerly declined 100,000 chung, would my now accepting 10,000 be the conduct of one desiring riches?

6. ‘Chî-sun said, “A strange man was Tsze-shû Î. He pushed himself into the service of government. His prince declining to employ him, he had to retire indeed, but he again schemed that his son or younger brother should be made a high officer. Who indeed is there of men but wishes for riches and honour? But he only, among the seekers of these, tried to monopolize the conspicuous mound.

7. ‘“Of old time, the market-dealers exchanged the articles which they had for others which they had not, and simply had certain officers to keep order among them. It happened that there was a mean fellow, who made it a point to look out for a conspicuous mound, and get up upon it. Thence he looked right and left, to catch in his net the whole gain of the market. The people all thought his conduct mean, and therefore they proceeded to lay a tax upon his wares. The taxing of traders took its rise from this mean fellow.”’

Chapter 11.

How Mencius repelled a man, who, officiously and on his own impulse, tried to detain him in Ch'î.

1. Mencius, having taken his leave of Ch'î, was passing the night in Châu.

2. A person who wished to detain him on behalf of the king, came and sat down, and began to speak to him. Mencius gave him no answer, but leant upon his stool and slept.

3. The visitor was displeased, and said, 'I passed the night in careful vigil, before I would venture to speak to you, and you, Master, sleep and do not listen to me. Allow me to request that I may not again presume to see you.' Mencius replied, 'Sit down, and I will explain the case clearly to you. Formerly, if the duke Mû had not kept a person by the side of Tsze-sze, he could not have induced Tsze-sze to remain with him. If Hsieh Liû and Shan Hsiang had not had a remembrancer by the side of the duke Mû, he would not have been able to make them feel at home and remain with him.

4. 'You anxiously form plans with reference to me, but you do not treat me as Tsze-sze was treated. Is it you, Sir, who cut me? Or is it I who cut you?

Chapter 12.

How Mencius explained his seeming to linger in Ch'î, after he had resigned his office, and left the court.

1. When Mencius had left Ch'î, Yin Shih spoke about him to others, saying, 'If he did not know that the king could not be made a T'ang or a Wû, that showed his want of intelligence. If he knew that he could not be made such, and came notwithstanding, that shows he was seeking his own benefit. He came a thousand lî to wait on the king; because he did not find in him a ruler to suit him, he took his leave, but how dilatory and lingering was his departure, stopping three nights before he quitted Châu! I am dissatisfied on account of this.'

2. The disciple Kâo informed Mencius of these remarks.

3. Mencius said, 'How should Yin Shih know me! When I came a thousand lî to wait on the king, it was what I desired to do. When I went away because I did not find in him a ruler to suit me, was that what I desired to do? I felt myself constrained to do it.

4. 'When I stopped three nights before I quitted Châu, in my own mind I still considered my departure speedy. I was hoping that the king might change. If the king had changed, he would certainly have recalled me.

5. 'When I quitted Châu, and the king had not sent after me, then, and not till then, was my mind resolutely bent on returning to Tsâu. But, notwithstanding that, how can it be said that I give up the king? The king, after all, is one who may be made to do what is good. If he were to use me, would it be for the happiness of the people of Ch'î only ? It would be for the happiness of the people of the whole kingdom. I am hoping that the king will change. I am daily hoping for this.

6. 'Am I like one of your little-minded people? They will remonstrate with their prince, and on their remonstrance not being accepted, they get angry; and, with their passion displayed in their countenance, they take their leave, and travel with all their strength for a whole day, before they will stop for the night.'

7. When Yin Shih heard this explanation, he said, 'I am indeed a small man.'

Chapter 13.

Mencius's grief at not finding an opportunity to do the good which he could.

1. When Mencius left Ch'î, Ch'ung Yü questioned him upon the way, saying, 'Master, you look like one who carries an air of dissatisfaction in his countenance. But formerly I heard you say— "The superior man does not murmur against Heaven, nor grudge against men."'

2. Mencius said, 'That was one time, and this is another.

3. 'It is a rule that a true royal sovereign should arise in the course of five hundred years, and that during that time there should be men illustrious in their generation.

4. 'From the commencement of the Châu dynasty till now, more than seven hundred years have elapsed. Judging numerically, the date is past. Examining the character of the present time, we might expect the rise of such individuals in it.

5. 'But Heaven does not yet wish that the kingdom should enjoy tranquillity and good order. If it wished this, who is there besides me to bring it about? How should I be otherwise than dissatisfied?'

Chapter 14.

The reason Mencius's holding an honorary office in Ch'î without salary, that he wished to be free in his movements.

1. When Mencius left Ch'î, he dwelt in Hsiû. There Kung-sun Ch'âu asked him, saying, 'Was it the way of the ancients to hold office without receiving salary?'

2. Mencius replied, 'No; when I first saw the king in Ch'ung, it was my intention, on retiring from the interview, to go away. Because I did not wish to change this intention, I declined to receive any salary.

3. 'Immediately after, there came orders for the collection of troops, when it would have been improper for me to beg permission to leave. But to remain so long in Ch'î was not my purpose.'

Book III, Part I, T’ang Wan Kung

Chapter 1.

How all men by developing their natural goodness may become equal to the ancient sages.

1. When the prince, afterwards duke Wan of T'ang, had to go to Ch'û, he went by way of Sung, and visited Mencius.

2. Mencius discoursed to him how the nature of man is good, and when speaking, always made laudatory reference to Yâo and Shun.

3. When the prince was returning from Ch'û, he again visited Mencius. Mencius said to him, 'Prince, do you doubt my words? The path is one, and only one.

4. 'Ch'ang Chi'en said to duke King of Ch'î, "They were men. I am a man. Why should I stand in awe of them?" Yen Yüan said, "What kind of man was Shun? What kind of man am I? He who exerts himself will also become such as he was." Kung-Ming Î said, "King Wan is my teacher. How should the duke of Châu deceive me by those words?"

5. 'Now, T'ang, taking its length with its breadth, will amount, I suppose, to fifty lî. It is small, but still sufficient to make a good State. It is said in the Book of History, "If medicine do not raise a commotion in the patient, his disease will not be cured by it."'

Chapter 2.

How Mencius advised the duke of T'ang to conduct the mourning for his father.

1. When the duke Ting of T'ang died, the prince said to Yen Yû, 'Formerly, Mencius spoke with me in Sung, and in my mind I have never forgotten his words. Now, alas! this great duty to my father devolves upon me; I wish to send you to ask the advice of Mencius, and then to proceed to its various services'

2. Zan Yû accordingly proceeded to Tsâu, and consulted Mencius. Mencius said, 'Is this not good? In discharging the funeral duties to parents, men indeed feel constrained to do their utmost. The philosopher Tsang said, "When parents are alive, they should be served according to propriety; when they are dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and they should be sacrificed to according to propriety: — this may be called filial piety." The ceremonies to be observed by the princes I have not learned, but I have heard these points: — that the three years' mourning, the garment of coarse cloth with its lower edge even, and the eating of congee, were equally prescribed by the three dynasties, and binding on all, from the sovereign to the mass of the people.'

3. Zan Yû reported the execution of his commission, and the prince determined that the three years' mourning should be observed. His aged relatives, and the body of the officers, did not wish that it should be so, and said, 'The former princes of Lû, that kingdom which we honour, have, none of them, observed this practice, neither have any of our own former princes observed it. For you to act contrary to their example is not proper. Moreover, the History says,— "In the observances of mourning and sacrifice, ancestors are to be followed," meaning that they received those things from a proper source to hand them down.'

4. The prince said again to Zan Yû, 'Hitherto, I have not given myself to the pursuit of learning, but have found my pleasure in horsemanship and sword-exercise, and now I don't come up to the wishes of my aged relatives and the officers. I am afraid I may not be able to discharge my duty in the great business that I have entered on; do you again consult Mencius for me.' On this, Zan Yû went again to Tsâu, and consulted Mencius. Mencius said, 'It is so, but he may not seek a remedy in others, but only in himself. Confucius said, "When a prince dies, his successor entrusts the administration to the prime minister. He sips the congee. His face is of a deep black. He approaches the place of mourning, and weeps. Of all the officers and inferior ministers there is not one who will

presume not to join in the lamentation, he setting them this example. What the superior loves, his inferiors will be found to love exceedingly. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows upon it." The business depends on the prince.'

5. Zan Yû returned with this answer to his commission, and the prince said, 'It is so. The matter does indeed depend on me.' So for five months he dwelt in the shed, without issuing an order or a caution. All the officers and his relatives said, 'He may be said to understand the ceremonies.' When the time of interment arrived, they came from all quarters of the State to witness it. Those who had come from other States to condole with him, were greatly pleased with the deep dejection of his countenance and the mournfulness of his wailing and weeping.

Chapter 3.

Mencius's counsels to the duke of T'ang for the government of the kingdom. Agriculture and education are the chief things that must be attended to, and the first as an essential preparation for the second.

1. The duke Wan of T'ang asked Mencius about the proper way of governing a kingdom.

2. Mencius said, 'The business of the people may not be remissly attended to. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"In the day-light go and gather the grass,
And at night twist your ropes;
Then get up quickly on the roofs; —
Soon must we begin sowing again the grain."

3. 'The way of the people is this: — If they have a certain livelihood, they will have a fixed heart; if they have not a certain livelihood, they have not a fixed heart. If they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild license. When they have thus been involved in crime, to follow them up and punish them: — this is to entrap the people. How can such a thing as entrapping the people be done under the rule of a benevolent man?

4. 'Therefore, a ruler who is endowed with talents and virtue will be gravely complaisant and economical, showing a respectful politeness to his ministers, and taking from the people only in accordance with regulated limits.

5. 'Yang Hû said, "He who seeks to be rich will not be benevolent. He who wishes to be benevolent will not be rich."

6. 'The sovereign of the Hsiâ dynasty enacted the fifty mâu allotment, and the payment of a tax. The founder of the Yin enacted the seventy mâu allotment, and the system of mutual aid. The founder of the Châu enacted the hundred mâu allotment, and the share system. In reality, what was paid in all these was a tithe. The share system means mutual division. The aid system means mutual dependence.

7. 'Lung said, "For regulating the lands, there is no better system than that of mutual aid, and none which is not better than that of taxing. By the tax system, the regular amount was fixed by taking the average of several years. In good years, when the grain lies about in abundance, much might be taken without its

being oppressive, and the actual exaction would be small. But in bad years, the produce being not sufficient to repay the manuring of the fields, this system still requires the taking of the full amount. When the parent of the people causes the people to wear looks of distress, and, after the whole year's toil, yet not to be able to nourish their parents, so that they proceed to borrowing to increase their means, till the old people and children are found lying in the ditches and water-channels: — where, in such a case, is his parental relation to the people?"

8. 'As to the system of hereditary salaries, that is already observed in T'ang.

9. 'It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"May the rain come down on our public field, And then upon our private fields!"

It is only in the system of mutual aid that there is a public field, and from this passage we perceive that even in the Châu dynasty this system has been recognised.

10. 'Establish hsiang, hsü, hsio, and hsiâo, — all those educational institutions, — for the instruction of the people. The name hsiang indicates nourishing as its object; hsiâo, indicates teaching; and hsü indicates archery. By the Hsiâ dynasty the name hsiâo was used; by the Yin, that of hsü; and by the Châu, that of hsiang. As to the hsio, they belonged to the three dynasties, and by that name. The object of them all is to illustrate the human relations. When those are thus illustrated by superiors, kindly feeling will prevail among the inferior people below.

11. 'Should a real sovereign arise, he will certainly come and take an example from you; and thus you will be the teacher of the true sovereign.

12. 'It is said in the Book of Poetry,

Although Châu was an old country,
It received a new destiny."

That is said with reference to king Wan. Do you practise those things with vigour, and you also will by them make new your kingdom.'

13. The duke afterwards sent Pî Chan to consult Mencius about the nine-squares system of dividing the land. Mencius said to him, 'Since your prince, wishing to put in practice a benevolent government, has made choice of you and put you into this employment, you must exert yourself to the utmost. Now, the first thing towards a benevolent government must be to lay down the boundaries. If the boundaries be not defined correctly, the division of the land into squares will not be equal, and the produce available for salaries will not be evenly distributed. On this account, oppressive rulers and impure ministers are sure to

neglect this defining of the boundaries. When the boundaries have been defined correctly, the division of the fields and the regulation of allowances may be determined by you, sitting at your ease.

14. ‘Although the territory of T’Ang is narrow and small, yet there must be in it men of a superior grade, and there must be in it country-men. If there were not men of a superior grade, there would be none to rule the country-men. If there were not country-men, there would be none to support the men of superior grade.

15. ‘I would ask you, in the remoter districts, observing the nine-squares division, to reserve one division to be cultivated on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom, to make the people pay for themselves a tenth part of their produce.

16. ‘From the highest officers down to the lowest, each one must have his holy field, consisting of fifty mâu.

17. ‘Let the supernumerary males have their twenty-five mâu.

18. ‘On occasions of death, or removal from one dwelling to another, there will be no quitting the district. In the fields of a district, those who belong to the same nine squares render all friendly offices to one another in their going out and coming in, aid one another in keeping watch and ward, and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought to live in affection and harmony.

19. ‘A square lî covers nine squares of land, which nine squares contain nine hundred mâu. The central square is the public field, and eight families, each having its private hundred mâu, cultivate in common the public field. And not till the public work is finished, may they presume to attend to their private affairs. This is the way by which the country-men are distinguished from those of a superior grade.

20. ‘Those are the great outlines of the system. Happily to modify and adapt it depends on the prince and you.’

Chapter 4.

Mencius's refutation of the doctrine that the ruler ought to labour at husbandry with his own hands. He vindicates the propriety of the division of labour, and of a lettered class conducting government.

1. There came from Ch'û to T'ang one Hsü Hsing, who gave out that he acted according to the words of Shan-nang. Coming right to his gate, he addressed the duke Wan, saying, 'A man of a distant region, I have heard that you, Prince, are practising a benevolent government, and I wish to receive a site for a house, and to become one of your people.' The duke Wan gave him a dwelling-place. His disciples, amounting to several tens, all wore clothes of haircloth, and made sandals of hemp and wove mats for a living.

2. At the same time, Ch'an Hsiang, a disciple of Ch'an Liang, and his younger brother, Hsin, with their plough-handles and shares on their backs, came from Sung to T'ang, saying, 'We have heard that you, Prince, are putting into practice the government of the ancient sages, showing that you are likewise a sage. We wish to become the subjects of a sage.'

3. When Ch'an Hsiang saw Hsü Hsing, he was greatly pleased with him, and, abandoning entirely whatever he had learned, became his disciple. Having an interview with Mencius, he related to him with approbation the words of Hsü Hsing to the following effect:— 'The prince of T'ang is indeed a worthy prince. He has not yet heard, however, the real doctrines of antiquity. Now, wise and able princes should cultivate the ground equally and along with their people, and eat the fruit of their labour. They should prepare their own meals, morning and evening, while at the same time they carry on their government. But now, the prince of T'ang has his granaries, treasuries, and arsenals, which is an oppressing of the people to nourish himself. How can he be deemed a real worthy prince?'

4. Mencius said,'I suppose that Hsü Hsing sows grain and eats the produce. Is it not so?' 'It is so,' was the answer. 'I suppose also he weaves cloth, and wears his own manufacture. Is it not so?' 'No. Hsü wears clothes of haircloth.' 'Does he wear a cap?' 'He wears a cap.' 'What kind of cap?' 'A plain cap.' 'Is it woven by himself?' 'No. He gets it in exchange for grain.' 'Why does Hsü not weave it himself?' 'That would injure his husbandry.' 'Does Hsü cook his food in boilers and earthenware pans, and does he plough with an iron share?' 'Yes.' 'Does he make those articles himself?' 'No. He gets them in exchange for grain.'

5. Mencius then said, ‘The getting those various articles in exchange for grain, is not oppressive to the potter and the founder, and the potter and the founder in their turn, in exchanging their various articles for grain, are not oppressive to the husbandman. How should such a thing be supposed? And moreover, why does not Hsü act the potter and founder, supplying himself with the articles which he uses solely from his own establishment? Why does he go confusedly dealing and exchanging with the handicraftsmen? Why does he not spare himself so much trouble?’ Ch’an Hsiang replied, ‘The business of the handicraftsman can by no means be carried on along with the business of husbandry.’

6. Mencius resumed, ‘Then, is it the government of the kingdom which alone can be carried on along with the practice of husbandry? Great men have their proper business, and little men have their proper business. Moreover, in the case of any single individual, whatever articles he can require are ready to his hand, being produced by the various handicraftsmen: — if he must first make them for his own use, this way of doing would keep all the people running about upon the roads. Hence, there is the saying, “Some labour with their minds, and some labour with their strength. Those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them.” This is a principle universally recognised.

7. ‘In the time of Yâo, when the world had not yet been perfectly reduced to order, the vast waters, flowing out of their channels, made a universal inundation. Vegetation was luxuriant, and birds and beasts swarmed. The various kinds of grain could not be grown. The birds and beasts pressed upon men. The paths marked by the feet of beasts and prints of birds crossed one another throughout the Middle Kingdom. To Yâo alone this caused anxious sorrow. He raised Shun to office, and measures to regulate the disorder were set forth. Shun committed to Yî the direction of the fire to be employed, and Yî set fire to, and consumed, the forests and vegetation on the mountains and in the marshes, so that the birds and beasts fled away to hide themselves. Yü separated the nine streams, cleared the courses of the Tsî and T’â, and led them all to the sea. He opened a vent also for the Zû and Han, and regulated the course of the Hwâ’i and Sze, so that they all flowed into the Chiang. When this was done, it became possible for the people of the Middle Kingdom to cultivate the ground and get food for themselves. During that time, Yü was eight years away from his home, and though he thrice passed the door of it, he did not enter. Although he had wished to cultivate the ground, could he have done so?’

8. ‘The Minister of Agriculture taught the people to sow and reap, cultivating the five kinds of grain. When the five kinds of grain were brought to maturity, the people all obtained a subsistence. But men possess a moral nature; and if they are well fed, warmly clad, and comfortably lodged, without being taught at the same time, they become almost like the beasts. This was a subject of anxious solicitude to the sage Shun, and he appointed Hsieh to be the Minister of Instruction, to teach the relations of humanity: — how, between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity. The high meritorious sovereign said to him, “Encourage them; lead them on; rectify them; straighten them; help them; give them wings: — thus causing them to become possessors of themselves. Then follow this up by stimulating them, and conferring benefits on them.” When the sages were exercising their solicitude for the people in this way, had they leisure to cultivate the ground?

9. ‘What Yâo felt giving him anxiety was the not getting Shun. What Shun felt giving him anxiety was the not getting Yü and Kâo Yâo. But he whose anxiety is about his hundred mâu not being properly cultivated, is a mere husbandman.

10. ‘The imparting by a man to others of his wealth, is called “kindness.” The teaching others what is good, is called “the exercise of fidelity.” The finding a man who shall benefit the kingdom, is called “benevolence.” Hence to give the throne to another man would be easy; to find a man who shall benefit the kingdom is difficult.

11. ‘Confucius said, “Great indeed was Yâo as a sovereign. It is only Heaven that is great, and only Yâo corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue! The people could find no name for it. Princely indeed was Shun! How majestic was he, having possession of the kingdom, and yet seeming as if it were nothing to him!” In their governing the kingdom, were there no subjects on which Yâo and Shun employed their minds? There were subjects, only they did not employ their minds on the cultivation of the ground.

12. ‘I have heard of men using the doctrines of our great land to change barbarians, but I have never yet heard of any being changed by barbarians. Ch’an Liang was a native of Ch’û. Pleased with the doctrines of Châu-kung and Chung-nE, he came northwards to the Middle Kingdom and studied them. Among the scholars of the northern regions, there was perhaps no one who excelled him. He was what you call a scholar of high and distinguished qualities. You and your brother followed him some tens of years, and when your master died, you forthwith turned away from him.

13. ‘Formerly, when Confucius died, after three vears had elapsed, his disciples collected their baggage, and prepared to return to their several homes. But on entering to take their leave of Tsze-kung, as they looked towards one another, they wailed, till they all lost their voices. After this they returned to their homes, but Tsze-kung went back, and built a house for himself on the altar-ground, where he lived alone other three years, before he returned home. On another occasion, Tsze-hsiâ, Tsze-chang, and Tsze-yû, thinking that Yû Zo resembled the sage, wished to render to him the same observances which they had rendered to Confucius. They tried to force the disciple Tsang to join with them, but he said, “This may not be done. What has been washed in the waters of the Chiang and Han, and bleached in the autumn sun: — how glistening is it! Nothing can be added to it.”

14. ‘Now here is this shrike-tongued barbarian of the south, whose doctrines are not those of the ancient kings. You turn away from your master and become his disciple. Your conduct is different indeed from that of the philosopher Tsang.

15. ‘I have heard of birds leaving dark valleys to remove to lofty trees, but I have not heard of their descending from lofty trees to enter into dark valleys.

16. ‘In the Praise-songs of Lû it is said,

“He smote the barbarians of the west and the north,
He punished Ching and Shû.”

Thus Châu-kung would be sure to smite them, and you become their disciple again; it appears that your change is not good.’

17. Ch’an Hsiang said, ‘If Hsü’s doctrines were followed, then there would not be two prices in the market, nor any deceit in the kingdom. If a boy of five cubits were sent to the market, no one would impose on him; linen and silk of the same length would be of the same price. So it would be with bundles of hemp and silk, being of the same weight; with the different kinds of grain, being the same in quantity; and with shoes which were of the same size.’

18. Mencius replied, ‘It is the nature of things to be of unequal quality. Some are twice, some five times, some ten times, some a hundred times, some a thousand times, some ten thousand times as valuable as others. If you reduce them all to the same standard, that must throw the kingdom into confusion. If large shoes and small shoes were of the same price, who would make them? For people to follow the doctrines of Hsü, would be for them to lead one another on to practise deceit. How can they avail for the government of a State?’

Chapter 5.

How Mencius convinced a Mohist of his error, that all men were to be loved equally, without difference of degree.

1. The Mohist, Î Chih, sought, through Hsü Pî, to see Mencius. Mencius said, 'I indeed wish to see him, but at present I am still unwell. When I am better, I will myself go and see him. He need not come here again.'

2. Next day, Î Chih again sought to see Mencius. Mencius said, 'To-day I am able to see him. But if I do not correct his errors, the true principles will not be fully evident. Let me first correct him. I have heard that this Î is a Mohist. Now Mo considers that in the regulation of funeral matters a spare simplicity should be the rule. Î thinks with Mo's doctrines to change the customs of the kingdom; — how does he regard them as if they were wrong, and not honour them? Notwithstanding his views, Î buried his parents in a sumptuous manner, and so he served them in the way which his doctrines discountenance.'

3. The disciple Hsü informed Î of these remarks. Î said, 'Even according to the principles of the learned, we find that the ancients acted towards the people "as if they were watching over an infant." What does this expression mean? To me it sounds that we are to love all without difference of degree; but the manifestation of love must begin with our parents.' Hsü reported this reply to Mencius, who said, 'Now, does Î really think that a man's affection for the child of his brother is merely like his affection for the infant of a neighbour? What is to be approved in that expression is simply this: — that if an infant crawling about is likely to fall into a well, it is no crime in the infant. Moreover, Heaven gives birth to creatures in such a way that they have one root, and Î makes them to have two roots. This is the cause of his error.

4. 'And, in the most ancient times, there were some who did not inter their parents. When their parents died, they took them up and threw them into some water-channel. Afterwards, when passing by them, they saw foxes and wild-cats devouring them, and flies and gnats biting at them. The perspiration started out upon their foreheads, and they looked away, unable to bear the sight. It was not on account of other people that this perspiration flowed. The emotions of their hearts affected their faces and eyes, and instantly they went home, and came back with baskets and spades and covered the bodies. If the covering them thus was indeed right, you may see that the filial son and virtuous man, in interring in a handsome manner their parents, act according to a proper rule.'

5. The disciple Hsü informed Î of what Mencius had said. Î was thoughtful for a short time, and then said, ‘He has instructed me.’

Book III, Part II, T’ang Wan Kung

Chapter 1.

How Mencius defended the dignity of reserve by which he regulated his intercourse with the princes of his time.

1. Ch'an Tâi said to Mencius, 'In not going to wait upon any of the princes, you seem to me to be standing on a small point. If now you were once to wait upon them, the result might be so great that you would make one of them sovereign, or, if smaller, that you would make one of them chief of all the other princes. Moreover, the History says, "By bending only one cubit, you make eight cubits straight." It appears to me like a thing which might be done.'

2. Mencius said, 'Formerly, the duke Ching of Ch'î, once when he was hunting, called his forester to him by a flag. The forester would not come, and the duke was going to kill him. With reference to this incident, Confucius said, "The determined officer never forgets that his end may be in a ditch or a stream; the brave officer never forgets that he may lose his head." What was it in the forester that Confucius thus approved? He approved his not going to the duke, when summoned by the article which was not appropriate to him. If one go to see the princes without waiting to be invited, what can be thought of him?

3. 'Moreover, that sentence, "By bending only one cubit, you make eight cubits straight," is spoken with reference to the gain that may be got. If gain be the object, then, if it can be got by bending eight cubits to make one cubit straight, may we likewise do that?

4. 'Formerly, the officer Châo Chien made Wang Liang act as charioteer for his favourite Hsî, when, in the course of a whole day, they did not get a single bird. The favourite Hsî reported this result, saying, "He is the poorest charioteer in the world." Some one told this to Wang Liang, who said, "I beg leave to try again." By dint of pressing, this was accorded to him, when in one morning they got ten birds. The favourite, reporting this result, said, "He is the best charioteer in the world." Chien said, "I will make him always drive your chariot for you." When he told Wang Liang so, however, Liang refused, saying, "I drove for him, strictly observing the proper rules for driving, and in the whole day he did not get one bird. I drove for him so as deceitfully to intercept the birds, and in one morning he got ten. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

'There is no failure in the management of their horses;
The arrows are discharged surely, like the blows of an axe.'

I am not accustomed to drive for a mean man. I beg leave to decline the office."

5. 'Thus this charioteer even was ashamed to bend improperly to the will of such an archer. Though, by bending to it, they would have caught birds and animals sufficient to form a hill, he would not do so. If I were to bend my principles and follow those princes, of what kind would my conduct be? And you are wrong. Never has a man who has bent himself been able to make others straight.'

Chapter 2.

Mencius's conception of the great man.

1. Ching Ch'un said to Mencius, 'Are not Kung-sun Yen and Chang Î really great men? Let them once be angry, and all the princes are afraid. Let them live quietly, and the flames of trouble are extinguished throughout the kingdom.'

2. Mencius said, 'How can such men be great men? Have you not read the Ritual Usages?— "At the capping of a young man, his father admonishes him. At the marrying away of a young woman, her mother admonishes her, accompanying her to the door on her leaving, and cautioning her with these words, 'You are going to your home. You must be respectful; you must be careful. Do not disobey your husband.'" Thus, to look upon compliance as their correct course is the rule for women.

3. 'To dwell in the wide house of the world, to stand in the correct seat of the world, and to walk in the great path of the world; when he obtains his desire for office, to practise his principles for the good of the people; and when that desire is disappointed, to practise them alone; to be above the power of riches and honours to make dissipated, of poverty and mean condition to make swerve from principle, and of power and force to make bend: — these characteristics constitute the great man.'

Chapter 3.

Office is to be eagerly desired, and yet it may not be sought but by its proper path.

1. Châu Hsiâo asked Mencius, saying, ‘Did superior men of old time take office?’ Mencius replied, ‘They did. The Record says, “If Confucius was three months without being employed by some ruler, he looked anxious and unhappy. When he passed from the boundary of a State, he was sure to carry with him his proper gift of introduction.” Kung-ming Î said, “Among the ancients, if an officer was three months unemployed by a ruler, he was condoled with.”’

2. Hsiâo said, ‘Did not this condoling, on being three months unemployed by a ruler, show a too great urgency?’

3. Mencius answered, ‘The loss of his place to an officer is like the loss of his State to a prince. It is said in the Book of Rites, “A prince ploughs himself, and is assisted by the people, to supply the millet for sacrifice. His wife keeps silkworms, and unwinds their cocoons, to make the garments for sacrifice.” If the victims be not perfect, the millet not pure, and the dress not complete, he does not presume to sacrifice. “And the scholar who, out of office, has no holy field, in the same way, does not sacrifice. The victims for slaughter, the vessels, and the garments, not being all complete, he does not presume to sacrifice, and then neither may he dare to feel happy.” Is there not here sufficient ground also for condolence?’

4. Hsiâo again asked, ‘What was the meaning of Confucius’s always carrying his proper gift of introduction with him, when he passed over the boundaries of the State where he had been?’

5. ‘An officer’s being in office,’ was the reply, ‘is like the ploughing of a husbandman. Does a husbandman part with his plough, because he goes from one State to another?’

6. Hsiâo pursued, ‘The kingdom of Tsin is one, as well as others, of official employments, but I have not heard of anyone being thus earnest about being in office. If there should be this urge why does a superior man make any difficulty about taking it?’ Mencius answered, ‘When a son is born, what is desired for him is that he may have a wife; when a daughter is born, what is desired for her is that she may have a husband. This feeling of the parents is possessed by all men. If the young people, without waiting for the orders of their parents, and the arrangements of the go-betweens, shall bore holes to steal a sight of each other, or get over the wall to be with each other, then their parents and all other people

will despise them. The ancients did indeed always desire to be in office, but they also hated being so by any improper way. To seek office by an improper way is of a class with young people's boring holes.'

Chapter 4.

The labourer is worthy of his hire, and there is no labourer so worthy as the scholar who instructs men in virtue.

1. P'ang Kang asked Mencius, saying, 'Is it not an extravagant procedure to go from one prince to another and live upon them, followed by several tens of carriages, and attended by several hundred men?' Mencius replied, 'If there be not a proper ground for taking it, a single bamboo-cup of rice may not be received from a man. If there be such a proper ground, then Shun's receiving the kingdom from Yâo is not to be considered excessive. Do you think it was excessive?'

2. Kang said, 'No. But for a scholar performing no service to receive his support notwithstanding is improper.'

3. Mencius answered, 'If you do not have an intercommunication of the productions of labour, and an interchange of men's services, so that one from his overplus may supply the deficiency of another, then husbandmen will have a superfluity of grain, and women will have a superfluity of cloth. If you have such an interchange, carpenters and carriagewrights may all get their food from you. Here now is a man, who, at home, is filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders; who watches over the principles of the ancient kings, awaiting the rise of future learners: — and yet you will refuse to support him. How is it that you give honour to the carpenter and carriagewright, and slight him who practises benevolence and righteousness?'

4. P'ang Kang said, 'The aim of the carpenter and carriagewright is by their trades to seek for a living. Is it also the aim of the superior man in his practice of principles thereby to seek for a living?' 'What have you to do,' returned Mencius, 'with his purpose? He is of service to you. He deserves to be supported, and should be supported. And let me ask, — Do you remunerate a man's intention, or do you remunerate his service.' To this Kang replied, 'I remunerate his intention.'

5. Mencius said, 'There is a man here, who breaks your tiles, and draws unsightly figures on your walls; — his purpose may be thereby to seek for his living, but will you indeed remunerate him?' 'No,' said Kang; and Mencius then concluded, 'That being the case, it is not the purpose which you remunerate, but the work done.'

Chapter 5.

The prince who will set himself to practise a benevolent government on the principles of the ancient kings has none to fear.

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, ‘Sung is a small State. Its ruler is now setting about to practise the true royal government, and Ch’î and Ch’û hate and attack him. What in this case is to be done?’

2. Mencius replied, ‘When T’ang dwelt in Po, he adjoined to the State of Ko, the chief of which was living in a dissolute state and neglecting his proper sacrifices. T’ang sent messengers to inquire why he did not sacrifice. He replied, “I have no means of supplying the necessary victims.” On this, T’ang caused oxen and sheep to be sent to him, but he ate them, and still continued not to sacrifice. T’ang again sent messengers to ask him the same question as before, when he replied, “I have no means of obtaining the necessary millet.” On this, T’ang sent the mass of the people of Po to go and till the ground for him, while the old and feeble carried their food to them. The chief of Ko led his people to intercept those who were thus charged with wine, cooked rice, millet, and paddy, and took their stores from them, while they killed those who refused to give them up. There was a boy who had some millet and flesh for the labourers, who was thus slain and robbed. What is said in the Book of History, “The chief of Ko behaved as an enemy to the provision-carriers,” has reference to this.

3. ‘Because of his murder of this boy, T’ang proceeded to punish him. All within the four seas said, “It is not because he desires the riches of the kingdom, but to avenge a common man and woman.”

4. ‘When T’ang began his work of executing justice, he commenced with Ko, and though he made eleven punitive expeditions, he had not an enemy in the kingdom. When he pursued his work in the east, the rude tribes in the west murmured. So did those on the north, when he was engaged in the south. Their cry was— “Why does he make us last.” Thus, the people’s longing for him was like their longing for rain in a time of great drought. The frequenters of the markets stopped not. Those engaged in weeding in the fields made no change in their operations. While he punished their rulers, he consoled the people. His progress was like the falling of opportune rain, and the people were delighted. It is said in the Book of History, “We have waited for our prince. When our prince comes, we may escape from the punishments under which we suffer.”

5. ‘There being some who would not become the subjects of Châu, king Wû proceeded to punish them on the east. He gave tranquillity to their people, who

welcomed him with baskets full of their black and yellow silks, saying— “From henceforth we shall serve the sovereign of our dynasty of Châu, that we may be made happy by him.” So they joined themselves, as subjects, to the great city of Châu. Thus, the men of station of Shang took baskets full of black and yellow silks to meet the men of station of Châu, and the lower classes of the one met those of the other with baskets of rice and vessels of congee. Wû saved the people from the midst of fire and water, seizing only their oppressors, and destroying them.’

6. ‘In the Great Declaration it is said, “My power shall be put forth, and, invading the territories of Shang, I will seize the oppressor. I will put him to death to punish him: — so shall the greatness of my work appear, more glorious than that of T’ang.”

7. ‘Sung is not, as you say, practising true royal government, and so forth. If it were practising royal government, all within the four seas would be lifting up their heads, and looking for its prince, wishing to have him for their sovereign. Great as Ch’î and Ch’û are, what would there be to fear from them?’

Chapter 6.

The influence of example and association. The importance of having virtuous men about a sovereign's person.

1. Mencius said to Tâi Pû-shang, 'I see that you are desiring your king to be virtuous, and will plainly tell you how he may be made so. Suppose that there is a great officer of Ch'û here, who wishes his son to learn the speech of Ch'î. Will he in that case employ a man of Ch'î as his tutor, or a man of Ch'û?' 'He will employ a man of Ch'î to teach him,' said Pû-shang. Mencius went on, 'If but one man of Ch'î be teaching him, and there be a multitude of men of Ch'û continually shouting out about him, although his father beat him every day, wishing him to learn the speech of Ch'î, it will be impossible for him to do so. But in the same way, if he were to be taken and placed for several years in Chwang or Yo, though his father should beat him, wishing him to speak the language of Ch'û, it would be impossible for him to do so.

2. 'You supposed that Hsieh Chü-châu was a scholar of virtue, and you have got him placed in attendance on the king. Suppose that all in attendance on the king, old and young, high and low, were Hsieh Chü-châus, whom would the king have to do evil with? And suppose that all in attendance on the king, old and young, high and low, are not Hsieh Chü-châus, whom will the king gave to do good with? What can one Hsieh Chü-châu do alone for the king of Sung?'

Chapter 7.

Mencius defends his not going to see the princes by the example and maxims of the ancients.

1. Kung-sun Châu asked Mencius, saying, ‘What is the point of righteousness involved in your not going to see the princes?’ Mencius replied, ‘Among the ancients, if one had not been a minister in a State, he did not go to see the sovereign.

2. ‘Twan Kan-mû leaped over his wall to avoid the prince. Hsieh Liû shut his door, and would not admit the prince. These two, however, carried their scrupulosity to excess. When a prince is urgent, it is not improper to see him.

3. ‘Yang Ho wished to get Confucius to go to see him, but disliked doing so by any want of propriety. As it is the rule, therefore, that when a great officer sends a gift to a scholar, if the latter be not at home to receive it, he must go to the officer’s to pay his respects, Yang Ho watched when Confucius was out, and sent him a roasted pig. Confucius, in his turn, watched when Ho was out, and went to pay his respects to him. At that time, Yang Ho had taken the initiative; — how could Confucius decline going to see him?

4. ‘Tsang-tsze said, “They who shrug up their shoulders, and laugh in a flattering way, toil harder than the summer labourer in the fields.” Tsze-lû said, “There are those who talk with people with whom they have no great community of feeling. If you look at their countenances, they are full of blushes. I do not desire to know such persons.” By considering these remarks, the spirit which the superior man nourishes may be known.’

Chapter 8.

What is wrong should be put an end to at once, without reserve and without delay.

1. Tâi Ying-chih said to Mencius, ‘I am not able at present and immediately to do with the levying of a tithe only, and abolishing the duties charged at the passes and in the markets. With your leave I will lighten, however, both the tax and the duties, until next year, and will then make an end of them. What do you think of such a course?’

2. Mencius said, ‘Here is a man, who every day appropriates some of his neighbour’s strayed fowls. Some one says to him, “Such is not the way of a good man;” and he replies, “With your leave I will diminish my appropriations, and will take only one fowl a month, until next year, when I will make an end of the practice.”

3. ‘If you know that the thing is unrighteous, then use all despatch in putting an end to it: — why wait till next year?’

Chapter 9.

Mencius defends himself against the charge of being fond of disputing. What led to his appearing to be so was the necessity of the time.

1. The disciple Kung-tû said to Mencius, ‘Master, the people beyond our school all speak of you as being fond of disputing. I venture to ask whether it be so.’ Mencius replied, ‘Indeed, I am not fond of disputing, but I am compelled to do it.

2. ‘A long time has elapsed since this world of men received its being, and there has been along its history now a period of good order, and now a period of confusion.

3. ‘In the time of Yâo, the waters, flowing out of their channels, inundated the Middle Kingdom. Snakes and dragons occupied it, and the people had no place where they could settle themselves. In the low grounds they made nests for themselves on the trees or raised platforms, and in the high grounds they made caves. It is said in the Book of History, “The waters in their wild course warned me.” Those “waters in their wild course” were the waters of the great inundation.

4. ‘Shun employed Yü to reduce the waters to order. Yü dug open their obstructed channels, and conducted them to the sea. He drove away the snakes and dragons, and forced them into the grassy marshes. On this, the waters pursued their course through the country, even the waters of the Chiang, the Hwâi, the Ho, and the Han, and the dangers and obstructions which they had occasioned were removed. The birds and beasts which had injured the people also disappeared, and after this men found the plains available for them, and occupied them.

5. ‘After the death of Yâo and Shun, the principles that mark sages fell into decay. Oppressive sovereigns arose one after another, who pulled down houses to make ponds and lakes, so that the people knew not where they could rest in quiet; they threw fields out of cultivation to form gardens and parks, so that the people could not get clothes and food. Afterwards, corrupt speakings and oppressive deeds became more rife; gardens and parks, ponds and lakes, thickets and marshes became more numerous, and birds and beasts swarmed. By the time of the tyrant Châu, the kingdom was again in a state of great confusion.

6. ‘Châu-kung assisted king Wû, and destroyed Châu. He smote Yen, and after three years put its sovereign to death. He drove Fei-lien to a corner by the sea, and slew him. The States which he extinguished amounted to fifty. He drove far away also the tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses, and elephants; — and all the

people was greatly delighted. It is said in the Book of History, “Great and splendid were the plans of king Wan! Greatly were they carried out by the energy of king Wû! They are for the assistance and instruction of us who are of an after day. They are all in principle correct, and deficient in nothing.”

7. ‘Again the world fell into decay, and principles faded away. Perverse speakings and oppressive deeds waxed rife again. There were instances of ministers who murdered their sovereigns, and of sons who murdered their fathers.

8. ‘Confucius was afraid, and made the “Spring and Autumn.” What the “Spring and Autumn” contains are matters proper to the sovereign. On this account Confucius said, “Yes! It is the Spring and Autumn which will make men know me, and it is the Spring and Autumn which will make men condemn me.”

9. ‘Once more, sage sovereigns cease to arise, and the princes of the States give the reins to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions. The words of Yang Chû and Mo Tî fill the country. If you listen to people’s discourses throughout it, you will find that they have adopted the views either of Yang or of Mo. Now, Yang’s principle is— “each one for himself,” which does not acknowledge the claims of the sovereign. Mo’s principle is— “to love all equally,” which does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. But to acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast. Kung-ming Î said, “In their kitchens, there is fat meat. In their stables, there are fat horses. But their people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men.” If the principles of Yang and Mo be not stopped, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse speakings will delude the people, and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness. When benevolence and righteousness are stopped up, beasts will be led on to devour men, and men will devour one another.

10. ‘I am alarmed by these things, and address myself to the defence of the doctrines of the former sages, and to oppose Yang and Mo. I drive away their licentious expressions, so that such perverse speakers may not be able to show themselves. Their delusions spring up in men’s minds, and do injury to their practice of affairs. Shown in their practice of affairs, they are pernicious to their government. When sages shall rise up again, they will not change my words.

11. ‘In former times, Yü repressed the vast waters of the inundation, and the country was reduced to order. Châu-kung’s achievements extended even to the barbarous tribes of the east and north, and he drove away all ferocious animals, and the people enjoyed repose. Confucius completed the “Spring and Autumn,” and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror.

12. ‘It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“He smote the barbarians of the west and the north;
He punished Ching and Shû
And no one dared to resist us.”

These father-deniers and king-deniers would have been smitten by Châu-kung.

13. ‘I also wish to rectify men’s hearts, and to put an end to those perverse doctrines, to oppose their one-sided actions and banish away their licentious expressions; — and thus to carry on the work of the three sages. Do I do so because I am fond of disputing? I am compelled to do it.

14. ‘Whoever is able to oppose Yang and Mo is a disciple of the sages.’

Chapter 10.

The man who will avoid all association with, and obligation to, those of whom he does not approve, must needs go out of the world.

1. K'wang Chang said to Mencius, 'Is not Ch'an Chung a man of true self-denying purity? He was living in Wû-ling, and for three days was without food, till he could neither hear nor see. Over a well there grew a plum-tree, the fruit of which had been more than half eaten by worms. He crawled to it, and tried to eat some of the fruit, when, after swallowing three mouthfuls, he recovered his sight and hearing.'

2. Mencius replied, 'Among the scholars of Ch'î, I must regard Chung as the thumb among the fingers. But still, where is the self-denying purity he pretends to? To carry out the principles which he holds, one must become an earthworm, for so only can it be done.

3. 'Now, an earthworm eats the dry mould above, and drinks the yellow spring below. Was the house in which Chung dwells built by a Po-î? or was it built by a robber like Chih? Was the millet which he eats planted by a Po-î? or was it planted by a robber like Chih? These are things which cannot be known.'

4. 'But,' said Chang, 'what does that matter? He himself weaves sandals of hemp, and his wife twists and dresses threads of hemp to sell or exchange them.'

5. Mencius rejoined, 'Chung belongs to an ancient and noble family of Ch'î. His elder brother Tâi received from Kâ a revenue of 10,000 chung, but he considered his brother's emolument to be unrighteous, and would not eat of it, and in the same way he considered his brother's house to be unrighteous, and would not dwell in it. Avoiding his brother and leaving his mother, he went and dwelt in Wû-ling. One day afterwards, he returned to their house, when it happened that some one sent his brother a present of a live goose. He, knitting his eyebrows, said, "What are you going to use that cackling thing for?" By-and-by his mother killed the goose, and gave him some of it to eat. Just then his brother came into the house, and said, "It is the flesh of that cackling thing," upon which he went out and vomited it.

6. 'Thus, what his mother gave him he would not eat, but what his wife gives him he eats. He will not dwell in his brother's house, but he dwells in Wû-ling. How can he in such circumstances complete the style of life which he professes? With such principles as Chung holds, a man must be an earthworm, and then he can carry them out.'

Book IV, Part I: Li Lau

Chapter 1.

There is an art of government, as well as a wish to govern well, to be learned from the example and principles of the ancient kings, and which requires to be studied and practised by rulers and their ministers.

1. Mencius said, ‘The power of vision of Lî Lâu, and skill of hand of Kung-shû, without the compass and square, could not form squares and circles. The acute ear of the music-master K’wang, without the pitch-tubes, could not determine correctly the five notes. The principles of Yâo and Shun, without a benevolent government, could not secure the tranquil order of the kingdom.

2. ‘There are now princes who have benevolent hearts and a reputation for benevolence, while yet the people do not receive any benefits from them, nor will they leave any example to future ages; — all because they do not put into practice the ways of the ancient kings.

3. ‘Hence we have the saying:— “Virtue alone is not sufficient for the exercise of government; laws alone cannot carry themselves into practice.”

4. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“Without transgression, without forgetfulness,
Following the ancient statutes.”

Never has any one fallen into error, who followed the laws of the ancient kings.

5. ‘When the sages had used the vigour of their eyes, they called in to their aid the compass, the square, the level, and the line, to make things square, round, level, and straight: — the use of the instruments is inexhaustible. When they had used their power of hearing to the utmost, they called in the pitch-tubes to their aid to determine the five notes: — the use of those tubes is inexhaustible. When they had exerted to the utmost the thoughts of their hearts, they called in to their aid a government that could not endure to witness the sufferings of men: — and their benevolence overspread the kingdom.

6. ‘Hence we have the saying:— “To raise a thing high, we must begin from the top of a mound or a hill; to dig to a great depth, we must commence in the low ground of a stream or a marsh.” Can he be pronounced wise, who, in the exercise of government, does not proceed according to the ways of the former kings?

7. ‘Therefore only the benevolent ought to be in high stations. When a man destitute of benevolence is in a high station, he thereby disseminates his wickedness among all below him.

8. ‘When the prince has no principles by which he examines his administration, and his ministers have no laws by which they keep themselves in the discharge of their duties, then in the court obedience is not paid to principle, and in the office obedience is not paid to rule. Superiors violate the laws of righteousness, and inferiors violate the penal laws. It is only by a fortunate chance that a State in such a case is preserved.

9. ‘Therefore it is said, “It is not the exterior and interior walls being incomplete, and the supply of weapons offensive and defensive not being large, which constitutes the calamity of a kingdom. It is not the cultivable area not being extended, and stores and wealth not being accumulated, which occasions the ruin of a State.” When superiors do not observe the rules of propriety, and inferiors do not learn, then seditious people spring up, and that State will perish in no time.

10. ‘It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“When such an overthrow of Châu is being produced by Heaven,
Be not ye so much at your ease!”

11. ‘“ At your ease;” — that is, dilatory.

12. ‘And so dilatory may those officers be deemed, who serve their prince without righteousness, who take office and retire from it without regard to propriety, and who in their words disown the ways of the ancient kings.

13. ‘Therefore it is said, “To urge one’s sovereign to difficult achievements may be called showing respect for him. To set before him what is good and repress his perversities may be called showing reverence for him. He who does not do these things, saying to himself, — My sovereign is incompetent to this, may be said to play the thief with him.”’

Chapter 2.

A continuation of the last chapter; — that Yâo and Shun are the perfect models of sovereigns and ministers, and the consequences of not imitating them.

1. Mencius said, ‘The compass and square produce perfect circles and squares. By the sages, the human relations are perfectly exhibited.

2. ‘He who as a sovereign would perfectly discharge the duties of a sovereign, and he who as a minister would perfectly discharge the duties of a minister, have only to imitate — the one Yâo, and the other Shun. He who does not serve his sovereign as Shun served Yâo, does not respect his sovereign; and he who does not rule his people as Yâo ruled his, injures his people.

3. ‘Confucius said, “There are but two courses, which can be pursued, that of virtue and its opposite.”

4. ‘A ruler who carries the oppression of his people to the highest pitch, will himself be slain, and his kingdom will perish. If one stop short of the highest pitch, his life will notwithstanding be in danger, and his kingdom will be weakened. He will be styled “The Dark,” or “The Cruel,” and though he may have filial sons and affectionate grandsons, they will not be able in a hundred generations to change the designation.

5. ‘This is what is intended in the words of the Book of Poetry,

“The beacon of Yin is not remote,
It is in the time of the (last) sovereign of Hsiâ.”’

Chapter 3.

The importance to all, and specifically to rulers, of exercizing benevolence.

1. Mencius said, ‘It was by benevolence that the three dynasties gained the throne, and by not being benevolent that they lost it.

2. ‘It is by the same means that the decaying and flourishing, the preservation and perishing, of States are determined.

3. ‘If the sovereign be not benevolent, be cannot preserve the throne from passing from him. If the Head of a State be not benevolent, he cannot preserve his rule. If a high noble or great officer be not benevolent, he cannot preserve his ancestral temple. If a scholar or common man be not benevolent, be cannot preserve his four limbs.

4. ‘Now they hate death and ruin, and yet delight in being not benevolent; — this is like hating to be drunk, and yet being strong to drink wine!

Chapter 4.

With what measure a man metes it will be measured to him again, and consequently before a man deals with others, expecting them to be affected by him, he should first deal with himself.

1. Mencius said, ‘If a man love others, and no responsive attachment is shown to him, let him turn inwards and examine his own benevolence. If he is trying to rule others, and his government is unsuccessful, let him turn inwards and examine his wisdom. If he treats others politely, and they do not return his politeness, let him turn inwards and examine his own feeling of respect.

2. ‘When we do not, by what we do, realise what we desire, we must turn inwards, and examine ourselves in every point. When a man’s person is correct, the whole kingdom will turn to him with recognition and submission.

3. ‘It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“Be always studious to be in harmony with the ordinances of God,
And you will obtain much happiness.”’

Chapter 5.

Personal character is necessary to all good influence.

Mencius said, ‘People have this common saying,— “The kingdom, the State, the family.” The root of the kingdom is in the State. The root of the State is in the family. The root of the family is in the person of its Head.’

Chapter 6.

The importance to a ruler of securing the esteem and submission of the great houses.

Mencius said, ‘The administration of government is not difficult; — it lies in not offending the great families. He whom the great families affect, will be affected by the whole State; and he whom any one State affects, will be affected by the whole kingdom. When this is the case, such an one’s virtue and teachings will spread over all within the four seas like the rush of water.’

Chapter 7.

How the subjection of one State to another is determined at different times. A prince's only security for safety and prosperity is in being benevolent.

1. Mencius said, 'When right government prevails in the kingdom, princes of little virtue are submissive to those of great, and those of little worth to those of great. When bad government prevails in the kingdom, princes of small power are submissive to those of great, and the weak to the strong. Both these cases are the rule of Heaven. They who accord with Heaven are preserved, and they who rebel against Heaven perish.

2. 'The duke Ching of Ch'î said, "Not to be able to command others, and at the same time to refuse to receive their commands, is to cut one's self off from all intercourse with others." His tears flowed forth while he gave his daughter to be married to the prince of Wû.

3. 'Now the small States imitate the large, and yet are ashamed to receive their commands. This is like a scholar's being ashamed to receive the commands of his master.

4. 'For a plince who is ashamed of this, the best plan is to imitate king Wan. Let one imitate king Wan, and in five years, if his State be large, or in seven years, if it be small, he will be sure to give laws to the kingdom.

5. 'It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"The descendants of the sovereigns of the Shang dynasty,
Are in number more than hundreds of thousands,
But, God having passed His decree,
They are all submissive to Châu.
They are submissive to Châu,
Because the decree of Heaven is not unchanging.
The officers of Yin, admirable and alert,
Pour out the libations, and assist in the capital of Châu."

Confucius said, "As against so benevolent a sovereign, they could not be deemed a multitude." Thus, if the prince of a state love benevolence, he will have no opponent in all the kingdom.

6. 'Now they wish to have no opponent in all the kingdom, but they do not seek to attain this by being benevolent. This is like a man laying hold of a heated substance, and not having first dipped it in water. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“Who can take up a heated substance,
Without first dipping it (in water)?”’

Chapter 8.

That a prince is the agent of his own ruin by his vicious ways and refusing to be counselled.

1. Mencius said, ‘How is it possible to speak with those princes who are not benevolent ? Their perils they count safety, their calamities they count profitable, and they have pleasure in the things by which they perish. If it were possible to talk with them who so violate benevolence, how could we have such destruction of States and ruin of Families?

2. ‘There was a boy singing,

“When the water of the Ts’ang-lang is clear,
It does to wash the strings of my cap;
When the water of the Ts’ang-lang is muddy,
It does to wash my feet.”

3. ‘Confucius said, “Hear what he sings, my children. When clear, then he will wash his cap-strings; and when muddy, he will wash his feet with it. This different application is brought by the water on itself.”

4. ‘A man must first despise himself, and then others will despise him. A family must first destroy itself, and then others will destroy it. A State must first smite itself, and then others will smite it.

5. ‘This is illustrated in the passage of the T’âi Chiâ, “When Heaven sends down calamities, it is still possible to escape them. When we occasion the calamities ourselves, it is not possible any longer to live.”’

Chapter 9.

Only by being benevolent can a prince raise himself to be sovereign, or even avoid ruin.

1. Mencius said, ‘Chieh and Châu’s losing the throne, arose from their losing the people, and to lose the people means to lose their hearts. There is a way to get the kingdom: — get the people, and the kingdom is got. There is a way to get the people: — get their hearts, and the people are got. There is a way to get their hearts: — it is simply to collect for them what they like, and not to lay on them what they dislike.

2. ‘The people turn to a benevolent rule as water flows downwards, and as wild beasts fly to the wilderness.

3. ‘Accordingly, as the otter aids the deep waters, driving the fish into them, and the hawk aids the thickets, driving the little birds to them, so Chieh and Châu aided T’ang and Wû, driving the people to them.

4. ‘If among the present rulers of the kingdom, there were one who loved benevolence, all the other princes would aid him, by driving the people to him. Although he wished not to become sovereign, he could not avoid becoming so.

5. ‘The case of one of the present princes wishing to become sovereign is like the having to seek for mugwort three years old, to cure a seven years’ sickness. If it have not been kept in store, the patient may all his life not get it. If the princes do not set their wills on benevolence, all their days will be in sorrow and disgrace, and they will be involved in death and ruin.

6. ‘This is illustrated by what is said in the Book of Poetry,

“How otherwise can you improve the kingdom?
You will only with it go to ruin.”’

Chapter 10.

A warning to the violently evil, and the weakly evil.

1. Mencius said, ‘With those who do violence to themselves, it is impossible to speak. With those who throw themselves away, it is impossible to do anything. To disown in his conversation propriety and righteousness, is what we mean by doing violence to one’s self. To say— “I am not able to dwell in benevolence or pursue the path of righteousness,” is what we mean by throwing one’s self away.

2. ‘Benevolence is the tranquil habitation of man, and righteousness is his straight path.

3. ‘Alas for them, who leave the tranquil dwelling empty and do not reside in it, and who abandon the right path and do not pursue it?’

Chapter 11.

The tranquil prosperity of the kingdom depends on the discharge of the common relations of life.

Mencius said, ‘The path of duty lies in what is near, and men seek for it in what is remote. The work of duty lies in what is easy, and men seek for it in what is difficult. If each man would love his parents and show the due respect to his elders, the whole land would enjoy tranquillity.’

Chapter 12.

The great work of men should be to strive to attain perfect sincerity.

1. Mencius said, ‘When those occupying inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they cannot succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign: — if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way of being trusted by one’s friends: — if one do not serve his parents so as to make them pleased, he will not be trusted by his friends. There is a way to make one’s parents pleased: — if one, on turning his thoughts inwards, finds a want of sincerity, he will not give pleasure to his parents. There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one’s self: — if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself.

2. ‘Therefore, sincerity is the way of Heaven. To think how to be sincere is the way of man.

3. Never has there been one possessed of complete sincerity, who did not move others. Never has there been one who had not sincerity who was able to move others.’

Chapter 13.

The influence of government like that of king Wan.

1. Mencius said, ‘Po-Î, that he might avoid Châ’u, was dwelling on the coast of the northern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wan, he roused himself, and said, “Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old.” T’âi-kung, that he might avoid Châu, was dwelling on the coast of the eastern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wan, he roused himself, and said, “Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old.”

2. ‘Those two old men were the greatest old men of the kingdom. When they came to follow king Wan, it was the fathers of the kingdom coming to follow him. When the fathers of the kingdom joined him, how could the sons go to any other?

3. ‘Were any of the princes to practise the government of king Wan, within seven years he would be sure to be giving laws to the kingdom.’

Chapter 14.

Against the ministers of his time, who pursued their warlike and other schemes, regardless of the happiness of the people.

1. Mencius said, ‘Ch’iû acted as chief officer to the head of the Chî family, whose evil ways he was unable to change, while he exacted from the people double the grain formerly paid. Confucius said, “He is no disciple of mine. Little children, beat the drum and assail him.”

2. ‘Looking at the subject from this case, we perceive that when a prince was not practising benevolent government, all his ministers who enriched him were rejected by Confucius: — how much more would he have rejected those who are vehement to fight for their prince! When contentions about territory are the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the fields are filled with them. When some struggle for a city is the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the city is filled with them. This is what is called “leading on the land to devour human flesh.” Death is not enough for such a crime.

3. ‘Therefore, those who are skilful to fight should suffer the highest punishment. Next to them should be punished those who unite some princes in leagues against others; and next to them, those who take in grassy commons, imposing the cultivation of the ground on the people.’

Chapter 15.

The pupil of the eye the index of the heart.

1. Mencius said, ‘Of all the parts of a man’s body there is none more excellent than the pupil of the eye. The pupil cannot be used to hide a man’s wickedness. If within the breast all be correct, the pupil is bright. If within the breast all be not correct, the pupil is dull.

2. ‘Listen to a man’s words and look at the pupil of his eye. How can a man conceal his character?’

Chapter 16.

Deeds, not words or manners, necessary to prove mental qualities.

Mencius said, ‘The respectful do not despise others. The economical do not plunder others. The prince who treats men with despite and plunders them, is only afraid that they may not prove obedient to him: — how can he be regarded as respectful or economical? How can respectfulness and economy be made out of tones of the voice, and a smiling manner?’

Chapter 17.

Help — effectual help — can be given to the world only in harmony with right and propriety.

1. Shun-yü K'wan said, 'Is it the rule that males and females shall not allow their hands to touch in giving or receiving anything?' Mencius replied, 'It is the rule.' K'wan asked, 'If a man's sister-in-law be drowning, shall he rescue her with his hand?' Mencius said, 'He who would not so rescue the drowning woman is a wolf. For males and females not to allow their hands to touch in giving and receiving is the general rule; when a sister-in-law is drowning, to rescue her with the hand is a peculiar exigency.'

2. K'wan said, 'The whole kingdom is drowning. How strange it is that you will not rescue it!'

3. Mencius answered, 'A drowning kingdom must be rescued with right principles, as a drowning sister-in-law has to be rescued with the hand. Do you wish me to rescue the kingdom with my hand?'

Chapter 18.

How a father may not himself teach his son.

1. Kung-sun Ch'âu said, 'Why is it that the superior man does not himself teach his son?'

2. Mencius replied, 'The circumstances of the case forbid its being done. The teacher must inculcate what is correct. When he inculcates what is correct, and his lessons are not practised, he follows them up with being angry. When he follows them up with being angry, then, contrary to what should be, he is offended with his son. At the same time, the pupil says, 'My master inculcates on me what is correct, and he himself does not proceed in a correct path." The result of this is, that father and son are offended with each other. When father and son come to be offended with each other, the case is evil.

3. 'The ancients exchanged sons, and one taught the son of another.

4. 'Between father and son, there should be no reproving admonitions to what is good. Such reproofs lead to alienation, and than alienation there is nothing more inauspicious.'

Chapter 19.

The right manner of serving parents, and the importance of watching over one's self, in order to do so.

1. Mencius said, 'Of services, which is the greatest? The service of parents is the greatest. Of charges, which is the greatest ? The charge of one's self is the greatest. That those who do not fail to keep themselves are able to serve their parents is what I have heard. But I have never heard of any, who, having failed to keep themselves, were able notwithstanding to serve their parents.

2. 'There are many services, but the service of parents is the root of all others. There are many charges, but the charge of one's self is the root of all others.

3. 'The philosopher Tsang, in nourishing Tsang Hsî, was always sure to have wine and flesh provided. And when they were being removed, he would ask respectfully to whom he should give what was left. If his father asked whether there was anything left, he was sure to say, "There is." After the death of Tsing Hsî, when Tsang Yüan came to nourish Tsing-tsze, he was always sure to have wine and flesh provided. But when the things were being removed, he did not ask to whom he should give what was left, and if his father asked whether there was anything left, he would answer "No;" — intending to bring them in again. This was what is called— "nourishing the mouth and body." We may call Tsang-tsze's practice— "nourishing the will."

4. 'To serve one's parents as Tsang-tsze served his, may be accepted as flial piety.'

Chapter 20.

A truly great minister will be seen in his directing his efforts, not to correction of matters in detail, but of the sovereign's character.

Mencius said, 'It is not enough to remonstrate with a sovereign on account of the mal-employment of ministers, nor to blame errors of government. It is only the great man who can rectify what is wrong in the sovereign's mind. Let the prince be benevolent, and all his acts will be benevolent. Let the prince be righteous, and all his acts will be righteous. Let the prince be correct, and everything will be correct. Once rectify the ruler, and the kingdom will be firmly settled.'

Chapter 21.

Praise and blame are not always according to desert.

Mencius said, ‘There are cases of praise which could not be expected, and of reproach when the parties have been seeking to be perfect.’

Chapter 22.

The benefit of reproof.

Mencius said, ‘Men’s being ready with their tongues arises simply from their not having been reproved.’

Chapter 23.

Be not many masters.

Mencius said, ‘The evil of men is that they like to be teachers of others.’

Chapter 24.

How Mencius reproved Yo-chang for associating with an unworthy person, and being remiss in waiting on himself.

1. The disciple Yo-chang went in the train of Tsze-âo to Ch'î.

2. He came to see Mencius, who said to him, 'Are you also come to see me?' Yo-chang replied, 'Master, why do you speak such words?' 'How many days have you been here?' asked Mencius. 'I came yesterday.' 'Yesterday! Is it not with reason then that I thus speak?' 'My lodging-house was not arranged.' 'Have you heard that a scholar's lodging-house must be arranged before he visit his elder?'

3. Yo-chang said, 'I have done wrong.'

Chapter 25.

A further and more direct reproof of Yo-chang.

Mencius, addressing the disciple Yo-chang, said to him, ‘Your coming here in the train of Tsze-âo was only because of the food and the drink. I could not have thought that you, having learned the doctrine of the ancients, would have acted with a view to eating and drinking.’

Chapter 26.

Shun's extraordinary way of contracting marriage justified by the motive.

1. Mencius said, 'There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them.

2. 'Shun married without informing his parents because of this, — lest he should have no posterity. Superior men consider that his doing so was the same as if he had informed them.'

Chapter 27.

Filial piety and fraternal obedience in their relation to benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, propriety, and music.

1. Mencius said, ‘The richest fruit of benevolence is this, — the service of one’s parents. The richest fruit of righteousness is this, — the obeying one’s elder brothers.

2. ‘The richest fruit of wisdom is this, — the knowing those two things, and not departing from them. The richest fruit of propriety is this, — the ordering and adorning those two things. The richest fruit of music is this, — the rejoicing in those two things. When they are rejoiced in, they grow. Growing, how can they be repressed? When they come to this state that they cannot be repressed, then unconsciously the feet begin to dance and the hands to move.’

Chapter 28.

How Shun valued and exemplified filial piety.

1. Mencius said, ‘Suppose the case of the whole kingdom turning in great delight to an individual to submit to him. — To regard the whole kingdom thus turning to him in great delight but as a bundle of grass; — only Shun was capable of this. He considered that if one could not get the hearts of his parents he could not be considered a man, and that if he could not get to an entire accord with his parents, he could not be considered a son.

2. ‘By Shun’s completely fulfilling everything by which a parent could be served, Kû-sâu was brought to find delight in what was good. When Kû-sâu was brought to find that delight, the whole kingdom was transformed. When Kû-sâu was brought to find that delight, all fathers and sons in the kingdom were established in their respective duties. This is called great filial piety.’

Book IV, Part II: Li Lau

Chapter 1.

The agreement of sages not affected by place or time.

1. Mencius said, ‘Shun was born in Chû-fang, removed to Fû-hsiâ, and died in Ming-t’iâo; — a man near the wild tribes on the east.

2. ‘King Wan was born in Châu by mount Ch’î, and died in Pî-ying; — a man near the wild tribes on the west.

3. ‘Those regions were distant from one another more than a thousand lî, and the age of the one sage was posterior to that of the other more than a thousand years. But when they got their wish, and carried their principles into practice throughout the Middle Kingdom, it was like uniting the two halves of a seal.

4. ‘When we examine those sages, both the earlier and the later, their principles are found to be the same.’

Chapter 2.

Good government lies in equal measures for the general good, not in acts of favour to individuals.

1. When Tsze-ch'an was chief minister of the State of Chang, he would convey people across the Chan and Wei in his own carriage.

2. Mencius said, 'It was kind, but showed that he did not understand the practice of government.

3. 'When in the eleventh month of the year the foot-bridges are completed, and the carriage-bridges in the twelfth month, the people have not the trouble of wading.

4. 'Let a governor conduct his rule on principles of equal justice, and, when he goes abroad, he may cause people to be removed out of his path. But how can he convey everybody across the rivers?

5. 'It follows that if a governor will try to please everybody, he will find the days not sufficient for his work.'

Chapter 3.

What treatment sovereigns give to their ministers will be returned to them by a corresponding behavior.

1. Mencius said to the king Hsüan of Ch'î, 'When the prince regards his ministers as his hands and feet, his ministers regard their prince as their belly and heart; when he regards them as his dogs and horses, they regard him as another man; when he regards them as the ground or as grass, they regard him as a robber and an enemy.'

2. The king said, 'According to the rules of propriety, a minister wears mourning when he has left the service of a prince. How must a prince behave that his old ministers may thus go into mourning?'

3. Mencius replied,'The admonitions of a minister having been followed, and his advice listened to, so that blessings have descended on the people, if for some cause he leaves the country, the prince sends an escort to conduct him beyond the boundaries. He also anticipates with recommendatory intimations his arrival in the country to which he is proceeding. When he has been gone three years and does not return, only then at length does he take back his fields and residence. This treatment is what is called a "thrice-repeated display of consideration." When a prince acts thus, mourning will be worn on leaving his service.

4. 'Now-a-days, the remonstrances of a minister are not followed, and his advice is not listened to, so that no blessings descend on the people. When for any cause he leaves the country, the prince tries to seize him and hold him a prisoner. He also pushes him to extremity in the country to which he has gone, and on the very day of his departure, takes back his fields and residence. This treatment shows him to be what we call "a robber and an enemy." What mourning can be worn for a robber and an enemy?'

Chapter 4.

Prompt action is necessary at the right time.

Mencius said, ‘When scholars are put to death without any crime, the great officers may leave the country. When the people are slaughtered without any crime, the scholars may remove.’

Chapter 5.

The influence of the ruler's example.

Mencius said, 'If the sovereign be benevolent, all will be benevolent. If the sovereign be righteous, all will be righteous.'

Chapter 6.

The great man makes no mistakes in matters of propriety and righteousness.

Mencius said, ‘Acts of propriety which are not really proper, and acts of righteousness which are not really righteous, the great man does not do.’

Chapter 7.

What duties are due from, and must be renedered by, the virtuous and talented.

Mencius said, ‘Those who keep the Mean, train up those who do not, and those who have abilities, train up those who have not, and hence men rejoice in having fathers and elder brothers who are possessed of virtue and talent. If they who keep the Mean spurn those who do not, and they who have abilities spurn those who have not, then the space between them — those so gifted and the ungifted — will not admit an inch.’

Chapter 8.

Clear discrimination of what is wrong and right must precede vigorous right-doing.

Mencius said, ‘Men must be decided on what they will NOT do, and then they are able to act with vigour in what they ought to do.’

Chapter 9.

Evil speaking is sure to bring with it evil consequences.

Mencius said, ‘What future misery have they and ought they to endure, who talk of what is not good in others!’

Chapter 10.

That Confucius kept the mean.

Mencius said, ‘Chung-nî did not do extraordinary things.’

Chapter 11.

What is right is the supreme pursuit of the great man.

Mencius said,'The great man does not think beforehand of his words that they may be sincere, nor of his actions that they may be resolute; — he simply speaks and does what is right.'

Chapter 12.

A man is great because he is childlike.

Mencius said, ‘The great man is he who does not lose his child’s-heart.’

Chapter 13.

Filial piety seen in the obsequies of parents.

Mencius said, ‘The nourishment of parents when living is not sufficient to be accounted the great thing. It is only in the performing their obsequies when dead that we have what can be considered the great thing.’

Chapter 14.

The value of learning thoroughly in-wrought into the mind.

Mencius said, ‘The superior man makes his advances in what he is learning with deep earnestness and by the proper course, wishing to get hold of it as in himself. Having got hold of it in himself, he abides in it calmly and firmly. Abiding in it calmly and firmly, he reposes a deep reliance on it. Reposing a deep reliance on it, he seizes it on the left and right, meeting everywhere with it as a fountain from which things flow. It is on this account that the superior man wishes to get hold of what he is learning as in himself.’

Chapter 15.

[A continuation of the last chapter.]

Mencius said, ‘In learning extensively and discussing minutely what is learned, the object of the superior man is that he may be able to go back and set forth in brief what is essential.’

Chapter 16.

[The necessity of the heart in rulers.]

Mencius said, ‘Never has he who would by his excellence subdue men been able to subdue them. Let a prince seek by his excellence to nourish men, and he will be able to subdue the whole kingdom. It is impossible that any one should become ruler of the people to whom they have not yielded the subjection of the heart.’

Chapter 17.

[Mencius's explanation of inaupicious words.]

Mencius said, 'Words which are not true are inauspicious, and the words which are most truly obnoxious to the name of inauspicious, are those which throw into the shade men of talents and virtue.'

Chapter 18.

How Mencius explained Confucius's praise of water.

1. The disciple Hsü said, 'Chung-nî often praised water, saying, "0 water! 0 water!" What did he find in water to praise?'

2. Mencius replied, 'There is a spring of water; how it gushes out! It rests not day nor night. It fills up every hole, and then advances, flowing onto the four seas. Such is water having a spring! It was this which he found in it to praise.

3. 'But suppose that the water has no spring. — In the seventh and eighth when the rain falls abundantly, the channels in the fields are all filled, but their being dried up again may be expected in a short time. So a superior man is ashamed of a reputation beyond his merits.'

Chapter 19.

Whereby sages are distinguished from other men; — illustrated in Shun.

1. Mencius said, ‘That whereby man differs from the lower animals is but small. The mass of people cast it away, while superior men preserve it.

2. ‘Shun clearly understood the multitude of things, and closely observed the relations of humanity. He walked along the path of benevolence and righteousness; he did not need to pursue benevolence and righteousness.’

Chapter 20.

The same subject; — illustrated in Yü, T'ang, Wan, Wû, and Châu-kung.

1. Mencius said, 'Yü hated the pleasant wine, and loved good words.

2. 'T'ang held fast the Mean, and employed men of talents and virtue without regard to where they came from.

3. 'King Wan looked on the people as he would on a man who was wounded, and he looked towards the right path as if he could not see it.

4. King Wû did not slight the near, and did not forget the distant.

5. 'The duke of Châu desired to unite in himself the virtues of those kings, those founders of the three dynasties, that he might display in his practice the four things which they did. If he saw any thing in them not suited to his time, he looked up and thought about it, from daytime into the night, and when he was fortunate enough to master the difficulty, he sat waiting for the morning.'

Chapter 21.

The same subject; — illustrated in Confucius.

1. Mencius said, ‘The traces of sovereign rule were extinguished, and the royal odes ceased to be made. When those odes ceased to be made, then the Ch’un Ch’iû was produced.

2. ‘The Shang of Tsin, the Tâo-wû of Ch’û, and the Ch’un Ch’iû of Lû were books of the same character.

3. ‘The subject of the Ch’un Ch’iû was the affairs of Hwan of Chî and Wan of Tsin, and its style was the historical. Confucius said, “Its righteous decisions I ventured to make.”’

Chapter 22.

The same subject; — illustrated in Mencius himself.

1. Mencius said, ‘The influence of a sovereign sage terminates in the fifth generation. The influence of a mere sage does the same.

2. ‘Although I could not be a disciple of Confucius himself, I have endeavoured to cultivate my virtue by means of others who were.’

Chapter 23.

First judgments are not always correct. Impulses must be weighed in the balance of reason, and what reason dictates must be followed.

Mencius said, ‘When it appears proper to take a thing, and afterwards not proper, to take it is contrary to moderation. When it appears proper to give a thing and afterwards not proper, to give it is contrary to kindness. When it appears proper to sacrifice one’s life, and afterwards not proper, to sacrifice it is contrary to bravery.’

Chapter 24.

The importance of being careful of whom we make friends.

1. P'ang Mang learned archery of Î. When he had acquired completely all the science of Î, he thought that in all the kingdom only Î was superior to himself, and so he slew him. Mencius said, 'In this case Î also was to blame. Kung-ming Î indeed said, "It would appear as if he were not to be blamed," but he thereby only meant that his blame was slight. How can he be held without any blame?'

2. 'The people of Chang sent Tsze-cho Yü to make a stealthy attack on Wei, which sent Yü-kung Sze to pursue him. Tsze-cho Yü said, "To-day I feel unwell, so that I cannot hold my bow. I am a dead man!" At the same time he asked his driver, "Who is it that is pursuing me?" The driver said, "It is Yü-kung Sze," on which, he exclaimed, "I shall live." The driver said, "Yü-kung Sze is the best archer of Wei, what do you mean by saying 'I shall live?'" Yü replied, "Yü-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o is an upright man, and the friends of his selection must be upright also." When Yü-kung Sze came up, he said, "Master, why are you not holding your bow?" Yü answered him, "To-day I am feeling unwell, and cannot hold my bow." On this Sze said, "I learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from you. I cannot bear to injure you with your own science. The business of to-day, however, is the prince's business, which I dare not neglect." He then took his arrows, knocked off their steel points against the carriage-wheel, discharged four of them, and returned.

Chapter 25.

It is only moral beauty that is truly excellent and acceptable.

1. Mencius said, ‘If the lady Hsî had been covered with a filthy head-dress, all people would have stopped their noses in passing her.

2. ‘Though a man may be wicked, yet if he adjust his thoughts, fast, and bathe, he may sacrifice to God.’

Chapter 26.

How knowledge ought to be pursued by the careful study of phenomena.

1. Mencius said, ‘All who speak about the natures of things, have in fact only their phenomena to reason from, and the value of a phenomenon is in its being natural.

2. ‘What I dislike in your wise men is their boring out their conclusions. If those wise men would only act as Yü did when he conveyed away the waters, there would be nothing to dislike in their wisdom. The manner in which Yü conveyed away the waters was by doing what gave him no trouble. If your wise men would also do that which gave them no trouble, their knowledge would also be great.

3. ‘There is heaven so high; there are the stars so distant. If we have investigated their phenomena, we may, while sitting in our places, go back to the solstice of a thousand years ago.’

Chapter 27.

How Mencius would not imitate others in paying court to a favourite.

1. The officer Kung-hang having on hand the funeral of one of his sons, the Master of the Right went to condole with him. When this noble entered the door, some called him to them and spoke with him, and some went to his place and spoke with him.

2. Mencius did not speak with him, so that he was displeased, and said, ‘All the gentlemen have spoken with me. There is only Mencius who does not speak to me, thereby slighting me.’

3. Mencius having heard of this remark, said, ‘According to the prescribed rules, in the court, individuals may not change their places to speak with one another, nor may they pass from their ranks to bow to one another. I was wishing to observe this rule, and Tsze-âo understands it that I was slighting him: — is not this strange?’

Chapter 28.

How the superior man is distinguished by the cultivation of moral excellence, and is placed thereby beyond the reach of calamity.

1. Mencius said, ‘That whereby the superior man is distinguished from other men is what he preserves in his heart; — namely, benevolence and propriety.

2. ‘The benevolent man loves others. The man of propriety shows respect to others.

3. ‘He who loves others is constantly loved by them. He who respects others is constantly respected by them.

4. ‘Here is a man, who treats me in a perverse and unreasonable manner. The superior man in such a case will turn round upon himself— “I must have been wanting in benevolence; I must have been wanting in propriety; — how should this have happened to me?”

5. He examines himself, and is specially benevolent. He turns round upon himself, and is specially observant of propriety. The perversity and unreasonableness of the other, however, are still the same. The superior man will again turn round on himself— “I must have been failing to do my utmost.”

6. ‘He turns round upon himself, and proceeds to do his utmost, but still the perversity and unreasonableness of the other are repeated. On this the superior man says, “This is a man utterly lost indeed! Since he conducts himself so, what is there to choose between him and a brute? Why should I go to contend with a brute?”

7. ‘Thus it is that the superior man has a life-long anxiety and not one morning’s calamity. As to what is matter of anxiety to him, that indeed be has. — He says, “Shun was a man, and I also am a man. But Shun became an example to all the kingdom, and his conduct was worthy to be handed down to after ages, while I am nothing better than a villager.” This indeed is the proper matter of anxiety to him. And in what way is he anxious about it? Just that he maybe like Shun: — then only will he stop. As to what the superior man would feel to be a calamity, there is no such thing. He does nothing which is not according to propriety. If there should befall him one morning’s calamity, the superior man does not account it a calamity.’

Chapter 29.

A reconciling principle will be found to underlie the outwardly different conduct of great and good men; — in honour of Yen Hûi, with a reference to Mencius himself.

1. Yü and Chî, in an age when the world was being brought back to order, thrice passed their doors without entering them. Confucius praised them.

2. The disciple Yen, in an age of disorder, dwelt in a mean narrow lane, having his single bamboo-cup of rice, and his single gourd-dish of water; other men could not have endured the distress, but he did not allow his joy to be affected by it. Confucius praised him.

3. Mencius said, 'Yü, Chî, and Yen Hûi agreed in the principle of their conduct.

4. 'Yü thought that if any one in the kingdom were drowned, it was as if he drowned him. Chî thought that if any one in the kingdom suffered hunger, it was as if he famished him. It was on this account that they were so earnest.

5. If Yü and Chî, and Yen-tsze, had exchanged places, each would have done what the other did.

6. 'Here now in the same apartment with you are people fighting: — you ought to part them. Though you part them with your cap simply tied over your unbound hair, your conduct will be allowable.

7. 'If the fighting be only in the village or neighbourhood, if you go to put an end to it with your cap tied over your hair unbound, you will be in error. Although you should shut your door in such a case, your conduct would be allowable.'

Chapter 30.

How Mencius explained his friendly intercourse with a man charged with being unfilial.

1. The disciple Kung-tû said, ‘Throughout the whole kingdom everybody pronounces K’wang Chang unfilial. But you, Master, keep company with him, and moreover treat him with politeness. I venture to ask why you do so.’

2. Mencius replied, ‘There are five things which are pronounced in the common usage of the age to be unfilial. The first is laziness in the use of one’s four limbs, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The second is gambling and chess-playiDg, and being fond of wine, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The third is being fond of goods and money, and selfishly attached to his wife and children, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The fourth is following the desires of one’s ears and eyes, so as to bring his parents to disgrace. The fifth is being fond of bravery, fighting and quarrelling so as to endanger his parents. Is Chang guilty of any one of these things?

3. ‘Now between Chang and his father there arose disagreement, he, the son, reproving his father, to urge him to what was good.

4. ‘To urge one another to what is good by reproofs is the way of friends. But such urging between father and son is the greatest injury to the kindness, which should prevail between them.

5. ‘Moreover, did not Chang wish to have in his family the relationships of husband and wife, child and mother? But because he had offended his father, and was not permitted to approach him, he sent away his wife, and drove forth his son, and all his life receives no cherishing attention from them. He settled it in his mind that if he did not act in this way, his would be one of the greatest of crimes. — Such and nothing more is the case of Chang.’

Chapter 31.

How Mencius explained the different conduct of Tsang-tsze and of Tsze-sze in similar circumstances.

1. When the philosopher Tsang dwelt in Wû-ch'ang, there came a band from Yüeh to plunder it. Someone said to him, 'The plunderers are coming: — why not leave this?' Tsang on this left the city, saying to the man in charge of the house, 'Do not lodge any persons in my house, lest they break and injure the plants and trees.' When the plunderers withdrew, he sent word to him, saying, 'Repair the walls of my house. I am about to return.' When the plunderers retired, the philosopher Tsang returned accordingly. His disciples said, 'Since our master was treated with so much sincerity and respect, for him to be the first to go away on the arrival of the plunderers, so as to be observed by the people, and then to return on their retiring, appears to us to be improper.' Ch'an-yû Hsing said, 'You do not understand this matter. Formerly, when Ch'an-yû was exposed to the outbreak of the grass-carriers, there were seventy disciples in our master's following, and none of them took part in the matter.'

2. When Tsze-sze was living in Wei, there came a band from Ch'î to plunder. Some one said to him, 'The plunderers are coming; — why not leave this?' Tsze-sze said, 'If I go away, whom will the prince have to guard the State with?'

3. Mencius said, 'The philosophers Tsang and Tsze-sze agreed in the principle of their conduct. Tsang was a teacher; — in the place of a father or elder brother. Tsze-sze was a minister; — in a meaner place. If the philosophers Tsang and Tsze-sze had exchanged places the one would have done what the other did.'

Chapter 32.

Sages are just like other men.

The officer Ch'û said to Mencius, 'Master, the king sent persons to spy out whether you were really different from other men.' Mencius said, 'How should I be different from other men? Yâo and Shun were just the same as other men.'

Chapter 33.

The disgraceful means which some men take to seek for their living, and for wealth.

1. A man of Ch'î had a wife and a concubine, and lived together with them in his house. When their husband went out, he would get himself well filled with wine and flesh, and then return, and, on his wife's asking him with whom he ate and drank, they were sure to be all wealthy and honourable people. The wife informed the concubine, saying, 'When our good man goes out, he is sure to come back having partaken plentifully of wine and flesh. I asked with whom he ate and drank, and they are all, it seems, wealthy and honourable people. And yet no people of distinction ever come here. I will spy out where our good man goes.' Accordingly, she got up early in the morning, and privately followed wherever her husband went. Throughout the whole city, there was no one who stood or talked with him. At last, he came to those who were sacrificing among the tombs beyond the outer wall on the east, and begged what they had over. Not being satisfied, he looked about, and went to another party; — and this was the way in which he got himself satiated. His wife returned, and informed the concubine, saying, 'It was to our husband that we looked up in hopeful contemplation, with whom our lot is cast for life; — and now these are his ways!' On this, along with the concubine she reviled their husband, and they wept together in the middle hall. In the meantime the husband, knowing nothing of all this, came in with a jaunty air, carrying himself proudly to his wife and concubine.

2. In the view of a superior man, as to the ways by which men seek for riches, honours, gain, and advancement, there are few of their wives and concubines who would not be ashamed and weep together on account of them.

Book V, Part I: Wan Chang

Chapter 1.

Shun's great filial piety: — how it carried him into the fields to weep and deplore his inability to secure the affection and sympathy of his parents.

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, 'When Shun went into the fields, he cried out and wept towards the pitying heavens. Why did he cry out and weep?' Mencius replied, 'He was dissatisfied, and full of earnest desire.'

2. Wan Chang said, 'When his parents love him, a son rejoices and forgets them not. When his parents hate him, though they punish him, he does not murmur. Was Shun then murmuring against his parents?' Mencius answered, 'Ch'ang Hsî asked Kung-ming Kâo, saying, "As to Shun's going into the fields, I have received your instructions, but I do not know about his weeping and crying out to the pitying heavens and to his parents." Kung-ming Kâo answered him, "You do not understand that matter." Now, Kung-ming Kâo supposed that the heart of the filial son could not be so free of sorrow. Shun would say, "I exert my strength to cultivate the fields, but I am thereby only discharging my office as a son. What can there be in me that my parents do not love me?"

3. 'The Tî caused his own children, nine sons and two daughters, the various officers, oxen and sheep, storehouses and granaries, all to be prepared, to serve Shun amid the channelled fields. Of the scholars of the kingdom there were multitudes who flocked to him. The sovereign designed that Shun should superintend the kingdom along with him, and then to transfer it to him entirely. But because his parents were not in accord with him, he felt like a poor man who has nowhere to turn to.

4. 'To be delighted in by all the scholars of the kingdom, is what men desire, but it was not sufficient to remove the sorrow of Shun. The possession of beauty is what men desire, and Shun had for his wives the two daughters of the Tî, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. Riches are what men desire, and the kingdom was the rich property of Shun, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. Honours are what men desire, and Shun had the dignity of being sovereign, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. The reason why the being the object of men's delight, with the possession of beauty, riches, and honours were not sufficient to remove his sorrow, was that it could be removed only by his getting his parents to be in accord with him.

5. 'The desire of the child is towards his father and mother. When he becomes conscious of the attractions of beauty, his desire is towards young and beautiful women. When he comes to have a wife and children, his desire is towards them.

When he obtains office, his desire is towards his sovereign: — if he cannot get the regard of his sovereign, he burns within. But the man of great filial piety, to the end of his life, has his desire towards his parents. In the great Shun I see the case of one whose desire at fifty year's was towards them.'

Chapter 2.

Defense of Shun against the charges of violating the proper rule in the way of his marrying, and of hypocrisy in his conduct to his brother.

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, ‘It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“In marrying a wife, how ought a man to proceed?
He must inform his parents.”

If the rule be indeed as here expressed, no man ought to have illustrated it so well as Shun. How was it that Shun’s marriage took place without his informing his parents?’ Mencius replied, ‘If he had informed them, he would not have been able to marry. That male and female should dwell together, is the greatest of human relations. If Shun had informed his parents, he must have made void this greatest of human relations, thereby incurring their resentment. On this account, he did not inform them!

2. Wan Chang said, ‘As to Shun’s marrying without informing his parents, I have heard your instructions; but how was it that the Tî Yâo gave him his daughters as wives without informing Shun’s parents?’ Mencius said, ‘The Tî also knew that if he informed them, he could not marry his daughters to him.’

3. Wan Chang said, ‘His parents set Shun to repair a granary, to which, the ladder having been removed, Kû-sâu set fire. They also made him dig a well. He got out, but they, not knowing that, proceeded to cover him up. Hsiang said, “Of the scheme to cover up the city-forming prince, the merit is all mine. Let my parents have his oxen and sheep. Let them have his storehouses and granaries. His shield and spear shall be mine. His lute shall be mine. His bow shall be mine. His two wives I shall make attend for me to my bed.” Hsiang then went away into Shun’s palace, and there was Shun on his couch playing on his lute. Hsiang said, “I am come simply because I was thinking anxiously about you.” At the same time, he blushed deeply. Shun said to him, “There are all my officers: — do you undertake the government of them for me.” I do not know whether Shun was ignorant of Hsiang’s wishing to kill him.’ Mencius answered, ‘How could he be ignorant of that? But when Hsiang was sorrowful, he was also sorrowful; when Hsiang was joyful, he was also joyful.’

4. Chang said, ‘In that case, then, did not Shun rejoice hypocritically?’ Mencius replied, ‘No. Formerly, some one sent a present of a live fish to Tsze-ch’an of Chang. Tsze-ch’an ordered his pond-keeper to keep it in the pond, but

that officer cooked it, and reported the execution of his commission, saying, “When I first let it go, it embarrassed. In a little while, it seemed to be somewhat at ease, then it swam away joyfully.” Tsze-ch’an observed, “It had got into its element! It had got into its element!” The pond-keeper then went out and said, “Who calls Tsze-ch’an a wise man? After I had cooked and eaten the fish, he says, “It had got into its element! It had got into its element!” Thus a superior man may be imposed on by what seems to be as it ought to be, but he cannot be entrapped by what is contrary to right principle. Hsiang came in the way in which the love of his elder brother would have made him come; therefore Shun sincerely believed him, and rejoiced. What hypocrisy was there?’

Chapter 3.

Explanation and defence of Shun's conduct in the case of his wicked brother Hsiang; — how he both distinguished him, and kept him under restraint.

1. Wan Chang said, 'Hsiang made it his daily business to slay Shun. When Shun was made sovereign, how was it that he only banished him?' Mencius said, 'He raised him to be a prince. Some supposed that it was banishing him?'

2. Wan Chang said, 'Shun banished the superintendent of works to Yû-châu; he sent away Hwan-tâu to the mountain Ch'ung; he slew the prince of San-miâo in San-wei; and he imprisoned Kwân on the mountain Yü. When the crimes of those four were thus punished, the whole kingdom acquiesced: — it was a cutting off of men who were destitute of benevolence. But Hsiang was of all men the most destitute of benevolence, and Shun raised him to be the prince of Yû-pî; — of what crimes had the people of Yû-pî been guilty? Does a benevolent man really act thus? In the case of other men, he cut them off; in the case of his brother, he raised him to be a prince.' Mencius replied, 'A benevolent man does not lay up anger, nor cherish resentment against his brother, but only regards him with affection and love. Regarding him with affection, he wishes him to be honourable: regarding him with love, he wishes him to be rich. The appointment of Hsiang to be the prince of Yû-pî was to enrich and ennoble him. If while Shun himself was sovereign, his brother had been a common man, could he have been said to regard him with affection and love?'

3. Wan Chang said, 'I venture to ask what you mean by saying that some supposed that it was a banishing of Hsiang?' Mencius replied, 'Hsiang could do nothing in his State. The Son of Heaven appointed an officer to administer its government, and to pay over its revenues to him. This treatment of him led to its being said that he was banished. How indeed could he be allowed the means of oppressing the people? Nevertheless, Shun wished to be continually seeing him, and by this arrangement, he came incessantly to court, as is signified in that expression— "He did not wait for the rendering of tribute, or affairs of government, to receive the prince of Yû-pî.

Chapter 4.

Explanation of Shun's conduct with reference to the sovereign Yâo, and his father Kû-sâu.

1. Hsien-ch'iû Mang asked Mencius, saying, 'There is the saying, "A scholar of complete virtue may not be employed as a minister by his sovereign, nor treated as a son by his father. Shun stood with his face to the south, and Yâo, at the head of all the princes, appeared before him at court with his face to the north. Kû-sâu also did the same. When Shun saw Kû-sâu, his countenance became discomposed. Confucius said, At this time, in what a perilous condition was the kingdom! Its state was indeed unsettled." — I do not know whether what is here said really took place.' Mencius replied, 'No. These are not the words of a superior man. They are the sayings of an uncultivated person of the east of Ch'î. When Yâo was old, Shun was associated with him in the government. It is said in the Canon of Yâo, "After twenty and eight years, the Highly Meritorious one deceased. The people acted as if they were mourning for a father or mother for three years, and up to the borders of the four seas every sound of music was hushed." Confucius said, "There are not two suns in the sky, nor two sovereigns over the people." Shun having been sovereign, and, moreover, leading on all the princes to observe the three years' mourning for Yâo, there would have been in this case two sovereigns.'

2. Hsien-ch'iû Mang said, 'On the point of Shun's not treating Yâo as a minister, I have received your instructions. But it is said in the Book of Poetry,
Under the whole heaven,
Every spot is the sovereign's ground;
To the borders of the land,
Every individual is the sovereign's minister;"

— and Shun had become sovereign. I venture to ask how it was that Kû-sâu was not one of his ministers.' Mencius answered, 'That ode is not to be understood in that way: — it speaks of being laboriously engaged in the sovereign's business, so as not to be able to nourish one's parents, as if the author said, "This is all the sovereign's business, and how is it that I alone am supposed to have ability, and am made to toil in it?" Therefore, those who explain the odes, may not insist on one term so as to do violence to a sentence, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the general scope. They must try with their thoughts to meet that scope, and then we shall apprehend it. If we simply take single sentences, there is that in the ode called "The Milky Way," — Of the

black-haired people of the remnant of Châu,
There is not half a one left."

If it had been really as thus expressed, then not an individual of the people of Châu was left.

3. 'Of all which a filial son can attain to, there is nothing greater than his honouring his parents. And of what can be attained to in the honouring one's parents, there is nothing greater than the nourishing them with the whole kingdom. Kû-sâu was the father of the sovereign; — this was the height of honour. Shun nourished him with the whole kingdom; — this was the height of nourishing. In this was verified the sentiment in the Book of Poetry, "Ever cherishing filial thoughts,
Those filial thoughts became an example to after ages."

4. 'It is said in the Book of History, "Reverently performing his duties, he waited on Kû-sâu, and was full of veneration and awe. Kû-sâu also believed him and conformed to virtue." — This is the true case of the scholar of complete virtue not being treated as a son by his father.'

Chapter 5.

How Shun got the throne by the gift of Heaven. Vox Populi vox Dei.

1. Wan Chang said, ‘Was it the case that Yâo gave the throne to Shun?’ Mencius said, ‘No. The sovereign cannot give the throne to another.’

2. ‘Yes; — but Shun had the throne. Who gave it to him?’ ‘Heaven gave it to him,’ was the answer.

3. ‘“ Heaven gave it to him:” — did Heaven confer its appointment on him with specific injunctions?’

4. Mencius replied, ‘No. Heaven does not speak. It simply showed its will by his personal conduct and his conduct of affairs.’

5. ‘“It showed its will by his personal conduct and his conduct of affairs:” — how was this?’ Mencius’s answer was, ‘The sovereign can present a man to Heaven, but he cannot make Heaven give that man the throne. A prince can present a man to the sovereign, but he cannot cause the sovereign to make that man a prince. A great officer can present a man to his prince, but he cannot cause the prince to make that man a great officer. Yâo presented Shun to Heaven, and Heaven accepted him. He presented him to the people, and the people accepted him. Therefore I say, “Heaven does not speak. It simply indicated its will by his personal conduct and his conduct of affairs.”’

6. Chang said, ‘I presume to ask how it was that Yâo presented Shun to Heaven, and Heaven accepted him; and that he exhibited him to the people, and the people accepted him.’ Mencius replied, ‘He caused him to preside over the sacrifices, and all the spirits were well pleased with them; — thus Heaven accepted him. He caused him to preside over the conduct of affairs, and affairs were well administered, so that the people reposed under him; — thus the people accepted him. Heaven gave the throne to him. The people gave it to him. Therefore I said, “The sovereign cannot give the throne to another.”

7. ‘Shun assisted Yâo in the government for twenty and eight years; — this was more than man could have done, and was from Heaven. After the death of Yâo, when the three years’ mourning was completed, Shun withdrew from the son of Yâo to the south of South river. The princes of the kingdom, however, repairing to court, went not to the son of Yâo, but they went to Shun. Litigants went not to the son of Yâo, but they went to Shun. Singers sang not the son of Yâo, but they sang Shun. Therefore I said, “Heaven gave him the throne.” It was after these things that he went to the Middle Kingdom, and occupied the seat of the Son of Heaven. If he had, before these things, taken up his residence in the

palace of Yâo, and had applied pressure to the son of Yâo, it would have been an act of usurpation, and not the gift of Heaven.

8. ‘This sentiment is expressed in the words of The Great Declaration,—“Heaven sees according as my people see; Heaven hears according as my people hear.”’

Chapter 6.

How the throne descended from Yü to his son, and not to his minister Yî; that Yü was not to be considered on that account as inferior in virtue to Yâo and Shun.

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, ‘People say, “When the disposal of the kingdom came to Yü, his virtue was inferior to that of Yâo and Shun, and he transmitted it not to the worthiest but to his son.” Was it so?’ Mencius replied, ‘No; it was not so. When Heaven gave the kingdom to the worthiest, it was given to the worthiest. When Heaven gave it to the son of the preceding sovereign, it was given to him. Shun presented Yü to Heaven. Seventeen years elapsed, and Shun died. When the three years’ mourning was expired, Yü withdrew from the son of Shun to Yang-ch’ang. The people of the kingdom followed him just as after the death of Yâo, instead of following his son, they had followed Shun. Yü presented Yî to Heaven. Seven years elapsed, and Yü died. When the three years’ mourning was expired, Yî withdrew from the son of Yü to the north of mount Ch’î. The princes, repairing to court, went not to Yî, but they went to Ch’î. Litigants did not go to Yî, but they went to Ch’î, saying, “He is the son of our sovereign;” the singers did not sing Yî, but they sang Ch’î, saying, “He is the son of our sovereign.”

2. ‘That Tan-chû was not equal to his father, and Shun’s son not equal to his; that Shun assisted Yâo, and Yü assisted Shun, for many years, conferring benefits on the people for a long time; that thus the length of time during which Shun, Yü, and Yî assisted in the government was so different; that Ch’î was able, as a man of talents and virtue, reverently to pursue the same course as Yü; that Yî assisted Yü only for a few years, and had not long conferred benefits on the people; that the periods of service of the three were so different; and that the sons were one superior, and the other superior: — all this was from Heaven, and what could not be brought about by man. That which is done without man’s doing is from Heaven. That which happens without man’s causing is from the ordinance of Heaven.

3. ‘In the case of a private individual obtaining the throne, there must be in him virtue equal to that of Shun or Yü; and moreover there must be the presenting of him to Heaven by the preceding sovereign. It was on this account that Confucius did not obtain the throne.

4. ‘When the kingdom is possessed by natural succession, the sovereign who is displaced by Heaven must be like Chieh or Châu. It was on this account that

Yî, Î Yin, and Châu-kung did not obtain the throne.

5. ‘Î Yin assisted T’ang so that he became sovereign over the kingdom. After the demise of T’ang, T’âi-ting having died before he could be appointed sovereign, Wâ’i-ping reigned two years, and Chung-zin four. T’âi-chiâ was then turning upside down the statutes of T’ang, when Î Yin placed him in T’ung for three years. There T’âi-chiâ repented of his errors, was contrite, and reformed himself. In T’ung be came to dwell in benevolence and walk in righteousness, during those threee years, listening to the lessons given to him by Î Yin. Then Î Yin again returned with him to Po.

6. ‘Châu-kung not getting the throne was like the case of Yî and the throne of Hsiâ, or like that of Î Yin and the throne of Yin.

7. ‘Confucius said, “T’ang and Yü resigned the throne to their worthy ministers. The sovereign of Hsiâ and those of Yin and Châu transmitted it to their sons. The principle of righteousness was the same in all the cases.”’

Chapter 7.

Vindication of Î Yin from the charge of introducing himself to the service of T'ang by an unworthy artifice.

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, 'People say that Î Yin sought an introduction to T'ang by his knowledge of cookery. Was it so?'

2. Mencius replied, 'No, it was not so. Î Yin was a farmer in the lands of the prince of Hsin, delighting in the principles of Yâo and Shun. In any matter contrary to the righteousness which they prescribed, or contrary to their principles, though he had been offered the throne, he would not have regarded it; though there had been yoked for him a thousand teams of horses, he would not have looked at them. In any matter contrary to the righteousness which they prescribed, or contrary to their principles, he would neither have given nor taken a single straw.

3. 'T'ang sent persons with presents of silk to entreat him to enter his service. With an air of indifference and self-satisfaction he said, "What can I do with those silks with which T'ang invites me? Is it not best for me to abide in the channelled fields, and so delight myself with the principles of Yâo and Shun?"

4. 'T'ang thrice sent messengers to invite him. After this, with the change of resolution displayed in his countenance, he spoke in a different style,— "Instead of abiding in the channelled fields and thereby delighting myself with the principles of Yâo and Shun, had I not better make this prince a prince like Yâo or Shun, and this people like the people of Yâo or Shun ? Had I not better in my own person see these things for myself?

5. '"Heaven's plan in the production of mankind is this: — that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are slower to do so. I am one of Heaven's people who have first apprehended; — I will take these principles and instruct this people in them. If I do not instruct them, who will do so?"

6. 'He thought that among all the people of the kingdom, even the private men and women, if there were any who did not enjoy such benefits as Yâo and Shun conferred, it was as if he himself pushed them into a ditch. He took upon himself the heavy charge of the kingdom in this way, and therefore he went to T'ang, and pressed upon him the subject of attacking Hsiâ and saving the people.

7. 'I have not heard of one who bent himself, and at the same time made others straight; — how much less could one disgrace himself, and thereby rectify

the whole kingdom? The actions of the sages have been different. Some have kept remote from court, and some have drawn near to it; some have left their offices, and some have not done so: — that to which those different courses all agree is simply the keeping of their persons pure.

8. ‘I have heard that Î Yin sought an introduction to T’ang by the doctrines of Yâo and Shun. I have not heard that he did so by his knowledge of cookery.

9. ‘In the “Instructions of Î,” it is said, “Heaven destroying Chieh commenced attacking him in the palace of Mû. I commenced in Po.”’

Chapter 8.

Vindication of Confucius from the charge of lodging with unworthy characters.

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, ‘Some say that Confucius, when he was in Wei, lived with the ulcer-doctor, and when he was in Ch’î, with the attendant, Ch’î Hwan; — was it so?’ Mencius replied, ‘No; it was not so. Those are the inventions of men fond of strange things.

2. ‘When he was in Wei, he lived with Yen Ch’âu-yû. The wives of the officer Mî and Tsze-lû were sisters, and Mî told Tsze-lû, “If Confucius will lodge with me, he may attain to the dignity of a high noble of Wei.” Tsze-lû informed Confucius of this, and he said, “That is as ordered by Heaven.” Confucius went into office according to propriety, and retired from it according to righteousness. In regard to his obtaining office or not obtaining it, he said, “That is as ordered.” But if he had lodged with the attendant Chî Hwan, that would neither have been according to righteousness, nor any ordering of Heaven.

3. ‘When Confucius, being dissatisfied in Lû and Wei, had left those States, he met with the attempt of Hwan, the Master of the Horse, of Sung, to intercept and kill him. He assumed, however, the dress of a common man, and passed by Sung. At that time, though he was in circumstances of distress, he lodged with the city-master Ch’ang, who was then a minister of Châu, the marquis of Ch’an.

4. ‘I have heard that the characters of ministers about court may be discerned from those whom they entertain, and those of stranger officers, from those with whom they lodge. If Confucius had lodged with the ulcer-doctor, and with the attendant Chî Hwan, how could he have been Confucius?’

Chapter 9.

Vindication of Pâi-lî Hsî from the charge of selling himself as a step to his advancement.

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, ‘Some say that Pâi-lî Hsî sold himself to a cattle-keeper of Ch’in for the skins of five rams, and fed his oxen, in order to find an introduction to the duke Mû of Ch’in; — was this the case?’ Mencius said, ‘No; it was not so. This story was invented by men fond of strange things.

2. ‘Pâi-lî Hsî was a man of Yü. The people of Tsin, by the inducement of a round piece of jade from Ch’ûi-chî, and four horses of the Ch’ü breed, borrowed a passage through Yü to attack Kwo. On that occasion, Kung Chih-ch’î remonstrated against granting their request, and Pâi-lî Hsî did not remonstrate.

3. ‘When he knew that the duke of Yü was not to be remonstrated with, and, leaving that State, went to Ch’in, he had reached the age of seventy. If by that time he did not know that it would be a mean thing to seek an introduction to the duke Mû of Ch’in by feeding oxen, could he be called wise? But not remonstrating where it was of no use to remonstrate, could he be said not to be wise? Knowing that the duke of Yü would be ruined, and leaving him before that event, he cannot be said not to have been wise. Being then advanced in Ch’in, he knew that the duke Mû was one with whom he would enjoy a field for action, and became minister to him; — could he, acting thus, be said not to be wise? Having become chief minister of Ch’in, he made his prince distinguished throughout the kingdom, and worthy of being handed down to future ages; — could he have done this, if he had not been a man of talents and virtue? As to selling himself in order to accomplish all the aims of his prince, even a villager who had a regard for himself would not do such a thing; and shall we say that a man of talents and virtue did it?’

Book V, Part II: Wan Chang

Chapter 1.

How Confucius differed from and was superior to all other sages.

1. Mencius said, ‘Po-î would not allow his eyes to look on a bad sight, nor his ears to listen to a bad sound. He would not serve a prince whom he did not approve, nor command a people whom he did not esteem. In a time of good government he took office, and on the occurrence of confusion he retired. He could not bear to dwell either in a court from which a lawless government emanated, or among lawless people. He considered his being in the same place with a villager, as if he were to sit amid mud and coals with his court robes and court cap. In the time of Châu he dwelt on the shores of the North sea, waiting the purification of the kingdom. Therefore when men now hear the character of Po-î, the corrupt become pure, and the weak acquire determination.

2. ‘Î Yin said, “Whom may I not serve? My serving him makes him my sovereign. What people may I not command? My commanding them makes them my people.” In a time of good government he took office, and when confusion prevailed, he also took office. He said, “Heaven’s plan in the production of mankind is this: — that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are slower in doing so. I am the one of Heaven’s people who has first apprehended; — I will take these principles and instruct the people in them.” He thought that among all the people of the kingdom, even the common men and women, if there were any who did not share in the enjoyment of such benefits as Yâo and Shun conferred, it was as if he himself pushed them into a ditch; — for he took upon himself the heavy charge of the kingdom.

3. ‘Hûi of Liû-hsiâ was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When dismissed and left without office, he did not murmur. When straitened by poverty, he did not grieve. When thrown into the company of village people, he was quite at ease and could not bear to leave them. He had a saying, “You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?” Therefore when men now hear the character of Hûi of Liü-hsiâ, the mean become generous, and the niggardly become liberal.

4. ‘When Confucius was leaving Ch’î, he strained off with his hand the water in which his rice was being rinsed, took the rice, and went away. When he left

Lû, he said, “I will set out by-and-by:” — it was right he should leave the country of his parents in this way. When it was proper to go away quickly, he did so; when it was proper to delay, he did so; when it was proper to keep in retirement, he did so; when it was proper to go into office, he did so: — this was Confucius.’

5. Mencius said,’Po-î among the sages was the pure one; Î Yin was the one most inclined to take office; Hûi of Liû-hsiâ was the accommodating one; and Confucius was the timeous one.

6. ‘In Confucius we have what is called a complete concert. A complete concert is when the large bell proclaims the commencement of the music, and the ringing stone proclaims its close. The metal sound commences the blended harmony of all the instruments, and the winding up with the stone terminates that blended harmony. The commencing that harmony is the work of wisdom. The terminating it is the work of sageness.

7. ‘As a comparison for wisdom, we may liken it to skill, and as a comparison for sageness, we may liken it to strength; — as in the case of shooting at a mark a hundred paces distant. That you reach it is owing to your strength, but that you hit the mark is not owing to your strength.’

Chapter 2.

The arrangement of dignities and emoluments according to the dynasty of Châu.

1. Pêi-kung Î asked Mencius, saying, ‘What was the arrangement of dignities and emoluments determined by the House of Châu?’

2. Mencius replied, ‘The particulars of that arrangement cannot be learned, for the princes, disliking them as injurious to themselves, have all made away with the records of them. Still I have learned the general outline of them.

3. ‘The SON OF HEAVEN constituted one dignity; the KUNG one; the HÂU one; the PÂI one; and the TSZE and the NAN each one of equal rank: — altogether making five degrees of rank. The RULER again constituted one dignity; the CHIEF MINISTER one; the GREAT OFFICERS one; the SCHOLARS OF THE FIRST CLASS one; THOSE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS one; and THOSE OF THE LOWEST CLASS one: — altogether making six degrees of dignity.

4. ‘To the Son of Heaven there was allotted a territory of a thousand lî square. A Kung and a Hâu had each a hundred lî square. A Pâi had seventy lî, and a Tsze and a Nan had each fifty lî. The assignments altogether were of four amounts. Where the territory did not amount to fiftylî, the chief could not have access himself to the Son of Heaven. His land was attached to some Hâu-ship, and was called a FÛ-YUNG.

5. ‘The Chief ministers of the Son of Heaven received an amount of territory equal to that of a Hâu; a Great officer received as much as a Pâi; and a scholar of the first class as much as a Tsze or a Nan.

6. ‘In a great State, where the territory was a hundred lî square, the ruler had ten times as much income as his Chief ministers; a Chief minister four times as much as a Great officer; a Great officer twice as much as a scholar of the first class; a scholar of the first class twice as much as one of the middle; a scholar of the middle class twice as much as one of the lowest; the scholars of the lowest class, and such of the common people as were employed about the government offices, had for their emolument as much as was equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields.

7. ‘In a State of the next order, where the territory was seventy lî square, the ruler had ten times as much revenue as his Chief minister; a Chief minister three times as much as a Great officer; a Great officer twice as much as a scholar of the first class; a scholar of the first class twice as much as one of the middle; a

scholar of the middle class twice as much as one of the lowest; the scholars of the lowest class, and such of the common people as were employed about the government offices, had for their emolument as much as was equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields.

8. ‘In a small State, where the territory was fifty lî square, the ruler had ten times as much revenue as his Chief minister; a Chief minister had twice as much as a Great officer; a Great officer twice as much as a scholar of the highest class; a scholar of the highest class twice as much as one of the middle; a scholar of the middle class twice as much as one of the lowest; scholars of the lowest class, and such of the common people as were employed about the government offices, had the same emolument; — as much, namely, as was equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields.

9. ‘As to those who tilled the fields, each husbandman received a hundred mâu. When those mâu were manured, the best husbandmen of the highest class supported nine individuals, and those ranking next to them supported eight. The best husbandmen of the second class supported seven individuals, and those ranking next to them supported six; while husbandmen of the lowest class only supported five. The salaries of the common people who were employed about the government offices were regulated according to these differences.’

Chapter 3.

Friendship must have reference to the virtue of the friend. There may be no assumption on the groundof one's own advantages.

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, 'I venture to ask the principles of friendship.' Mencius replied, 'Friendship should be maintained without any presumption on the ground of one's superior age, or station, or the circumstances of his relatives. Friendship with a man is friendship with his virtue, and does not admit of assumptions of superiority.

2. 'There was Mang Hsien, chief of a family of a hundred chariots. He had five friends, namely, Yo-chang Chiû, Mû Chung, and three others whose names I have forgotten. With those five men Hsien maintained a friendship, because they thought nothing about his family. If they had thought about his family, he would not have maintained his friendship with them.

3. 'Not only has the chief of a family of a hundred chariots acted thus. The same thing was exemplified by the sovereign of a small State. The duke Hûi of Pî said, "I treat Tsze-sze as my Teacher, and Yen Pan as my Friend. As to Wang Shun and Ch'ang Hsî, they serve me."

4. 'Not only has the sovereign of a small State acted thus. The same thing has been exemplified by the sovereign of a large State. There was the duke P'ing of Tsin with Hâi T'ang: — when T'ang told him to come into his house, he came; when he told him to be seated, he sat; when he told him to eat, he ate. There might only be coarse rice and soup of vegetables, but he always ate his fill, not daring to do otherwise. Here, however, he stopped, and went no farther. He did not call him to share any of Heaven's places, or to govern any of Heaven's offices, or to partake of any of Heaven's emoluments. His conduct was but a scholar's honouring virtue and talents, not the honouring them proper to a king or a duke.

5. 'Shun went up to court and saw the sovereign, who lodged him as his son-in-law in the second palace. The sovereign also enjoyed there Shun's hospitality. Alternately he was host and guest. Here was the sovereign maintaining friendship with a private man.

6. Respect shown by inferiors to superiors is called giving to the noble the observance due to rank. Respect shown by superiors to inferiors is called giving honour to talents and virtue. The rightness in each case is the same.'

Chapter 4.

How Mencius defended the accepting presents from the princes, oppressors of the people.

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, ‘I venture to ask what feeling of the mind is expressed in the presents of friendship?’ Mencius replied, ‘The feeling of respect.’

2. ‘How is it,’ pursued Chang, ‘that the declining a present is accounted disrespectful?’ The answer was, ‘When one of honourable rank presents a gift, to say in the mind, “Was the way in which he got this righteous or not? I must know this before I can receive it;” — this is deemed disrespectful, and therefore presents are not declined.’

3. Wan Chang asked again, ‘When one does not take on him in so many express words to refuse the gift, but having declined it in his heart, saying, “It was taken by him unrighteously from the people,” and then assigns some other reason for not receiving it; — is not this a proper course?’ Mencius said, ‘When the donor offers it on a ground of reason, and his manner of doing so is according to propriety; — in such a case Confucius would have received it.’

4. Wan Chang said, ‘Here now is one who stops and robs people outside the gates of the city. He offers his gift on a ground of reason, and does so in a manner according to propriety; — would the reception of it so acquired by robbery be proper?’ Mencius replied, ‘It would not be proper in “The Announcement to Kang” it is said, “When men kill others, and roll over their bodies to take their property, being reckless and fearless of death, among all the people there are none but detest them:” — thus, such characters are to be put to death, without waiting to give them warning. Yin received this rule from Hsiâ and Châu received it from Yin. It cannot be questioned, and to the present day is clearly acknowledged. How can the grift of a robber be received?’

5. Chang said, ‘The princes of the present day take from their people just as a robber despoils his victim. Yet if they put a good face of propriety on their gifts, then the superior man receives them. I venture to ask how you explain this.’ Mencius answered, ‘Do you think that, if there should arise a truly royal sovereign, he would collect the princes of the present day, and put them all to death? Or would he admonish them, and then, on their not changing their ways, put them to death? Indeed, to call every one who takes what does not properly belong to him a robber, is pushing a point of resemblance to the utmost, and insisting on the most refined idea of righteousness. When Confucius was in

office in Lû, the people struggled together for the game taken in hunting, and he also did the same. If that struggling for the captured game was proper, how much more may the gifts of the princes be received!'

6. Chang urged, 'Then are we to suppose that when Confucius held office, it was not with the view to carry his doctrines into practice?' 'It was with that view,' Mencius replied, and Chang rejoined, 'If the practice of his doctrines was his business, what had he to do with that struggling for the captured game?' Mencius said, 'Confucius first rectified his vessels of sacrifice according to the registers, and did not fill them so rectified with food gathered from every quarter.' 'But why did he not go away?' He wished to make a trial of carrying his doctrines into practice. When that trial was sufficient to show that they could be practised and they were still not practised, then he went away, and thus it was that he never completed in any State a residence of three years.

7. 'Confucius took office when he saw that the practice of his doctrines was likely; he took office when his reception was proper; he took office when he was supported by the State. In the case of his relation to Chî Hwan, he took office, seeing that the practice of his doctrines was likely. With the duke Ling of Wei he took office, because his reception was proper. With the duke Hsiâo of Wei he took office, because he was maintained by the State.'

Chapter 5.

How office may be taken on account of poverty, but only on certain conditions.

1. Mencius said, ‘Office is not sought on account of poverty, yet there are times when one seeks office on that account. Marriage is not entered into for the sake of being attended to by the wife, yet there are times when one marries on that account.

2. ‘He who takes office on account of his poverty must decline an honourable situation and occupy a low one; he must decline riches and prefer to be poor.

3. ‘What office will be in harmony with this declining an honourable situation and occupying a low one, this declining riches and preferring to be poor? Such an one as that of guarding the gates, or beating the watchman’s stick.

4. ‘Confucius was once keeper of stores, and he then said, “My calculations must be all right. That is all I have to care about.” He was once in charge of the public fields, and he then said, “The oxen and sheep must be fat and strong, and superior. That is all I have to care about.”

5. ‘When one is in a low situation, to speak of high matters is a crime. When a scholar stands in a prince’s court, and his principles are not carried into practice, it is a shame to him.’

Chapter 6.

How a scholar may not become a dependent by accepting pay without office, and how the repeated presents of a prince to a scholar must be made.

1. Wan Chang said, ‘What is the reason that a scholar does not accept a stated support from a prince?’ Mencius replied, ‘He does not presume to do so. When a prince loses his State, and then accepts a stated support from another prince, this is in accordance with propriety. But for a scholar to accept such support from any of the princes is not in accordance with propriety.’

2. Wan Chang said, ‘If the prince send him a present of grain, for instance, does he accept it?’ ‘He accepts it,’ answered Mencius. ‘On what principle of righteousness does he accept it?’ ‘Why — the prince ought to assist the people in their necessities.’

3. Chang pursued, ‘Why is it that the scholar will thus accept the prince’s help, but will not accept his pay?’ The answer was, ‘He does not presume to do so.’ ‘I venture to ask why he does not presume to do so.’ ‘Even the keepers of the gates, with their watchmen’s sticks, have their regular offices for which they can take their support from the prince. He who without a regular office should receive the pay of the prince must be deemed disrespectful.’

4. Chang asked, ‘If the prince sends a scholar a present, he accepts it; — I do not know whether this present may be constantly repeated.’ Mencius answered, ‘There was the conduct of the duke Mû to Tsze-sze — He made frequent inquiries after Tsze-sze’s health, and sent him frequent presents of cooked meat. Tsze-sze was displeased; and at length, having motioned to the messenger to go outside the great door, he bowed his head to the ground with his face to the north, did obeisance twice, and declined the gift, saying, “From this time forth I shall know that the prince supports me as a dog or a horse.” And so from that time a servant was no more sent with the presents. When a prince professes to be pleased with a man of talents and virtue, and can neither promote him to office, nor support him in the proper way, can he be said to be pleased with him?

5. Chang said, ‘I venture to ask how the sovereign of a State, when he wishes to support a superior man, must proceed, that he may be said to do so in the proper way?’ Mencius answered, ‘At first, the present must be offered with the prince’s commission, and the scholar, making obeisance twice with his head bowed to the ground, will receive it. But after this the storekeeper will continue to send grain, and the master of the kitchen to send meat, presenting it as if without the prince’s express commission. Tsze-sze considered that the meat

from the prince's caldron, giving him the annoyance of constantly doing obeisance, was not the way to support a superior man.

6. 'There was Yâo's conduct to Shun: — He caused his nine sons to serve him, and gave him his two daughters in marriage; he caused the various officers, oxen and sheep, storehouses and granaries, all to be prepared to support Shun amid the channelled fields, and then he raised him to the most exalted situation. From this we have the expression— "The honouring of virtue and talents proper to a king or a duke."'

Chapter 7.

Why a scholar should decline going to see the princes, when called by them.

1. Wan Chang said, ‘I venture to ask what principle of righteousness is involved in a scholar’s not going to see the princes?’ Mencius replied, ‘A scholar residing in the city is called “a minister of the market-place and well,” and one residing in the country is called “a minister of the grass and plants.” In both cases he is a common man, and it is the rule of propriety that common men, who have not presented the introductory present and become ministers, should not presume to have interviews with the prince.’

2. Wan Chang said, ‘If a common man is called to perform any service, he goes and performs it; — how is it that a scholar, when the prince, wishing to see him, calls him to his presence, refuses to go?’ Mencius replied, ‘It is right to go and perform the service; it would not be right to go and see the prince.’

3. ‘And,’ added Mencius, ‘on what account is it that the prince wishes to see the scholar?’ ‘Because of his extensive information, or because of his talents and virtue,’ was the reply. ‘If because of his extensive information,’ said Mencius, ‘such a person is a teacher, and the sovereign would not call him; — how much less may any of the princes do so? If because of his talents and virtue, then I have not heard of any one wishing to see a person with those qualities, and calling him to his presence.

4. ‘During the frequent interviews of the duke Mû with Tsze-sze, he one day said to him, “Anciently, princes of a thousand chariots have yet been on terms of friendship with scholars; — what do you think of such an intercourse?” Tsze-sze was displeased, and said, “The ancients have said, ‘The scholar should be served:’ how should they have merely said that he should be made a friend of?” When Tsze-sze was thus displeased, did he not say within himself,— “With regard to our stations, you are sovereign, and I am subject. How can I presume to be on terms of friendship with my sovereign! With regard to our virtue, you ought to make me your master. How can you be on terms of friendship with me?” Thus, when a ruler of a thousand chariots sought to be on terms of friendship with a scholar, he could not obtain his wish: — how much less could he call him to his presence!

5. ‘The duke Ching of Ch’î, once, when he was hunting, called his forester to him by a flag. The forester would not come, and the duke was going to kill him. With reference to this incident, Confucius said, “The determined officer never forgets that his end may be in a ditch or a stream; the brave officer never forgets

that he may lose his head." What was it in the forester that Confucius thus approved? He approved his not going to the duke, when summoned by the article which was not appropriate to him.'

6. Chang said, 'May I ask with what a forester should be summoned?' Mencius replied, 'With a skin cap. A common man should be summoned with a plain banner; a scholar who has taken office, with one having dragons embroidered on it; and a Great officer, with one having feathers suspended from the top of the staff.

7. 'When the forester was summoned with the article appropriate to the summoning of a Great officer, he would have died rather than presume to go. If a common man were summoned with the article appropriate to the summoning of a scholar, how could he presume to go? How much more may we expect this refusal to go, when a man of talents and virtue is summoned in a way which is inappropriate to his character!

8. 'When a prince wishes to see a man of talents and virtue, and does not take the proper course to get his wish, it is as if he wished him to enter his palace, and shut the door against him. Now, righteousness is the way, and propriety is the door, but it is only the superior man who can follow this way, and go out and in by this door. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"The way to Châu is level like a whetstone,
And straight as an arrow.
The officers tread it,
And the lower people see it."'

9. Wan Chang said, 'When Confucius received the prince's message calling him, he went without waiting for his carriage. Doing so, did Confucius do wrong?' Mencius replied, 'Confucius was in office, and had to observe its appropriate duties. And moreover, he was summoned on the business of his office.'

Chapter 8.

The realization of the greatest advantages of friendship, and that it is dependent on one's self.

1. Mencius said to Wan Chang, 'The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished in a village shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars in the village. The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished throughout a State shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of that State. The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished throughout the kingdom shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of the kingdom.

2. 'When a scholar feels that his friendship with all the virtuous scholars of the kingdom is not sufficient to satisfy him, he proceeds to ascend to consider the men of antiquity. He repeats their poems, and reads their books, and as he does not know what they were as men, to ascertain this, he considers their history. This is to ascend and make friends of the men of antiquity.'

Chapter 9.

The duties of the different classes oh high ministers.

1. The king Hsüan of Ch'î asked about the office of high ministers. Mencius said, 'Which high ministers is your Majesty asking about?' 'Are there differences among them?' inquired the king. 'There are' was the reply. 'There are the high ministers who are noble and relatives of the prince, and there are those who are of a different surname.' The king said, 'I beg to ask about the high ministers who are noble and relatives of the prince.' Mencius answered, 'If the prince have great faults, they ought to remonstrate with him, and if he do not listen to them after they have done so again and again, they ought to dethrone him.'

2. The king on this looked moved, and changed countenance.

3. Mencius said, 'Let not your Majesty be offended. You asked me, and I dare not answer but according to truth.'

4. The king's countenance became composed, and he then begged to ask about high ministers who were of a different surname from the prince. Mencius said, 'When the prince has faults, they ought to remonstrate with him; and if he do not listen to them after they have done this again and again, they ought to leave the State.'

Book VI, Part I: Kâo Tsze

Chapter 1.

That benevolence and righteousness are no unnatural products of human nature.

1. The philosopher Kâo said, ‘Man’s nature is like the ch’î-willow , and righteousness is like a cup or a bowl. The fashioning benevolence and righteousness out of man’s nature is like the making cups and bowls from the ch’î-willow.’

2. Mencius replied, ‘Can you, leaving untouched the nature of the willow, make with it cups and bowls? You must do violence and injury to the willow, before you can make cups and bowls with it. If you must do violence and injury to the willow in order to make cups and bowls with it, on your principles you must in the same way do violence and injury to humanity in order to fashion from it benevolence and righteousness! Your words, alas! would certainly lead all men on to reckon benevolence and righteousness to be calamities.’

Chapter 2.

Man’s nature is not indifferent to good and evil. Its proper tendency is to good.

1. The philosopher Kâo said, ‘Man’s nature is like water whirling round in a corner. Open a passage for it to the east, and it will flow to the east; open a passage for it to the west, and it will flow to the west. Man’s nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as the water is indifferent to the east and west.’

2. Mencius replied, ‘Water indeed will flow indifferently to the east or west, but will it flow indifferently up or down? The tendency of man’s nature to good is like the tendency of water to flow downwards. There are none but have this tendency to good, just as all water flows downwards.

3. ‘Now by striking water and causing it to leap up, you may make it go over your forehead, and, by damming and leading it you may force it up a hill; — but are such movements according to the nature of water? It is the force applied which causes them. When men are made to do what is not good, their nature is dealt with in this way.’

Chapter 3.

The nature is not to be confounded with the phenomena of life.

1. The philosopher Kâo said, ‘Life is what we call nature!’

2. Mencius asked him, ‘Do you say that by nature you mean life, just as you say that white is white?’ ‘Yes, I do,’ was the reply. Mencius added, ‘Is the whiteness of a white feather like that of white snow, and the whiteness of white snow like that of white jade?’ Kâo again said ‘Yes.’

3. ‘Very well,’ pursued Mencius. ‘Is the nature of a dog like the nature of an ox, and the nature of an ox like the nature of a man?’

Chapter 4.

That the benevolent affections and the discriminations of what is right are equally internal.

1. The philosopher Kâo said, ‘To enjoy food and delight in colours is nature. Benevolence is internal and not external; righteousness is external and not internal.’

2. Mencius asked him, ‘What is the ground of your saying that benevolence is internal and righteousness external?’ He replied, ‘There is a man older than I, and I give honour to his age. It is not that there is first in me a principle of such reverence to age. It is just as when there is a white man, and I consider him white; according as he is so externally to me. On this account, I pronounce of righteousness that it is external.’

3. Mencius said, ‘There is no difference between our pronouncing a white horse to be white and our pronouncing a white man to be white. But is there no difference between the regard with which we acknowledge the age of an old horse and that with which we acknowledge the age of an old man? And what is it which is called righteousness? — the fact of a man’s being old? or the fact of our giving honour to his age?’

4. Kâo said, ‘There is my younger brother; — I love him. But the younger brother of a man of Ch’in I do not love: that is, the feeling is determined by myself, and therefore I say that benevolence is internal. On the other hand, I give honour to an old man of Ch’û, and I also give honour to an old man of my own people: that is, the feeling is determined by the age, and therefore I say that righteousness is external.’

5. Mencius answered him, ‘Our enjoyment of meat roasted by a man of Ch’in does not differ from our enjoyment of meat roasted by ourselves. Thus, what you insist on takes place also in the case of such things, and will you say likewise that our enjoyment of a roast is external?’

Chapter 5.

The same subject; — the discriminations of what is right are from within.

1. The disciple Mang Chî asked Kung-tû, saying, ‘On what ground is it said that righteousness is internal?’

2. Kung-tû replied, ‘We therein act out our feeling of respect, and therefore it is said to be internal.’

3. The other objected, ‘Suppose the case of a villager older than your elder brother by one year, to which of them would you show the greater respect?’ ‘To my brother,’ was the reply. ‘But for which of them would you first pour out wine at a feast?’ ‘For the villager.’ Mang Chî argued, ‘Now your feeling of reverence rests on the one, and now the honour due to age is rendered to the other; — this is certainly determined by what is without, and does not proceed from within.’

4. Kung-tû was unable to reply, and told the conversation to Mencius. Mencius said, ‘You should ask him, “Which do you respect most, — your uncle, or your younger brother?” He will answer, “My uncle.” Ask him again, “If your younger brother be personating a dead ancestor, to which do you show the greater respect, — to him or to your uncle?” He will say, “To my younger brother.” You can go on, “But where is the respect due, as you said, to your uncle?” He will reply to this, “I show the respect to my younger brother, because of the position which he occupies,” and you can likewise say, “So my respect to the villager is because of the position which he occupies. Ordinarily, my respect is rendered to my elder brother; for a brief season, on occasion, it is rendered to the villager.”’

5. Mang Chî heard this and observed, ‘When respect is due to my uncle, I respect him, and when respect is due to my younger brother, I respect him; — the thing is certainly determined by what is without, and does not proceed from within.’ Kung-tû replied, ‘In winter we drink things hot, in summer we drink things cold; and so, on your principle, eating and drinking also depend on what is external!’

Chapter 6.

Explanation of Mencius's own doctrine that man's nature is good.

1. The disciple Kung-tû said, 'The philosopher Kâo says, "Man's nature is neither good nor bad."'

2. 'Some say, "Man's nature may be made to practise good, and it may be made to practise evil, and accordingly, under Wan and Wû, the people loved what was good, while under Yû and Lî, they loved what was cruel."'

3. 'Some say, "The nature of some is good, and the nature of others is bad. Hence it was that under such a sovereign as Yâo there yet appeared Hsiang; that with such a father as Kû-sâu there yet appeared Shun; and that with Châu for their sovereign, and the son of their elder brother besides, there were found Ch'î, the viscount of Wei, and the prince Pî-Kan.

4. 'And now you say, "The nature is good." Then are all those wrong?'

5. Mencius said, 'From the feelings proper to it, it is constituted for the practice of what is good. This is what I mean in saying that the nature is good.

6. 'If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their natural powers.

7. 'The feeling of commiseration belongs to all men; so does that of shame and dislike; and that of reverence and respect; and that of approving and disapproving. The feeling of commiseration implies the principle of benevolence; that of shame and dislike, the principle of righteousness; that of reverence and respect, the principle of propriety; and that of approving and disapproving, the principle of knowledge. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge are not infused into us from without. We are certainly furnished with them. And a different view is simply owing to want of reflection. Hence it is said, "Seek and you will find them. Neglect and you will lose them." Men differ from one another in regard to them; — some as much again as others, some five times as much, and some to an incalculable amount: — it is because they cannot carry out fully their natural powers.

8. 'It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"Heaven in producing mankind,
Gave them their various faculties and relations with their specific laws.
These are the invariable rules of nature for all to hold,
And all love this admirable virtue."

Confucius said, “The maker of this ode knew indeed the principle of our nature!” We may thus see that every faculty and relation must have its law, and since there are invariable rules for all to hold, they consequently love this admirable virtue.’

Chapter 7.

All men are the same in mind; — sages and others. It follows that the nature of all men, like that of the sages, is good.

1. Mencius said, ‘In good years the children of the people are most of them good, while in bad years the most of them abandon themselves to evil. It is not owing to any difference of their natural powers conferred by Heaven that they are thus different. The abandonment is owing to the circumstances through which they allow their minds to be ensnared and drowned in evil.

2. ‘There now is barley. — Let it be sown and covered up; the ground being the same, and the time of sowing likewise the same, it grows rapidly up, and, when the full time is come, it is all found to be ripe. Although there may be inequalities of produce, that is owing to the difference of the soil, as rich or poor, to the unequal nourishment afforded by the rains and dews, and to the different ways in which man has performed his business in reference to it.

3. ‘Thus all things which are the same in kind are like to one another; — why should we doubt in regard to man, as if he were a solitary exception to this? The sage and we are the same in kind.

4. ‘In accordance with this the scholar Lung said, “If a man make hempen sandals without knowing the size of people’s feet, yet I know that he will not make them like baskets.” Sandals are all like one another, because all men’s feet are like one another.

5. ‘So with the mouth and flavours; — all mouths have the same relishes. Yî-yâ only apprehended before me what my mouth relishes. Suppose that his mouth in its relish for flavours differed from that of other men, as is the case with dogs or horses which are not the same in kind with us, why should all men be found following Yî-yâ in their relishes? In the matter of tastes all the people model themselves after Yî-yâ; that is, the mouths of all men are like one another.

6. ‘And so also it is with the ear. In the matter of sounds, the whole people model themselves after the music-master K’wang; that is, the ears of all men are like one another.

7. ‘And so also it is with the eye. In the case of Tsze-tû, there is no man but would recognise that he was beautiful. Any one who would not recognise the beauty of Tsze-tû must have no eyes.

8. ‘Therefore I say, — Men’s mouths agree in having the same relishes; their ears agree in enjoying the same sounds; their eyes agree in recognising the same beauty: — shall their minds alone be without that which the similarly approve?

What is it then of which they similarly approve? It is, I say, the principles of our nature, and the determinations of righteousness. The sages only apprehended before me that of which my mind approves along with other men. Therefore the principles of our nature and the determinations of righteousness are agreeable to my mind, just as the flesh of grass and grain-fed animals is agreeable to my mouth.'

Chapter 8.

How it is that the nature properly good comes to appear as if it were not so; — from not receiving its proper nourishment.

1. Mencius said, ‘The trees of the Niû mountain were once beautiful. Being situated, however, in the borders of a large State, they were hewn down with axes and bills; — and could they retain their beauty? Still through the activity of the vegetative life day and night, and the nourishing influence of the rain and dew, they were not without buds and sprouts springing forth, but then came the cattle and goats and browsed upon them. To these things is owing the bare and stripped appearance of the mountain, and when people now see it, they think it was never finely wooded. But is this the nature of the mountain?

2. ‘And so also of what properly belongs to man; — shall it be said that the mind of any man was without benevolence and righteousness? The way in which a man loses his proper goodness of mind is like the way in which the trees are denuded by axes and bills. Hewn down day after day, can it — the mind — retain its beauty? But there is a development of its life day and night, and in the calm air of the morning, just between night and day, the mind feels in a degree those desires and aversions which are proper to humanity, but the feeling is not strong, and it is fettered and destroyed by what takes place during the day. This fettering taking place again and again, the restorative influence of the night is not sufficient to preserve the proper goodness of the mind; and when this proves insufficient for that purpose, the nature becomes not much different from that of the irrational animals, and when people now see it, they think that it never had those powers which I assert. But does this condition represent the feelings proper to humanity?

3. ‘Therefore, if it receive its proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not grow. If it lose its proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not decay away.

4. ‘Confucius said, “Hold it fast, and it remains with you. Let it go, and you lose it. Its outgoing and incoming cannot be defined as to time or place.” It is the mind of which this is said!’

Chapter 9.

Illustrates the last chapter. — How the king of Ch'î's want of wisdom was owing to neglect and bad associations.

1. Mencius said, 'It is not to be wondered at that the king is not wise!

2. 'Suppose the case of the most easily growing thing in the world; — if you let it have one day's genial heat, and then expose it for ten days to cold, it will not be able to grow. It is but seldom that I have an audience of the king, and when I retire, there come all those who act upon him like the cold. Though I succeed in bringing out some buds of goodness, of what avail is it?

3. 'Now chess-playing is but a small art, but without his whole mind being given, and his will bent, to it, a man cannot succeed at it. Chess Ch'iû is the best chess-player in all the kingdom. Suppose that he is teaching two men to play. — The one gives to the subject his whole mind and bends to it all his will, doing nothing but listening to Chess Ch'iû. The other, although he seems to be listening to him, has his whole mind running on a swan which he thinks is approaching, and wishes to bend his bow, adjust the string to the arrow, and shoot it. Although he is learning along with the other, he does not come up to him. Why? — because his intelligence is not equal? Not so.'

Chapter 10.

That it is proper to man's nature to love righteousness more than life, and how it is that many act as if it were not so.

1. Mencius said, 'I like fish, and I also like bear's paws. If I cannot have the two together, I will let the fish go, and take the bear's paws. So, I like life, and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness.

2. 'I like life indeed, but there is that which I like more than life, and therefore, I will not seek to possess it by any improper ways. I dislike death indeed, but there is that which I dislike more than death, and therefore there are occasions when I will not avoid danger.

3. 'If among the things which man likes there were nothing which he liked more than life, why should he not use every means by which he could preserve it? If among the things which man dislikes there were nothing which he disliked more than death, why should he not do everything by which he could avoid danger?

4. 'There are cases when men by a certain course might preserve life, and they do not employ it; when by certain things they might avoid danger, and they will not do them.

5. 'Therefore, men have that which they like more than life, and that which they dislike more than death. They are not men of distinguished talents and virtue only who have this mental nature. All men have it; what belongs to such men is simply that they do not lose it.

6. 'Here are a small basket of rice and a platter of soup, and the case is one in which the getting them will preserve life, and the want of them will be death; — if they are offered with an insulting voice, even a tramper will not receive them, or if you first tread upon them, even a beggar will not stoop to take them.

7. 'And yet a man will accept of ten thousand chung, without any consideration of propriety or righteousness. What can the ten thousand chung add to him? When he takes them, is it not that he may obtain beautiful mansions, that he may secure the services of wives and concubines, or that the poor and needy of his acquaintance may be helped by him?

8. 'In the former case the offered bounty was not received, though it would have saved from death, and now the emolument is taken for the sake of beautiful mansions. The bounty that would have preserved from death was not received, and the emolument is taken to get the service of wives and concubines. The

bounty that would have saved from death was not received, and the emolument is taken that one's poor and needy acquaintance may be helped by him. Was it then not possible likewise to decline this? This is a case of what is called—"Losing the proper nature of one's mind."'

Chapter 11.

How men having lost the proper qualities of their nature should seek to recover them.

1. Mencius said, ‘Benevolence is man’s mind, and righteousness is man’s path.

2. ‘How lamentable is it to neglect the path and not pursue it, to lose this mind and not know to seek it again!

3. ‘When men’s fowls and dogs are lost, they know to seek for them again, but they lose their mind, and do not know to seek for it.

4. ‘The great end of learning is nothing else but to seek for the lost mind.’

Chapter 12.

How men are sensible of bodily, and not of mental or moral, defects.

1. Mencius said, ‘Here is a man whose fourth finger is bent and cannot be stretched out straight. It is not painful, nor does it incommode his business, and yet if there be any one who can make it straight, he will not think the way from Ch’in to Ch’û far to go to him; because his finger is not like the finger of other people.

2. ‘When a man’s finger is not like those of other people, he knows to feel dissatisfied, but if his mind be not like that of other people, he does not know to feel dissatisfaction. This is called— “Ignorance of the relative importance of things.”’

Chapter 13.

Men's extreme want of thought in regard to the cultivation of themselves.

Mencius said, 'Anybody who wishes to cultivate the t'ung or the tsze, which may be grasped with both hands, perhaps with one, knows by what means to nourish them. In the case of their own persons, men do not know by what means to nourish them. Is it to be supposed that their regard of their own persons is inferior to their regard for a t'ung or tsze? Their want of reflection is extreme.'

Chapter 14.

The attention given by men to the nourishment of the different parts of their nature must be regulated by the relative importance of those parts.

1. Mencius said, ‘There is no part of himself which a man does not love, and as he loves all, so he must nourish all. There is not an inch of skin which he does not love, and so there is not an inch of skin which he will not nourish. For examining whether his way of nourishing be good or not, what other rule is there but this, that he determine by reflecting on himself where it should be applied?

2. ‘Some parts of the body are noble, and some ignoble; some great, and some small. The great must not be injured for the small, nor the noble for the ignoble. He who nourishes the little belonging to him is a little man, and he who nourishes the great is a great man.

3. ‘Here is a plantation-keeper, who neglects his wû and chiâ, and cultivates his sour jujube-trees; — he is a poor plantation-keeper.

4. ‘He who nourishes one of his fingers, neglecting his shoulders or his back, without knowing that he is doing so, is a man who resembles a hurried wolf.

5. ‘A man who only eats and drinks is counted mean by others; — because he nourishes what is little to the neglect of what is great.

6. ‘If a man, fond of his eating and drinking, were not to neglect what is of more importance, how should his mouth and belly be considered as no more than an inch of skin?’

Chapter 15.

How some are great men, lords of reason, and some are little men, slaves of sense.

1. The disciple Kung-tû said, ‘All are equally men, but some are great men, and some are little men; — how is this?’ Mencius replied, ‘Those who follow that part of themselves which is great are great men; those who follow that part which is little are little men.’

2. Kung-tû pursued, ‘All are equally men, but some follow that part of themselves which is great, and some follow that part which is little; — how is this?’ Mencius answered, ‘The senses of hearing and seeing do not think, and are obscured by external things. When one thing comes into contact with another, as a matter of course it leads it away. To the mind belongs the office of thinking. By thinking, it gets the right view of things; by neglecting to think, it fails to do this. These — the senses and the mind — are what Heaven has given to us. Let a man first stand fast in the supremacy of the nobler part of his constitution, and the inferior part will not be able to take it from him. It is simply this which makes the great man.’

Chapter 16.

There is a nobility that is of Heaven, and a nobility that is of man. The neglect of the former leads to the loss of the latter.

1. Mencius said, ‘There is a nobility of Heaven, and there is a nobility of man. Benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration, and fidelity, with unwearied joy in these virtues; — these constitute the nobility of Heaven. To be a kung, a ch’ing, or a tâ-fû; — this constitutes the nobility of man.

2. ‘The men of antiquity cultivated their nobility of Heaven, and the nobility of man came to them in its train.

3. ‘The men of the present day cultivate their nobility of Heaven in order to seek for the nobility of man, and when they have obtained that, they throw away the other: — their delusion is extreme. The issue is simply this, that they must lose that nobility of man as well.’

Chapter 17.

The true honour which men should desire.

1. Mencius said, ‘To desire to be honoured is the common mind of men. And all men have in themselves that which is truly honourable. Only they do not think of it.

2. ‘The honour which men confer is not good honour. Those whom Châo the Great ennobles he can make mean again.

3. ‘It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“He has filled us with his wine,
He has satiated us with his goodness.”

“Satiated us with his goodness,” that is, satiated us with benevolence and righteousness, and he who is so satiated, consequently, does not wish for the fat meat and fine millet of men. A good reputation and far-reaching praise fall to him, and he does not desire the elegant embroidered garments of men.’

Chapter 18.

It is necessary to practise benevolence with all one's might. This only will preserve it.

1. Mencius said, 'Benevolence subdues its opposite just as water subdues fire. Those, however, who now-a-days practise benevolence do it as if with one cup of water they could save a whole waggon-load of fuel which was on fire, and when the flames were not extinguished, were to say that water cannot subdue fire. This conduct, moreover, greatly encourages those who are not benevolent.

2. 'The final issue will simply be this — the loss of that small amount of benevolence.'

Chapter 19.

Benevolence must be matured.

Mencius said, ‘Of all seeds the best are the five kinds of grain, yet if they be not ripe, they are not equal to the t’î or the pâi. So, the value of benevolence depends entirely on its being brought to maturity.’

Chapter 20.

Learning must not be by halves.

1. Mencius said, ‘Î, in teaching men to shoot, made it a rule to draw the bow to the full, and his pupils also did the same.

2. ‘A master-workman, in teaching others, uses the compass and square, and his pupils do the same.’

Book VI, Part II: Kâo Tsze

Chapter 1.

The importance of observing the rules of propriety, and, when they may be disregarded, the exception will be found to prove the rule. Extreme cases may not be pressed to invalidate the principle.

1. A man of Zan asked the disciple Wû-lû, saying, ‘Is an observance of the rules of propriety in regard to eating, or eating merely, the more important?’ The answer was, ‘The observance of the rules of propriety is the more important.’

2. ‘Is the gratifying the appetite of sex, or the doing so only according to the rules of propriety, the more important?’ The answer again was, ‘The observance of the rules of propriety in the matter is the more important.’

3. The man pursued, ‘If the result of eating only according to the rules of propriety will be death by starvation, while by disregarding those rules we may get food, must they still be observed in such a case? If according to the rule that he shall go in person to meet his wife a man cannot get married, while by disregarding that rule he may get married, must he still observe the rule in such a case?’

4. Wû-lû was unable to reply to these questions, and the next day he went to Tsâu, and told them to Mencius. Mencius said, ‘What difficulty is there in answering these inquiries?’

5. ‘If you do not adjust them at their lower extremities, but only put their tops on a level, a piece of wood an inch square may be made to be higher than the pointed peak of a high building.

6. ‘Gold is heavier than feathers; — but does that saying have reference, on the one hand, to a single clasp of gold, and, on the other, to a waggon-load of feathers?

7. ‘If you take a case where the eating is of the utmost importance and the observing the rules of propriety is of little importance, and compare the things together, why stop with saying merely that the eating is more important? So, taking the case where the gratifying the appetite of sex is of the utmost importance and the observing the rules of propriety is of little importance, why stop with merely saying that the gratifying the appetite is the more important?

8. ‘Go and answer him thus, “If, by twisting your elder brother’s arm, and snatching from him what he is eating, you can get food for yourself, while, if you do not do so, you will not get anything to eat, will you so twist his arm ? If by getting over your neighbour’s wall, and dragging away his virgin daughter,

you can get a wife, while if you do not do so, you will not be able to get a wife, will you so drag her away?”’

Chapter 2.

All may become Yâos and Shuns, and to become so, they have only sincerely, and in themselves, to cultivate Yâo and Shun's principles and ways.

1. Chiâo of Tsâo asked Mencius, saying, 'It is said, "All men may be Yâos and Shuns;" — is it so?' Mencius replied, It is.'

2. Chiâo went on, 'I have heard that king Wan was ten cubits high, and T'ang nine. Now I am nine cubits four inches in height. But I can do nothing but eat my millet. What am I to do to realize that saying?'

3. Mencius answered him, 'What has this — the question of size — to do with the matter? It all lies simply in acting as such. Here is a man, whose strength was not equal to lift a duckling: — he was then a man of no strength. But to-day he says, "I can lift 3,000 catties' weight," and he is a man of strength. And so, he who can lift the weight which Wû Hwo lifted is just another Wû Hwo. Why should a man make a want of ability the subject of his grief? It is only that he will not do the thing.

4. 'To walk slowly, keeping behind his elders, is to perform the part of a younger. To walk quickly and precede his elders, is to violate the duty of a younger brother. Now, is it what a man cannot do — to walk slowly? It is what he does not do. The course of Yâo and Shun was simply that of filial piety and fraternal duty.

5. 'Wear the clothes of Yâo, repeat the words of Yâo, and do the actions of Yâo, and you will just be a Yâo. And, if you wear the clothes of Chieh, repeat the words of Chieh, and do the actions of Chieh, you will just be a Chieh.'

6. Chiâo said, 'I shall be having an interview with the prince of Tsâu, and can ask him to let me have a house to lodge in. I wish to remain here, and receive instruction at your gate.'

7. Mencius replied, 'The way of truth is like a great road. It is not difficult to know it. The evil is only that men will not seek it. Do you go home and search for it, and you will have abundance of teachers.'

Chapter 3.

Explanation of the odes Hsiâo P'ân and K'âi Fang. Dissatisfaction with a parent is not necessarily unfilial.

1. Kung-sun Ch'âu asked about an opinion of the scholar Kâo, saying, 'Kâo observed, "The Hsiâo P'ân is the ode of a little man."' Mencius asked, 'Why did he say so?' 'Because of the murmuring which it expresses,' was the reply.

2. Mencius answered, 'How stupid was that old Kâo in dealing with the ode! There is a man here, and a native of Yüeh bends his bow to shoot him. I will advise him not to do so, but speaking calmly and smilingly; — for no other reason but that he is not related to me. But if my own brother be bending his bow to shoot the man, then I will advise him not to do so, weeping and crying the while; — for no other reason than that he is related to me. The dissatisfaction expressed in the Hsiâo P'ân is the working of relative affection, and that affection shows benevolence. Stupid indeed was old Kâo's criticism on the ode.'

3. Ch'âu then said, 'How is it that there is no dissatisfaction expressed in the K'âi Fang?'

4. Mencius replied, 'The parent's fault referred to in the K'âi Fang is small; that referred to in the Hsiâo P'ân is great. Where the parent's fault was great, not to have murmured on account of it would have increased the want of natural affection. Where the parent's fault was small, to have murmured on account of it would have been to act like water which frets and foams about a stone that interrupts its course. To increase the want of natural affection would have been unfilial, and to fret and foam in such a manner would also have been unfilial.

5 'Confucius said, "Shun was indeed perfectly filial! And yet, when he was fifty, he was full of longing desire about his parents."'

Chapter 4.

Mencius's warnings to Sung K'ang on the error and danger of counselling the princes from the ground of profit, the proper ground being that of benevolence and righteousness.

1. Sung K'ang being about to go to Ch'û, Mencius met him in Shih-ch'iû.

2. 'Master, where are you going?' asked Mencius.

3. K'ang replied, 'I have heard that Ch'in and Ch'û are fighting together, and I am going to see the king of Ch'û and persuade him to cease hostilities. If he shall not be pleased with my advice, I shall go to see the king of Ch'in, and persuade him in the same way. Of the two kings I shall surely find that I can succeed with one of them.'

4. Mencius said, 'I will not venture to ask about the particulars, but I should like to hear the scope of your plan. What course will you take to try to persuade them?' K'ang answered, 'I will tell them how unprofitable their course is to them.' 'Master,' said Mencius, 'your aim is great, but your argument is not good.

5. 'If you, starting from the point of profit, offer your persuasive counsels to the kings of Ch'in and Ch'û, and if those kings are pleased with the consideration of profit so as to stop the movements of their armies, then all belonging to those armies will rejoice in the cessation of war, and find their pleasure in the pursuit of profit. Ministers will serve their sovereign for the profit of which they cherish the thought; sons will serve their fathers, and younger brothers will serve their elder brothers, from the same consideration: — and the issue will be, that, abandoning benevolence and righteousness, sovereign and minister, father and son, younger brother and elder, will carry on all their intercourse with this thought of profit cherished in their breasts. But never has there been such a state of society, without ruin being the result of it.

6. 'If you, starting from the ground of benevolence and righteousness, offer your counsels to the kings of Ch'in and Ch'û, and if those kings are pleased with the consideration of benevolence and righteousness so as to stop the operations of their armies, then all belonging to those armies will rejoice in the stopping from war, and find their pleasure in benevolence and righteousness. Ministers will serve their sovereign, cherishing the principles of benevolence and righteousness; sons will serve their fathers, and younger brothers will serve their elder brothers, in the same way: — and so, sovereign and minister, father and son, elder brother and younger, abandoning the thought of profit, will cherish the principles of benevolence and righteousness, and carry on all their intercourse

upon them. But never has there been such a state of society, without the State where it prevailed rising to the royal sway. Why must you use that word "profit."'

Chapter 5.

How Mencius regulated himself in differently acknowledging favours which he received.

1. When Mencius was residing in Tsâu, the younger brother of the chief of Zan, who was guardian of Zan at the time, paid his respects to him by a present of silks, which Mencius received, not going to acknowledge it. When he was sojourning in P'ing-lû, Ch'û, who was prime minister of the State, sent him a similar present, which he received in the same way.

2. Subsequently, going from Tsâu to Zan, he visited the guardian; but when he went from Ping-lû to the capital of Ch'î, he did not visit the minister Ch'û. The disciple Wû-lû was glad, and said, 'I have got an opportunity to obtain some instruction.'

3. He asked accordingly, 'Master, when you went to Zan, you visited the chief's brother; and when you went to Ch'î, you did not visit Ch'û. Was it not because he is only the minister?'

4. Mencius replied, 'No. It is said in the Book of History, "In presenting an offering to a superior, most depends on the demonstrations of respect. If those demonstrations are not equal to the things offeredred, we say there is no offering, that is, there is no act of the will presenting the offering."

5. 'This is because the things so offered do not constitute an offering to a superior.'

6. Wû-lû was pleased, and when some one asked him what Mencius meant, he said, 'The younger of Zan could not go to Tsâu, but the minister Ch'û might have gone to P'ing-lû.'

Chapter 6.

How Mencius replied to the insinuations of Shun-yü K'wan, condemning him for leaving office without accomplishing anything.

1. Shun-yü K'wan said, 'He who makes fame and meritorious services his first objects, acts with a regard to others. He who makes them only secondary objects, acts with a regard to himself. You, master, were ranked among the three chief ministers of the State, but before your fame and services had reached either to the prince or the people, you have left your place. Is this indeed the way of the benevolent?'

2. Mencius replied, 'There was Po'î; — he abode in an inferior situation, and would not, with his virtue, serve a degenerate prince. There was Î Yin; — he five times went to T'ang, and five times went to Chieh. There was Hûi of Liû-hsiâ; — he did not disdain to serve a vile prince, nor did he decline a small office. The courses pursued by those three worthies were different, but their aim was one. And what was their one aim? We must answer— "To be perfectly virtuous." And so it is simply after this that superior men strive. Why must they all pursue the same course?'

3. K'wan pursued, 'In the time of the duke Mû of Lû, the government was in the hands of Kung-î, while Tsze-liû and Tsze-sze were ministers. And yet, the dismemberment of Lû then increased exceedingly. Such was the case, a specimen how your men of virtue are of no advantage to a kingdom!'

4. Mencius said, 'The prince of Yü did not use Pâi-lî Hsi, and thereby lost his State. The duke Mû of Chin used him, and became chief of all the princes. Ruin is the consequence of not employing men of virtue and talents; — how can it rest with dismemberment merely?'

5. K'wan urged again, 'Formerly, when Wang P'âo dwelt on the Ch'î, the people on the west of the Yellow River all became skilful at singing in his abrupt manner. When Mien Ch'ü lived in Kâo-t'ang, the people in the parts of Ch'î on the west became skilful at singing in his prolonged manner. The wives of Hwa Châu and Ch'î Liang bewailed their husbands so skilfully, that they changed the manners of the State. When there is the gift within, it manifests itself without. I have never seen the man who could do the deeds of a worthy, and did not realize the work of one. Therefore there are now no men of talents and virtue. If there were, I should know them.'

6. Mencius answered, 'When Confucius was chief minister of Justice in Lû, the prince came not to follow his counsels. Soon after there was the solstitial

sacrifice, and when a part of the flesh presented in sacrifice was not sent to him, he went away even without taking off his cap of ceremony. Those who did not know him supposed it was on account of the flesh. Those who knew him supposed that it was on account of the neglect of the usual ceremony. The fact was, that Confucius wanted to go away on occasion of some small offence, not wishing to do so without some apparent cause. All men cannot be expected to understand the conduct of a superior man.'

Chapter 7.

The progress and manner of degeneracy from the three kings to the five chiefs of the princes, and from the five chiefs to the princes and officers of Mencius's time.

1. Mencius said, 'The five chiefs of the princes were sinners against the three kings. The princes of the present day are sinners against the five chiefs. The Great officers of the present day are sinners against the princes.

2. 'The sovereign visited the princes, which was called "A tour of Inspection." The princes attended at the court of the sovereign, which was called "Giving a report of office." It was a custom in the spring to examine the ploughing, and supply any deficiency of seed; and in autumn to examine the reaping, and assist where there was a deficiency of the crop. When the sovereign entered the boundaries of a State, if the new ground was being reclaimed, and the old fields well cultivated; if the old were nourished and the worthy honoured; and if men of distinguished talents were placed in office: then the prince was rewarded, — rewarded with an addition to his territory. On the other hand, if, on entering a State, the ground was found left wild or overrun with weeds; if the old were neglected and the worthy unhonoured; and if the offices were filled with hard taxgatherers: then the prince was reprimanded. If a prince once omitted his attendance at court, he was punished by degradation of rank; if he did so a second time, be was deprived of a portion of his territory; if he did so a third time, the royal forces were set in motion, and he was removed from his government. Thus the sovereign commanded the punishment, but did not himself inflict it, while the princes inflicted the punishment, but did not command it. The five chiefs, however, dragged the princes to punish other princes, and hence I say that they were sinners against the three kings.

3. 'Of the five chiefs the most powerful was the duke Hwan. At the assembly of the princes in K'wei-ch'iû, he bound the victim and placed the writing upon it, but did not slay it to smear their mouths with the blood. The first injunction in their agreement was,— "Slay the unfilial; change not the son who has been appointed heir; exalt not a concubine to be the wife." The second was,— "Honour the worthy, and maintain the talented, to give distinction to the virtuous." The third was,— "Respect the old, and be kind to the young. Be not forgetful of strangers and travellers." The fourth was, "Let not offices be hereditary, nor let officers be pluralists. In the selection of officers let the object be to get the proper men. Let not a ruler take it on himself to put to death a Great

officer." The fifth was,— "Follow no crooked policy in making embankments. Impose no restrictions on the sale of grain. Let there be no promotions without first announcing them to the sovereign." It was then said, "All we who have united in this agreement shall hereafter maintain amicable relations." The princes of the present day all violate these five prohibitions, and therefore I say that the princes of the present day are sinners against the five chiefs.

4. 'The crime of him who connives at, and aids, the wickedness of his prince is small, but the crime of him who anticipates and excites that wickedness is great. The officers of the present day all go to meet their sovereigns' wickedness, and therefore I say that the Great officers of the present day are sinners against the princes.'

Chapter 8.

Mencius's opposition to the warlike ambition of the prince of Lû and his minister Shan Kû-Lî.

1. The prince of Lû wanted to make the minister Shan commander of his army.

2. Mencius said, 'To employ an uninstructed people in war may be said to be destroying the people. A destroyer of the people would not have been tolerated in the times of Yâo and Shun.

3. 'Though by a single battle you should subdue Ch'î, and get possession of Nan-yang, the thing ought not to be done.'

4. Shan changed countenance, and said in displeasure, 'This is what I, Kû-Lî, do not understand.'

5. Mencius said, 'I will lay the case plainly before you. The territory appropriated to the sovereign is 1,000 lî square. Without a thousand lî, he would not have sufficient for his entertainment of the princes. The territory appropriated to a Hâu is 100 lî square. Without 100 lî, he would not have sufficient wherewith to observe the statutes kept in his ancestral temple.

6. 'When Châu-kung was invested with the principalily of Lû, it was a hundred lî square. The territory was indeed enough, but it was not more than 100 lî. When T'âi-kung was invested with the principality of Ch'î, it was 100 lî square. The territory was indeed enough, but it was not more than 100 lî.

7. 'Now Lû is five times 100 lî square. If a true royal ruler were to arise, whether do you think that Lû would be diminished or increased by him?

8. 'If it were merely taking the place from the one State to give it to the other, a benevolent man would not do it; — how much less will he do so, when the end is to be sought by the slaughter of men!

9. 'The way in which a superior man serves his prince contemplates simply the leading him in the right path, and directing his mind to benevolence.'

Chapter 9.

How the ministers of Mencius's time pandered to their sovereign's thirst for wealth.

1. Mencius said, 'Those who now-a-days serve their sovereigns say, "We can for our sovereign enlarge the limits of the cultivated ground, and fill his treasuries and arsenals." Such persons are now-a-days called "Good ministers," but anciently they were called "Robbers of the people." If a sovereign follows not the right way, nor has his mind bent on benevolence, to seek to enrich him is to enrich a Chieh.

2. 'Or they will say, "We can for our sovereign form alliances with other States, so that our battles must be successful." Such persons are now-a-days called "Good ministers," but anciently they were called "Robbers of the people." If a sovereign follows not the right way, nor has his mind directed to benevolence, to seek to enrich him is to enrich a Chieh.

3. 'Although a prince, pursuing the path of the present day, and not changing its practices, were to have the throne given to him, he could not retain it for a single morning.'

Chapter 10.

An ordained State can only subsist with a proper system of taxation, and that originating with Yâo and Shun is the proper one for China.

1. Pâi Kwei said, ‘I want to take a twentieth of the produce only as the tax. What do you think of it?’

2. Mencius said, ‘Your way would be that of the Mo.

3. ‘In a country of ten thousand families, would it do to have only one potter?’ Kwei replied, ‘No. The vessels would not be enough to use.’

4. Mencius went on, ‘In Mo all the five kinds of grain are not grown; it only produces the millet. There are no fortified cities, no edifices, no ancestral temples, no ceremonies of sacrifice; there are no princes requiring presents and entertainments; there is no system of officers with their various subordinates. On these accounts a tax of one-twentieth of the produce is sufficient there.

5. ‘But now it is the Middle Kingdom that we live in. To banish the relationships of men, and have no superior men; — how can such a state of things be thought of?

6. ‘With but few potters a kingdom cannot subsist; — how much less can it subsist without men of a higher rank than others?

7. ‘If we wish to make the taxation lighter than the system of Yâo and Shun, we shall just have a great Mo and a small Mo. If we wish to make it heavier, we shall just have the great Chieh and the small Chieh.’

Chapter 11.

Pâi Kwei's presumptuous idea that he could regulate the waters better than Yü did.

1. Pâi Kwei said, 'My management of the waters is superior to that of Yü.'

2. Mencius replied, 'You are wrong, Sir. Yü's regulation of the waters was according to the laws of water.

3. 'He therefore made the four seas their receptacle, while you make the neighbouring States their receptacle.

4. 'Water flowing out of its channels is called an inundation. Inundating waters are a vast waste of water, and what a benevolent man detests. You are wrong, my good Sir.'

Chapter 12.

Faith in principles necessary to firmness in action.

Mencius said, ‘If a scholar have not faith, how shall he take a firm hold of things?’

Chapter 13.

Of what importance to a minister — to government — it is to love what is good.

1. The prince of Lû wanting to commit the administration of his government to the disciple Yo-chang, Mencius said, ‘When I heard of it, I was so glad that I could not sleep.’

2. Kung-sun Ch’âu asked, ‘Is Yo-chang a man of vigour?’ and was answered, ‘No.’ ‘Is he wise in council?’ ‘No.’ ‘Is he possessed of much information?’ ‘No.’

3. ‘What then made you so glad that you could not sleep?’

4. ‘He is a man who loves what is good.’

5. ‘Is the love of what is good sufficient?’

6. ‘The love of what is good is more than a sufficient qualification for the government of the kingdom; — how much more is it so for the State of Lû!

7. ‘If a minister love what is good, all within the four seas will count 1000 lî but a small distance, and will come and lay their good thoughts before him.

8. If he do not love what is good, men will say, “How self-conceited he looks? He is sayinq to himself, I know it.” The language and looks of that self-conceit will keep men off at a distance of 1,000 lî. When good men stop 1,000 lî off, calumniators, flatterers, and sycophants will make their appearance. When a minister lives among calumniators, flatterers, and sycophants, though he may wish the State to be well governed, is it possible for it to be so?’

Chapter 14.

Grounds of taking and leaving office.

1. The disciple Ch'an said, 'What were the principles on which superior men of old took office?' Mencius replied, 'There were three cases in which they accepted office, and three in which they left it.

2. 'If received with the utmost respect and all polite observances, and they could say to themselves that the prince would carry their words into practice, then they took office with him. Afterwards, although there might be no remission in the polite demeanour of the prince, if their words were not carried into practice, they would leave him.

3. 'The second case was that in which, though the prince could not be expected at once to carry their words into practice, yet being received by him with the utmost respect, they took office with him. But afterwards, if there was a remission in his polite demeanour, they would leave him.

4. 'The last case was that of the superior man who had nothing to eat, either morning or evening, and was so famished that he could not move out of his door. If the prince, on hearing of his state, said, "I must fail in the great point, — that of carrying his doctrines into practice, neither am I able to follow his words, but I am ashamed to allow him to die of want in my country;" the assistance offered in such a case might be received, but not beyond what was sufficient to avert death.'

Chapter 15.

Trials and hardships the way in which Heaven prepares men for great services.

1. Mencius said, ‘Shun rose from among the channelled fields. Fû Yüeh was called to office from the midst of his building frames; Chiâo-ko from his fish and salt; Kwan Î-wû from the hands of his gaoler; Sun-shû Âo from his hiding by the sea-shore; and Pâi-lî Hsî from the market-place.

2. ‘Thus, when Heaven is about to confer a great office on any man, it first exercises his mind with suffering, and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger, and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds his undertakings. By all these methods it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and supplies his incompetencies.

3. ‘Men for the most part err, and are afterwards able to reform. They are distressed in mind and perplexed in their thoughts, and then they arise to vigorous reformation. When things have been evidenced in men’s looks, and set forth in their words, then they understand them.

4. ‘If a prince have not about his court families attached to the laws and worthy counsellors, and if abroad there are not hostile States or other external calamities, his kingdom will generally come to ruin.

5. ‘From these things we see how life springs from sorrow and calamity, and death from ease and pleasure.’

Chapter 16.

How a refusal to teach may be teaching.

Mencius said, ‘There are many arts in teaching. I refuse, as inconsistent with my character, to teach a man, but I am only thereby still teaching him.’

Book VII, Part I: Tsin Sin

Chapter 1.

By the study of ourselves we come to the knowledge of Heaven, and Heaven is served by our obeying our nature?

1. Mencius said, ‘He who has exhausted all his mental constitution knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven.

2. ‘To preserve one’s mental constitution, and nourish one’s nature, is the way to serve Heaven.

3. ‘When neither a premature death nor long life causes a man any double-mindedness, but he waits in the cultivation of his personal character for whatever issue; — this is the way in which he establishes his Heaven-ordained being.’

Chapter 2.

Man's duty as affected by the decrees or appointments of Heaven. What may be correctly described ascribed thereto and what not.

1. Mencius said, 'There is an appointment for everything. A man should receive submissively what may be correctly ascribed thereto.

2. 'Therefore, he who has the true idea of what is Heaven's appointment will not stand beneath a precipitous wall.

3. 'Death sustained in the discharge of one's duties may correctly be ascribed to the appointment of Heaven.

4. 'Death under handcuffs and fetters cannot correctly be so ascribed.'

Chapter 3.

Virtue is sure to be gained by seeking it, but riches and other external things not.

1. Mencius said, ‘When we get by our seeking and lose by our neglecting; — in that case seeking is of use to getting, and the things sought for are those which are in ourselves.

2. ‘When the seeking is according to the proper course, and the getting is only as appointed; — in that case the seeking is of no use to getting, and the things sought are without ourselves.’

Chapter 4.

Man is fitted for, and happy in, doing good, and may perfect himself therein.

1. Mencius said, ‘All things are already complete in us.

2. ‘There is no greater delight than to be conscious of sincerity on self-examination.

3. ‘If one acts with a vigorous effort at the law of reciprocity, when he seeks for the realization of perfect virtue, nothing can be closer than his approximation to it.’

Chapter 5.

How many act without thought.

Mencius said, ‘To act without understanding, and to do so habitually without examination, pursuing the proper path all the life without knowing its nature; — this is the way of multitudes.’

Chapter 6.

The value of the feeling of shame.

Mencius said, ‘A man may not be without shame. When one is ashamed of having been without shame, he will afterwards not have occasion to be ashamed.’

Chapter 7.

The same subject.

1. Mencius said, ‘The sense of shame is to a man of great importance.

2. ‘Those who form contrivances and versatile schemes distinguished for their artfulness, do not allow their sense of shame to come into action.

3. ‘When one differs from other men in not having this sense of shame, what will he have in common with them?’

Chapter 8.

How the ancient scholars maintained the dignity of their character and principles.

Mencius said, ‘The able and virtuous monarchs of antiquity loved virtue and forgot their power. And shall an exception be made of the able and virtuous scholars of antiquity, that they did not do the same? They delighted in their own principles, and were oblivious of the power of princes. Therefore, if kings and dukes did not show the utmost respect, and observe all forms of ceremony, they were not permitted to come frequently and visit them. If they thus found it not in their power to pay them frequent visits, how much less could they get to employ them as ministers?’

Chapter 9.

How a professional advisor of the princes might be always perfectly satisfied. The example of antiquity.

1. Mencius said to Sung Kâu-ch'ien, 'Are you fond, Sir, of travelling to the different courts? I will tell you about such travelling.

2. 'If a prince acknowledge you and follow your counsels, be perfectly satisfied. If no one do so, be the same.'

3. Kâu-ch'ien said, 'What is to be done to secure this perfect satisfaction?' Mencius replied, 'Honour virtue and delight in righteousness, and so you may always be perfectly satisfied.

4. 'Therefore, a scholar, though poor, does not let go his righteousness; though prosperous, he does not leave his own path.

5. 'Poor and not letting righteousness go; — it is thus that the scholar holds possession of himself. Prosperous and not leaving the proper path; — it is thus that the expectations of the people from him are not disappointed.

6. 'When the men of antiquity realized their wishes, benefits were conferred by them on the people. If they did not realize their wishes, they cultivated their personal character, and became illustrious in the world. If poor, they attended to their own virtue in solitude; if advanced to dignity, they made the whole kingdom virtuous as well.'

Chapter 10.

How people should get their inspiration to good in themselves.

Mencius said, ‘The mass of men wait for a king Wan, and then they will receive a rousing impulse. Scholars distinguished from the mass, without a king Wan, rouse themselves.’

Chapter 11.

Not to be elated by riches is a proof of superiority.

Mencius said, ‘Add to a man the families of Han and Wei. If he then look upon himself without being elated, he is far beyond the mass of men.’

Chapter 12.

When a ruler's aim is evidently the people's good, they will not murmur at his harshest measures.

Mencius said, 'Let the people be employed in the way which is intended to secure their ease, and though they be toiled, they will not murmur. Let them be put to death in the way which is intended to preserve their lives, and though they die, they will not murmur at him who puts them to death.'

Chapter 13.

The different influence exercised by a chief among the princes, and by a true sovereign.

1. Mencius said, ‘Under a chief, leading all the princes, the people look brisk and cheerful. Under a true sovereign, they have an air of deep contentment.

2. ‘Though he slay them, they do not murmur. When he benefits them, they do not think of his merit. From day to day they make progress towards what is good, without knowing who makes them do so.

3. ‘Wherever the superior man passes through, transformation follows; wherever he abides, his influence is of a spiritual nature. It flows abroad, above and beneath, like that of Heaven and Earth. How can it be said that he mends society but in a small way!’

Chapter 14.

The value to a ruler of reputation and moral influences.

1. Mencius said, ‘Kindly words do not enter so deeply into men as a reputation for kindness.

2. ‘Good government does not lay hold of the people so much as good instructions.

3. ‘Good government is feared by the people, while good instructions are loved by them. Good government gets the people’s wealth, while good instructions get their hearts.’

Chapter 15.

Benevolence and righteousness are natural to man, parts of his constitution.

1. Mencius said, ‘The ability possessed by men without having been acquired by learning is intuitive ability, and the knowledge possessed by them without the exercise of thought is their intuitive knowledge.

2. ‘Children carried in the arms all know to love their parents, and when they are grown a little, they all know to love their elder brothers.

3. ‘Filial affection for parents is the working of benevolence. Respect for elders is the working of righteousness. There is no other reason for those feelings; — they belong to all under heaven.’

Chapter 16.

How what Shun was discovered itself in his greatest obscurity.

Mencius said, ‘When Shun was living amid the deep retired mountains, dwelling with the trees and rocks, and wandering among the deer and swine, the difference between him and the rude inhabitants of those remote hills appeared very small. But when he heard a single good word, or saw a single good action, he was like a stream or a river bursting its banks, and flowing out in an irresistible flood.’

Chapter 17.

A man has but to obey the law in himself.

Mencius said, ‘Let a man not do what his own sense of righteousness tells him not to do, and let him not desire what his sense of righteousness tells him not to desire; — to act thus is all he has to do.’

Chapter 18.

The benefits of trouble and affliction.

1. Mencius said, ‘Men who are possessed of intelligent virtue and prudence in affairs will generally be found to have been in sickness and troubles.

2. ‘They are the friendless minister and concubine’s son, who keep their hearts under a sense of peril, and use deep precautions against calamity. On this account they become distinguished for their intelligence.’

Chapter 19.

Four different classes of ministers.

1. Mencius said, ‘There are persons who serve the prince; — they serve the prince, that is, for the sake of his countenance and favour.

2. ‘There are ministers who seek the tranquillity of the State, and find their pleasure in securing that tranquillity.

3. ‘There are those who are the people of Heaven. They, judging that, if they were in office, they could carry out their principles, throughout the kingdom, proceed so to carry them out.

4. ‘There are those who are great men. They rectify themselves and others are rectified.’

Chapter 20.

The things which the superior man delights in.

1. Mencius said, ‘The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the kingdom is not one of them.

2. ‘That his father and mother are both alive, and that the condition of his brothers affords no cause for anxiety; — this is one delight.

3. ‘That, when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before Heaven, and, below, he has no occasion to blush before men; — this is a second delight.

4. ‘That he can get from the whole kingdom the most talented individuals, and teach and nourish them; — this is the third delight.

5. ‘The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the kingdom is not one of them.’

Chapter 21.

Man's own nature the most important thing to him, and the source of his true enjoyment.

1. Mencius said, 'Wide territory and a numerous people are desired by the superior man, but what he delights in is not here.

2. 'To stand in the centre of the kingdom, and tranquillize the people within the four seas; — the superior man delights in this, but the highest enjoyment of his nature is not here.

3. What belongs by his nature to the superior man cannot be increased by the largeness of his sphere of action, nor diminished by his dwelling in poverty and retirement; — for this reason that it is determinately apportioned to him by Heaven.

4. 'What belongs by his nature to the superior man are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge. These are rooted in his heart; their growth and manifestation are a mild harmony appearing in the countenance, a rich fullness in the back, and the character imparted to the four limbs. Those limbs understand to arrange themselves, without being told.'

Chapter 22.

The government of king Wan by which the aged were nourished.

1. Mencius said, ‘Po-î, that he might avoid Châu, was dwelling on the coast of the northern sea when he heard of the rise of king Wan. He roused himself and said, “Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old.” T’âi-kung, to avoid Châu, was dwelling on the coast of the eastern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wan, he said, “Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief if the West knows well how to nourish the old.” If there were a prince in the kingdom, who knew well how to nourish the old, all men of virtue would feel that he was the proper object for them to gather to.

2. ‘Around the homestead with its five mâu, the space beneath the walls was planted with mulberry trees, with which the women nourished silkworms, and thus the old were able to have silk to wear. Each family had five brood hens and two brood sows, which were kept to their breeding seasons, and thus the old were able to have flesh to eat. The husbandmen cultivated their farms of 100 mâu, and thus their families of eight mouths were secured against want.

3. ‘The expression, “The chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old,” refers to his regulation of the fields and dwellings, his teaching them to plant the mulberry and nourish those animals, and his instructing the wives and children, so as to make them nourish their aged. At fifty, warmth cannot be maintained without silks, and at seventy flesh is necessary to satisfy the appetite. Persons not kept warm nor supplied with food are said to be starved and famished, but among the people of king Wan, there were no aged who were starved or famished. This is the meaning of the expression in question.’

Chapter 23.

To promote the virtue of the people, the first care of a government should be to consult for their being well off.

1. Mencius said, ‘Let it be seen to that their fields of grain and hemp are well cultivated, and make the taxes on them light; — so the people may be made rich.

2. ‘Let it be seen to that the people use their resources of food seasonably, and expend their wealth only on the prescribed ceremonies: — so their wealth will be more than can be consumed.

3. ‘The people cannot live without water and fire, yet if you knock at a man’s door in the dusk of the evening, and ask for water and fire, there is no man who will not give them, such is the abundance of these things. A sage governs the kingdom so as to cause pulse and grain to be as abundant as water and fire. When pulse and grain are as abundant as water and fire, how shall the people be other than virtuous?’

Chapter 24.

How the great doctrines of the sages dwarf all smaller doctrines, and yet are to be advanced to by successive steps.

1. Mencius said, ‘Confucius ascended the eastern hill, and Lû appeared to him small. He ascended the T’âi mountain, and all beneath the heavens appeared to him small. So he who has contemplated the sea, finds it difficult to think anything of other waters, and he who has wandered in the gate of the sage, finds it difficult to think anything of the words of others.

2. ‘There is an art in the contemplation of water. — It is necessary to look at it as foaming in waves. The sun and moon being possessed of brilliancy, their light admitted even through an orifice illuminates.

3. ‘Flowing water is a thing which does not proceed till it has filled the hollows in its course. The student who has set his mind on the doctrines of the sage, does not advance to them but by completing one lesson after another.’

Chapter 25.

The different results to which the love of good and the love of gain lead.

1. Mencius said, ‘He who rises at cock-crowing and addresses himself earnestly to the practice of virtue, is a disciple of Shun.

2. ‘He who rises at cock-crowing, and addresses himself earnestly to the pursuit of giin, is a disciple of Chih.

3. ‘If you want to know what separates Shun from Chih, it is simply this, — the interval between the thought of gain and the thought of virtue.’

Chapter 26.

The errors of Yang, Mo, and Tsze-mo. Obstinate adherence to a course which we may deem abstractly right is perilous.

1. Mencius said, ‘The principle of the philosopher Yang was— “Each one for himself.” Though he might have benefited the whole kingdom by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it.

2. ‘The philosopher Mo loves all equally. If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited the kingdom, he would have done it.

3. ‘Tsze-mo holds a medium between these. By holding that medium, he is nearer the right. But by holding it without leaving room for the exigency of circumstances, it becomes like their holding their one point.

4. ‘The reason why I hate that holding to one point is the injury it does to the way of right principle. It takes up one point and disregards a hundred others.’

Chapter 27.

The importance of not allowing the mind to be injured by poverty and mean condition.

1. Mencius said, ‘The hungry think any food sweet, and the thirsty think the same of any drink, and thus they do not get the right taste of what they eat and drink. The hunger and thirst, in fact, injure their palate. And is it only the mouth and belly which are injured by hunger and thirst? Men’s minds are also injured by them.

2. ‘If a man can prevent the evils of hunger and thirst from being any evils to his mind, he need not have any sorrow about not being equal to other men.’

Chapter 28.

Hûi of Liû-Hsiâ's firmness.

Mencius said, 'Hûi of Liû-Hsiâ would not for the three highest offices of State have changed his firm purpose of life.'

Chapter 29.

Only that labour is to be prized which accomplishes its object.

Mencius said, ‘A man with definite aims to be accomplished may be compared to one digging a well. To dig the well to a depth of seventy-two cubits, and stop without reaching the spring, is after all throwing away the well.’

Chapter 30.

The difference between Yâo, Shun, T'ang, and Wû, on the one hand, and the five chiefs, on the other, in relation to benevolence and righteousness.

1. Mencius said, 'Benevolence and righteousness were natural to Yâo and Shun. T'ang and Wû made them their own. The five chiefs of the princes feigned them.

2. 'Having borrowed them long and not returned them, how could it be known they did not own them?'

Chapter 31.

The end may justify the means, but the principle should not be readily applied.

1. Kung-sun Ch'âu said, 'Î Yin said, "I cannot be near and see him so disobedient to reason," and therewith he banished T'â-chiâ to T'ung. The people were much pleased. When T'â-chiâ became virtuous, he brought him back, and the people were again much pleased.

2. 'When worthies are ministers, may they indeed banish their sovereigns in this way when they are not virtuous?'

3. Mencius replied, 'If they have the same purpose as Î Yin, they may. If they have not the same purpose, it would be usurpation.'

Chapter 32.

The services which a superior man renders to a country entitle him, without his doing official duty, to support.

Kung-sun Ch'âu said, 'It is said, in the Book of Poetry, "He will not eat the bread of idleness!"

How is it that we see superior men eating without labouring?' Mencius replied, 'When a superior man resides in a country, if its sovereign employ his counsels, he comes to tranquillity, wealth and glory. If the young in it follow his instructions, they become filial, obedient to their elders, true-hearted, and faithful. What greater example can there be than this of not eating the bread of idleness?'

Chapter 33.

How a scholar prepares himself for the duties to which he aspires.

1. The king's son, Tien, asked Mencius, saying, 'What is the business of the unemployed scholar?'

2. Mencius replied, 'To exalt his aim.'

3. Tien asked again, 'What do you mean by exalting the aim?' The answer was, 'Setting it simply on benevolence and righteousness. He thinks how to put a single innocent person to death is contrary to benevolence; how to take what one has not a right to is contrary to righteousness; that one's dwelling should be benevolence; and one's path should be righteousness. Where else should he dwell? What other path should he pursue? When benevolence is the dwelling-place of the heart, and righteousness the path of the life, the business of a great man is complete.'

Chapter 34.

How men judge wrongly of character, overlooking, in their admiration of one striking excellence, great failures and deficiencies.

Mencius said, ‘Supposing that the kingdom of Ch’î were offered, contrary to righteousness, to Ch’an Chung, he would not receive it, and all people believe in him, as a man of the highest worth. But this is only the righteousness which declines a dish of rice or a plate of soup. A man can have no greater crimes than to disown his parents and relatives, and the relations of sovereign and minister, superiors and inferiors. How can it be allowed to give a man credit for the great excellences because he possesses a small one?’

Chapter 35.

What Shun and his minister of crime would have done, if Shun's father had committed a murder.

1. T'âo Ying asked, saying, 'Shun being sovereign, and Kâo-yâo chief minister of justice, if Kû-sâu had murdered a man, what would have been done in the case?'

2. Mencius said, 'Kâo-yâo would simply have apprehended him.'

3. 'But would not Shun have forbidden such a thing?'

4. 'Indeed, how could Shun have forbidden it? Kâo-yâo had received the law from a proper source.'

5. 'In that case what would Shun have done?'

6. 'Shun would have regarded abandoning the kingdom as throwing away a worn-out sandal. He would privately have taken his father on his back, and retired into concealment, living some where along the sea-coast. There he would have been all his life, cheerful and happy, forgetting the kingdom.'

Chapter 36.

How one's material position affects his air, and much more may moral character be expected to do so.

1. Mencius, going from Fan to Ch'î, saw the king of Ch'î's son at a distance, and said with a deep sigh, 'One's position alters the air, just as the nurture affects the body. Great is the influence of position! Are we not all men's sons in this respect?'

2. Mencius said, 'The residence, the carriages and horses, and the dress of the king's son, are mostly the same as those of other men. That he looks so is occasioned by his position. How much more should a peculiar air distinguish him whose position is in the wide house of the world!

3. 'When the prince of Lû went to Sung, he called out at the T'ieh-châi gate, and the keeper said, "This is not our prince. How is it that his voice is so like that of our prince?" This was occasioned by nothing but the correspondence of their positions.'

Chapter 37.

That he be respected is essential to a scholar's engaging in the service of a prince.

1. Mencius said, 'To feed a scholar and not love him, is to treat him as a pig. To love him and not respect him, is to keep him as a domestic animal.

2. 'Honouring and respecting are what exist before any offering of gifts.

3. 'If there be honouring and respecting without the reality of them, a superior man may not be retained by such empty demonstrations.'

Chapter 38.

Only with a sage does the body act according to its design.

Mencius said, ‘The bodily organs with their functions belong to our Heaven-conferred nature. But a man must be a sage before he can satisfy the design of his bodily organization.’

Chapter 39.

Reproof of Kung-sun Ch'âu for assenting to the proposal to shorten the period of mourning.

1. The king Hsüan of Ch'î wanted to shorten the period of mourning. Kung-sun Ch'âu said, 'To have one whole year's mourning is better than doing away with it altogether.'

2. Mencius said, 'That is just as if there were one twisting the arm of his elder brother, and you were merely to say to him "Gently, gently, if you please." Your only course should be to teach such an one filial piety and fraternal duty.'

3. At that time, the mother of one of the king's sons had died, and his tutor asked for him that he might be allowed to observe a few months' mourning. Kung-sun Ch'âu asked, 'What do you say of this?'

4. Mencius replied, 'This is a case where the party wishes to complete the whole period, but finds it impossible to do so. The addition of even a single day is better than not mourning at all. I spoke of the case where there was no hindrance, and the party neglected the thing itself.'

Chapter 40.

How the lessons of the sage reach to all different classes.

1. Mencius said, ‘There are five ways in which the superior man effects his teaching.

2. ‘There are some on whom his influence descends like seasonable rain.

3. ‘There are some whose virtue he perfects, and some of whose talents he assists the development.

4. ‘There are some whose inquiries he answers.

5. ‘There are some who privately cultivate and correct themselves.

6. These five ways are the methods in which the superior man effects his teaching.’

Chapter 41.

The teacher of truth may not lower his lessons to suit his learners.

1. Kung-sun Ch'âu said, 'Lofty are your principles and admirable, but to learn them may well be likened to ascending the heavens, — something which cannot be reached. Why not adapt your teaching so as to cause learners to consider them attainable, and so daily exert themselves!'

2. Mencius said, 'A great artificer does not, for the sake of a stupid workman, alter or do away with the marking-line. Î did not, for the sake of a stupid archer, charge his rule for drawing the bow.

3. 'The superior man draws the bow, but does not discharge the arrow, having seemed to leap with it to the mark; and he there stands exactly in the middle of the path. Those who are able, follow him.'

Chapter 42.

One must live or die with his principles, acting from himself, not with regard to other men.

1. Mencius said, ‘When right principles prevail throughout the kingdom, one’s principles must appear along with one’s person. When right principles disappear from the kingdom, one’s person must vanish along with one’s principles.

2. ‘I have not heard of one’s principles being dependent for their manifestation on other men.’

Chapter 43.

How Mencius required the simple pursuit of truth in those whom he taught.

1. The disciple Kung-tû said, ‘When Kang of T’ang made his appearance in your school, it seemed proper that a polite consideration should be paid to him, and yet you did not answer him. Why was that?’

2. Mencius replied, ‘I do not answer him who questions me presuming on his nobility, nor him who presumes on his talents, nor him who presumes on his age, nor him who presumes on services performed to me, nor him who presumes on old acquaintance. Two of those things were chargeable on Kang of T’ang.’

Chapter 44.

Failures in evident duty will be accompanied by failure in all duty. Precipitate advances are followed by speedy retreats.

1. Mencius said, ‘He who stops short where stopping is acknowledged to be not allowable, will stop short in everything. He who behaves shabbily to those whom he ought to treat well, will behave shabbily to all.

2. ‘He who advances with precipitation will retire with speed.’

Chapter 45.

The superior man is kind to creatures, loving to other men, and affectionate to his relatives.

Mencius said, ‘In regard to inferior creatures, the superior man is kind to them, but not loving. In regard to people generally, he is loving to them, but not affectionate. He is affectionate to his parents, and lovingly disposed to people generally. He is lovingly disposed to people generally, and kind to creatures.’

Chapter 46.

Against the princes of his time who occupied themselves with the knowledge of, and regard for, what was of little importance.

1. Mencius said, ‘The wise embrace all knowledge, but they are most earnest about what is of the greatest importance. The benevolent embrace all in their love, but what they consider of the greatest importance is to cultivate an earnest affection for the virtuous. Even the wisdom of Yâo and Shun did not extend to everything, but they attended earnestly to what was important. Their benevolence did not show itself in acts of kindness to every man, but they earnestly cultivated an affection for the virtuous.

2. ‘Not to be able to keep the three years’ mourning, and to be very particular about that of three months, or that of five months; to eat immoderately and swill down the soup, and at the same time to inquire about the precept not to tear the meat with the teeth; — such things show what I call an ignorance of what is most important.

Book VII, Part II: Tsin Sin

Chapter 1.

A strong condemnation of king Hûi of Liang, for sacrificing to his ambition his people and even his son.

1. Mencius said, ‘The opposite indeed of benevolent was the king Hûi of Liang! The benevolent, beginning with what they care for, proceed to what they do not care for. Those who are the opposite of benevolent, beginning with what they do not care for, proceed to what they care for.’

2. ‘Kung-sun Ch’âu said, ‘What do you mean?’ Mencius answered, ‘The king Hûi of Liang, for the matter of territory, tore and destroyed his people, leading them to battle. Sustaining a great defeat, he would engage again, and afraid lest they should not be able to secure the victory, urged his son whom he loved till he sacrificed him with them. This is what I call— “beginning with what they do not care for, and proceeding to what they care for.”’

Chapter 2.

How all the fightings recorded in the Ch'un-ch'iû were unrighteous: — a warning to the contending States of Mencius's time.

1. Mencius said, 'In the "Spring and Autumn" there are no righteous wars. Instances indeed there are of one war better than another.

2. '"Correction" is when the supreme authority punishes its subjects by force of arms. Hostile States do not correct one another.'

Chapter 3.

With what reservation Mencius read the Shû-ching.

1. Mencius said, ‘It would be better to be without the Book of History than to give entire credit to it.

2. ‘In the “Completion of the War,” I select two or three passages only, which I believe.

3. ‘“The benevolent man has no enemy under heaven. When the prince the most benevolent was engaged against him who was the most the opposite, how could the blood of the people have flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars?”’

Chapter 4.

Counsel to princes not to allow themselves to be deceived by men who would advise them to war.

1. Mencius said, ‘There are men who say— “I am skilful at marshalling troops, I am skilful at conducting a battle!” — They are great criminals.

2. ‘If the ruler of a State love benevolence, he will have no enemy in the kingdom.

3. When T’ang was executing his work of correction in the south, the rude tribes on the north murmured. When he was executing it in the east, the rude tribes on the west murmured. Their cry was— “Why does he make us last?”

4. ‘When king Wû punished Yin, he had only three hundred chariots of war, and three thousand life-guards.

5. ‘The king said, “Do not fear. Let me give you repose. I am no enemy to the people!” On this, they bowed their heads to the earth, like the horns of animals falling off.

6. ‘“Royal correction” is but another word for rectifying. Each State wishing itself to be corrected, what need is there for fighting?’

Chapter 5.

Real attainment must be made by the learner for himself.

Mencius said, ‘A carpenter or a carriage-maker may give a man the circle and square, but cannot make him skilful in the use of them.’

Chapter 6.

The equinamity of Shun in poverty and as sovereign.

Mencius said, ‘Shun’s manner of eating his parched grain and herbs was as if he were to be doing so all his life. When he became sovereign, and had the embroidered robes to wear, the lute to play, and the two daughters of Yâo to wait on him, he was as if those things belonged to him as a matter of course.’

Chapter 7.

How the thought of its consequences should make men careful of their conduct.

Mencius said, ‘From this time forth I know the heavy consequences of killing a man’s near relations. When a man kills another’s father, that other will kill his father; when a man kills another’s elder brother, that other will kill his elder brother. So he does not himself indeed do the act, but there is only an interval between him and it.’

Chapter 8.

The benevolence and selfishness of ancient and modern rule contrasted.

1. Mencius said, ‘Anciently, the establishment of the frontier-gates was to guard against violence.

2. ‘Nowadays, it is to exercise violence.’

Chapter 9.

A man's influence depends on his personal example and conduct.

Mencius said, 'If a man himself do not walk in the right path, it will not be walked in even by his wife and children. If he order men according to what is not the right way, he will not be able to get the obedience of even his wife and children.'

Chapter 10.

Corrupt times are provided against by established virtue.

Mencius said, ‘A bad year cannot prove the cause of death to him whose stores of gain are large; an age of corruption cannot confound him whose equipment of virtue is complete.’

Chapter 11.

A man's true disposition will often appear in small matters, when a love of fame may have carried him over great difficulties.

Mencius said, 'A man who loves fame may be able to decline a State of a thousand chariots; but if he be not really the man to do such a thing, it will appear in his countenance, in the matter of a dish of rice or a platter of soup.'

Chapter 12.

Three things important in the administration of a State.

1. Mencius said, ‘If men of virtue and ability be not confided in, a State will become empty and void.

2. ‘Without the rules of propriety and distinctions of right, the high and the low will be thrown into confusion.

3. ‘Without the great principles of government and their various business, there will not be wealth sufficient for the expenditure.’

Chapter 13.

Only by benevolence can the throne be got.

Mencius said, ‘There are instances of individuals without benevolence, who have got possession of a single State, but there has been no instance of the throne’s being got by one without benevolence.’

Chapter 14.

The different elements of a nation — the People, tutelary Spirits, and Sovereign, in respect of their importance.

1. Mencius said, ‘The people are the most important element in a nation; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest.

2. ‘Therefore to gain the peasantry is the way to become sovereign; to gain the sovereign is the way to become a prince of a State; to gain the prince of a State is the way to become a great officer.

3. ‘When a prince endangers the altars of the spirits of the land and grain, he is changed, and another appointed in his place.

4. ‘When the sacrificial victims have been perfect, the millet in its vessels all pure, and the sacrifices offered at their proper seasons, if yet there ensue drought, or the waters overflow, the spirits of the land and grain are changed, and others appointed in their place.’

Chapter 15.

That Po-î and Hûi of Liû-Hsiâ were sages proved by the permanence of their influence.

Mencius said, ‘A sage is the teacher of a hundred generations: — this is true of Po-î and Hûi of Liû-Hsiâ. Therefore when men now bear the character of Po-î, the corrupt become pure, and the weak acquire determination. When they hear the character of Hûi of Liû-Hsiâ, the mean become generous, and the niggardly become liberal. Those two made themselves distinguished a hundred generations ago, and after a hundred generations, those who hear of them, are all aroused in this manner. Could such effects be produced by them, if they had not been sages? And how much more did they affect those who were in contiguity with them, and felt their inspiring influence!’

Chapter 16.

The relation of benevolence to man.

Mencius said, ‘Benevolence is the distinguishing characteristic of man. As embodied in man’s conduct, it is called the path of duty.’

Chapter 17.

How Confucius's leaving Lû and Ch'î was different.

Mencius said, 'When Confucius was leaving Lû, he said, "I will set out by-and-by;" — this was the way in which to leave the State of his parents. When he was leaving Ch'î, he strained off with his hand the water in which his rice was being rinsed, took the rice, and went away; — this was the way in which to leave a strange State.'

Chapter 18.

The reason of Confucius's being in straits between Ch'an and Ts'âi.

Mencius said, 'The reason why the superior man was reduced to straits between Ch'an and Ts'âi was because neither the princes of the time nor their ministers sympathized or communicated with him.'

Chapter 19.

Mencius comforts Mo Ch'î under calumny by the reflection that it was the ordinary lot of distinguished men.

1. Mo Ch'î said, 'Greatly am I from anything to depend upon from the mouths of men.'

2. Mencius observed, 'There is no harm in that. Scholars are more exposed than others to suffer from the mouths of men.

3. 'It is said, in the Book of Poetry, "My heart is disquieted and grieved,
I am hated by the crowd of mean creatures."

This might have been said by Confucius. And again, "Though he did not remove their wrath,
He did not let fall his own fame."

This might be said of king Wan.'

Chapter 20.

How the ancients led on men by their example, while the reulers of Mencius's time tried to urge men contrary to their example.

Mencius said, 'Anciently, men of virtue and talents by means of their own enlightenment made others enlightened. Nowadays, it is tried, while they are themselves in darkness, and by means of that darkness, to make others enlightened.'

Chapter 21.

That the cultivation of of the mind may not be intermitted.

Mencius said to the disciple Kâo, ‘There are the footpaths along the hills; — if suddenly they be used, they become roads; and if, as suddenly they are not used, the wild grass fills them up. Now, the wild grass fills up your mind.’

Chapter 22.

An absurd remark of the disciple Kâo about the music of Yü and king Wan.

1. The disciple Kâo said, ‘The music of Yü was better than that of king Wan.’

2. Mencius observed, ‘On what ground do you say so?’ and the other replied, ‘Because at the pivot the knob of Yü’s bells is nearly worn through.’

3. Mencius said, ‘How can that be a sufficient proof? Are the ruts at the gate of a city made by a single two-horsed chariot?’

Chapter 23.

How Mencius knew where to stop and maintain his own dignity in his intercourse with the princes.

1. When Ch'î was suffering from famine, Ch'an Tsin said to Mencius, 'The people are all thinking that you, Master, will again ask that the granary of T'ang be opened for them. I apprehend you will not do so a second time.'

2. Mencius said, 'To do it would be to act like Fang Fû. There was a man of that name in Tsin, famous for his skill in seizing tigers. Afterwards he became a scholar of reputation, and going once out to the wild country, he found the people all in pursuit of a tiger. The tiger took refuge in a corner of a hill, where no one dared to attack him, but when they saw Fang Fû, they ran and met him. Fang Fû immediately bared his arms, and descended from the carriage. The multitude were pleased with him, but those who were scholars laughed at him.'

Chapter 24.

How the superior man subjects the gratification of his natural appetites to the will of Heaven, and pursues the doing of good without thinking that the amount which he can do may be limited by that will.

1. Mencius said, ‘For the mouth to desire sweet tastes, the eye to desire beautiful colours, the ear to desire pleasant sounds, the nose to desire fragrant odours, and the four limbs to desire ease and rest; — these things are natural. But there is the appointment of Heaven in connexion with them, and the superior man does not say of his pursuit of them, “It is my nature.”

2. ‘The exercise of love between father and son, the observance of righteousness between sovereign and minister, the rules of ceremony between guest and host, the display of knowledge in recognising the talented, and the fulfilling the heavenly course by the sage; — these are the appointment of Heaven. But there is an adaptation of our nature for them. The superior man does not say, in reference to them, “It is the appointment of Heaven.”’

Chapter 25.

The character of the disciple Yo-chang. Different degrees of attainment in character, which are to be aimed at.

1. Hâo-shang Pû-hâi asked, saying, ‘What sort of man is Yo-chang?’ Mencius replied, ‘He is a good man, a real man.’

2. ‘What do you mean by “A good man,” “A real man?”’

3. The reply was, ‘A man who commands our liking is what is called a good man.

4. ‘He whose goodness is part of himself is what is called real man.

5. ‘He whose goodness has been filled up is what is called beautiful man.

6. He whose completed goodness is brightly displayed is what is called a great man.

7. ‘When this great man exercises a transforming influence, he is what is called a sage.

8. ‘When the sage is beyond our knowledge, he is what is called a spirit-man.

9. ‘Yo-chang is between the two first characters, and below the four last.’

Chapter 26.

Receovered heretics should be received without casting their old errors in their teeth.

1. Mencius said, ‘Those who are fleeing from the errors of Mo naturally turn to Yang, and those who are fleeing from the errors of Yang naturally turn to orthodoxy. When they so turn, they should at once and simply be received.

2. ‘Those who nowadays dispute with the followers of Yang and Mo do so as if they were pursuing a stray pig, the leg of which, after they have got it to enter the pen, they proceed to tie.’

Chapter 27.

The just exactions of the government are to be made discriminatingly and considerately.

Mencius said, ‘There are the exactions of hempen-cloth and silk, of grain, and of personal service. The prince requires but one of these at once, deferring the other two. If he require two of them at once, then the people die of hunger. If he require the three at once, then fathers and sons are separated.’

Chapter 28.

The precious things of a prince, and the danger of overlooking them for other things.

Mencius said, ‘The precious things of a prince are three; — the territory, the people, the government and its business. If one value as most precious pearls and jade, calamity is sure to befall him.’

Chapter 29.

How Mencius predicted beforehand the death of P’an-ch’ang Kwo.

Pan-ch’ang Kwo having obtained an official situation in Ch’î, Mencius said, ‘He is a dead man, that Pan-ch’ang Kwo!’ Pan-chang Kwo being put to death, the disciples asked, saying, ‘How did you know, Master, that he would meet with death?’ Mencius replied, ‘He was a man, who had a little ability, but had not learned the great doctrines of the superior man. He was just qualified to bring death upon himself, but for nothing more.’

Chapter 30.

The generous spirit of Mencius in dispensing his instructions.

1. When Mencius went to T'ang, he was lodged in the Upper palace. A sandal in the process of making had been placed there in a window, and when the keeper of the place came to look for it, he could not find it.

2. On this, some one asked Mencius, saying, 'Is it thus that your followers pilfer?' Mencius replied, 'Do you think that they came here to pilfer the sandal?' The man said, 'I apprehend not. But you, Master, having arranged to give lessons, do not go back to inquire into the past, and you do not reject those who come to you. If they come with the mind to learn, you receive them without any more ado.'

Chapter 31.

A man has only to give development to the principles of good which are in him, and show themselves in some things, to be entirely good and correct.

1. Mencius said, ‘All men have some things which they cannot bear; — extend that feeling to what they can bear, and benevolence will be the result. All men have some things which they will not do; — extend that feeling to the things which they do, and righteousness will be the result.

2. ‘If a man can give full development to the feeling which makes him shrink from injuring others, his benevolence will be more than can be called into practice. If he can give full development to the feeling which refuses to break through, or jump over, a wall, his righteousness will be more than can be called into practice.

3. ‘If he can give full development to the real feeling of dislike with which he receives the salutation, “Thou,” “Thou,” he will act righteously in all places and circumstances.

4. ‘When a scholar speaks what he ought not to speak, by guile of speech seeking to gain some end; and when he does not speak what he ought to speak, by guile of silence seeking to gain some end; — both these cases are of a piece with breaking through a neighbour’s wall.’

Chapter 32.

Against aiming at what is remote, and neglecting what is near. What are good words and good principles.

1. Mencius said, ‘Words which are simple, while their meaning is far-reaching, are good words. Principles which, as held, are compendious, while their application is extensive, are good principles. The words of the superior man do not go below the girdle, but great principles are contained in them.

2. ‘The principle which the superior man holds is that of personal cultivation, but the kingdom is thereby tranquillized.

3. ‘The disease of men is this: — that they neglect their own fields, and go to weed the fields of others, and that what they require from others is great, while what they lay upon themselves is light.’

Chapter 33.

The perfect virtue of the highest sages, and how others follow after it.

1. Mencius said, ‘Yâo and Shun were what they were by nature; T’ang and Wû were so by returning to natural virtue.

2. ‘When all the movements, in the countenance and every turn of the body, are exactly what is proper, that shows the extreme degree of the complete virtue. Weeping for the dead should be from real sorrow, and not because of the living. The regular path of virtue is to be pursued without any bend, and from no view to emolument. The words should all be necessarily sincere, not with any desire to do what is right.

3. ‘The superior man performs the law of right, and thereby waits simply for what has been appointed.’

Chapter 34.

He who undertakes to counsel the great, should be morally above them.

1. Mencius said, ‘Those who give counsel to the great should despise them, and not look at their pomp and display.

2. ‘Halls several times eight cubits high, with beams projecting several cubits; — these, if my wishes were to be realized, I would not have. Food spread before me over ten cubits square, and attendants and concubines to the amount of hundreds; — these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. Pleasure and wine, and the dash of hunting, with thousands of chariots following after me; — these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. What they esteem are what I would have nothing to do with; what I esteem are the rules of the ancients. — Why should I stand in awe of them?’

Chapter 35.

The regulation of the desires is essential to the nourishment of the mind.

Mencius said, ‘To nourish the mind there is nothing better than to make the desires few. Here is a man whose desires are few: — in some things he may not be able to keep his heart, but they will be few. Here is a man whose desires are many: — in some things he may be able to keep his heart, but they will be few.’

Chapter 36.

The filial feeling of Tsang-tsze seen in his not eating jujubes.

1. Mencius said, ‘Tsang Hsî was fond of sheep-dates, and his son, the philosopher Tsang, could not bear to eat sheep-dates.’

2. Kung-sun Ch’âu asked, saying, ‘Which is best, — minced meat and broiled meat, or sheep-dates?’ Mencius said, ‘Mince and broiled meat, to be sure.’ Kung-sun Ch’âu went on, ‘Then why did the philosopher Tsang eat mince and broiled meat, and would not eat sheep-dates?’ Mencius answered, ‘For mince and broiled meat there is a common liking, while that for sheep-dates was peculiar. We avoid the name, but do not avoid the surname. The surname is common; the name is peculiar.’

Chapter 37.

To call to the pursuit of the right medium was the object of Confucius and Mencius. Various characters who fail to pursue this, or are opposed to it.

1. Wan Chang asked, saying, ‘Confucius, when he was in Ch’an, said: “Let me return. The scholars of my school are ambitious, but hasty. They are for advancing and seizing their object, but cannot forget their early ways.” Why did Confucius, when he was in Ch’an, think of the ambitious scholars of Lû?’

2. Mencius replied, ‘Confucius not getting men pursuing the true medium, to whom he might communicate his instructions, determined to take the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent would advance to seize their object; the cautiously-decided would keep themselves from certain things. It is not to be thought that Confucius did not wish to get men pursuing the true medium, but being unable to assure himself of finding such, he therefore thought of the next class.’

3. ‘I venture to ask what sort of men they were who could be styled “The ambitious?”’

4. ‘Such,’ replied Mencius, ‘as Ch’in Chang, Tsang Hsî, and Mû P’ei, were those whom Confucius styled “ambitious.”’

5. ‘Why were they styled “ambitious?”’

6. The reply was, ‘Their aim led them to talk magniloquently, saying, “The ancients!” “The ancients!” But their actions, where we fairly compare them with their words, did not correspond with them.

7. ‘When he found also that he could not get such as were thus ambitious, he wanted to get scholars who would consider anything impure as beneath them. Those were the cautiously-decided, a class next to the former.’

8. Chang pursued his questioning, ‘Confucius said, “They are only your good careful people of the villages at whom I feel no indignation, when they pass my door without entering my house. Your good careful people of the villages are the thieves of virtue.” What sort of people were they who could be styled “Your good careful people of the villages?”’

9. Mencius replied, ‘They are those who say, “Why are they so magniloquent? Their words have not respect to their actions and their actions have not respect to their words, but they say, “The ancients! The ancients! Why do they act so peculiarly, and are so cold and distant? Born in this age, we should be of this age, to be good is all that is needed.” Eunuch-like, flattering their generation; — such are your good careful men of the villages.’

10. Wan Chang said, ‘Their whole village styles those men good and careful. In all their conduct they are so. How was it that Confucius considered them the thieves of virtue?’

11. Mencius replied, ‘If you would blame them, you find nothing to allege. If you would criticise them, you have nothing to criticise. They agree with the current customs. They consent with an impure age. Their principles have a semblance of right-heartedness and truth. Their conduct has a semblance of disinterestedness and purity. All men are pleased with them, and they think themselves right, so that it is impossible to proceed with them to the principles of Yâo and Shun. On this account they are called “The thieves of virtue.”

12. ‘Confucius said, “I hate a semblance which is not the reality. I hate the darnel, lest it be confounded with the corn. I hate glib-tonguedness, lest it be confounded with righteousness. I hate sharpness of tongue, lest it be confounded with sincerity. I hate the music of Chang, lest it be confounded with the true music. I hate the reddish blue, lest it be confounded with vermilion. I hate your good careful men of the villages, lest they be confounded with the truly virtuous.”

13. ‘The superior man seeks simply to bring back the unchanging standard, and, that being correct, the masses are roused to virtue. When they are so aroused, forthwith perversities and glossed wickedness disappear.’

Chapter 38.

On the transmission of the line of doctrine from Yâo to Mencius's own time.

1. Mencius said, 'From Yâo and Shun down to T'ang were 500 years and more. As to Yu and Kâo Yâo, they saw those earliest sages, and so knew their doctrines, while T'ang heard their doctrines as transmitted, and so knew them.

2. 'From T'ang to king Wan were 500 years and more. As to Î Yin, and Lâi Chû, they saw T'ang and knew his doctrines, while king Wan heard them as transmitted, and so knew them.

3. 'From king Wan to Confucius were 500 years and more. As to T'âi-kung Wang and San Î-shang, they saw Wan, and so knew his doctrines, while Confucius heard them as transmitted, and so knew them.

4. 'From Confucius downwards until now, there are only 100 years and somewhat more. The distance in time from the sage is so far from being remote, and so very near at hand was the sage's residence. In these circumstances, is there no one to transmit his doctrines? Yea, is there no one to do so?'

The Five Classics

Zoucheng, a city in the south of Shandong province, about 20 km south of Qufu — the birthplace of Mencius

Mencius Temple, Zoucheng

CLASSIC OF POETRY — 詩經

Translated by James Legge

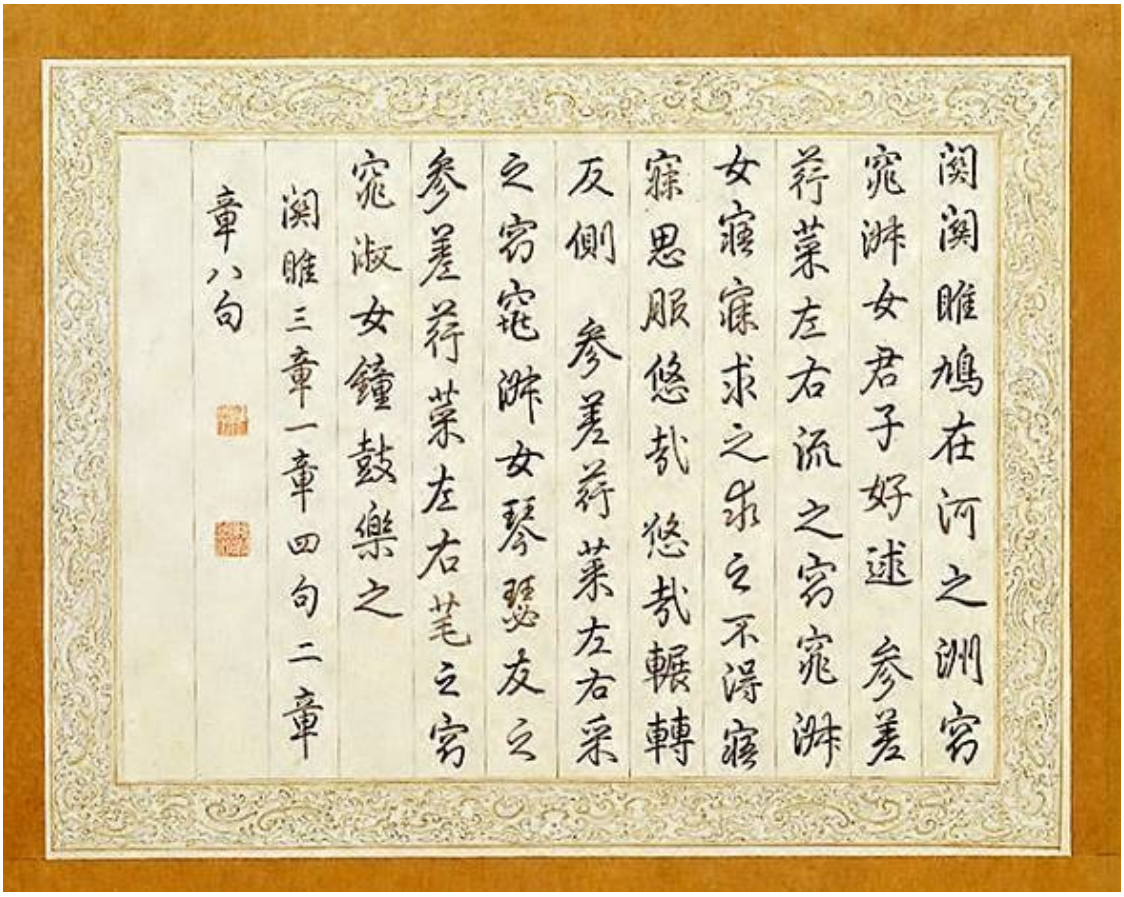
Also known as the ‘Shih-ching’, ‘Book of Songs’ and ‘Book of Odes’, this is the oldest existing collection of Chinese poetry, comprising 305 works dating from the eleventh to seventh centuries BC. Classed as one of the “Five Classics” traditionally said to have been compiled by Confucius, the *Classic of Poetry* has been studied and memorised by scholars in China and neighbouring countries for over two millennia. Since the Qing dynasty, its rhyme patterns have also been analysed in the study of Old Chinese phonology. The collection first became known as a jīng, or a “classic book”, in the canonical sense, as part of the Han Dynasty official adoption of Confucianism as the guiding principles of Chinese society. The same word *shi* later became a generic term for poetry.

The content of the *Classic of Poetry* can be divided into two main sections: the “Airs of the States”, and the eulogies and hymns. The “Airs of the States” are shorter lyrics in simple language that are generally ancient folk songs recording the voice of the common people. They often speak of love and courtship, longing for an absent lover, soldiers on campaign, farming and housework, and political satire and protest. On the other hand, songs in the two “Hymns” sections and the “Eulogies” section tend to be longer ritual or sacrificial songs, usually in the forms of courtly panegyrics and dynastic hymns that praise the founders of the Zhou dynasty. They also include hymns used in sacrificial rites and songs used by the aristocracy in their sacrificial ceremonies or at banquets.

Nearly all of the songs in the *Classic of Poetry* follow a rhyme scheme, with end rhyme, as well as frequent internal rhyming. While some of these verses still rhyme in modern varieties of Chinese, others had ceased to rhyme by the Middle Chinese period. Traditional scholarship of the poems identified three major literary devices employed in the songs: straightforward narrative, explicit comparisons and implied comparisons. The poems tend to have certain typical patterns in both rhyme and rhythm, to make much use of imagery, often derived from nature.

Although the *Classic of Poetry* does not specify the names of authors in association with the contained works, both traditional commentaries and modern scholarship have put forth hypotheses on authorship. A chapter of the *Book of Documents* claims that the poem “Owl” in the “Odes of Bin” was written by the

Duke of Zhou. Many of the songs appear to be folk songs and other compositions used in the court ceremonies of the aristocracy. Furthermore, many of the songs, based on internal evidence, appear to be written either by women, or from the perspective of a female persona.



The first song of the 'Classic of Poetry', handwritten by the Qianlong Emperor

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43. XIN TAI
44. ER ZI CHENG ZHOU

THE ODES OF YONG

45. BO ZHOU
46. QIANG YOU CI
47. JUN ZI XIE LAO
48. SANG ZHONG
49. CHUN ZI BEN BEN
50. DING ZHI FANG ZHONG
51. DI DONG
52. XIANG SHU
53. GAN MAO
54. ZAI CHI

THE ODES OF WEI

55. QI AO
56. KAO PAN
57. SHUO REN
58. MANG
59. ZHU GAN
60. WAN LAN

61. HE GUANG
62. BO XI
63. YOU HU
64. MU GUA

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65. SHU LI
66. JUN ZI YU YI
67. JUN ZI YANG YANG
68. YANG ZHI SHUI
69. ZHONG GU
70. TU YUAN
71. GE LEI
72. CAI GE
73. DA CHE
74. QIU ZHONG YOU MA

THE ODES OF ZHENG

75. ZI YI
76. JIANG ZHONG ZI
77. SHU YU TIAN
78. DA SHU YU TIAN
79. QING REN
80. GAO QIU
81. ZUN DA LU
82. NU YUE JI MING
83. YOU NU TONG CHE
84. SHAN YOU FU SU
85. TUO XI
86. JIAO TONG
87. QIAN CHANG
88. FENG
89. DONG MEN ZHI SHAN
90. FENG YU
91. ZI JIN
92. YANG ZHI SHUI
93. CHU QI DONG MEN

94. YE YOU MAN CAO
95. QIN WEI

THE ODES OF QI

96. JI MING
97. XUAN
98. ZHU
99. DONG FANG ZHI RI
100. DONG FANG WEI MING
101. NAN SHAN
102. FU TIAN
103. LU LING
104. BI GOU
105. ZAI QU
106. YI JIE

THE ODES OF WEI

107. GE JU
108. FEN JU RU
109. YUAN YOU TAO
110. ZHI HU
111. SHI MU ZHI JIAN
112. FA TAN
113. SHUO SHU

THE ODES OF TANG

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115. SHAN YOU SHU
116. YANG ZHI SHUI
117. JIAO LIAO
118. CHOU MOU
119. DI DU
120. GAO QIU
121. BAO YU
122. WU YI
123. YOU DI ZHI DU
124. GE SHENG

125. CAI LING

THE ODES OF QIN

126. CHE LIN
127. SI TIE
128. XIAO RONG
129. JIAN JIA
130. ZHONG NAN
131. HUANG NIAO
132. CHEN FENG
133. WU YI
134. WEI YANG
135. QUAN YU

THE ODES OF CHEN

136. WAN QIU
137. DONG MEN ZHI FEN
138. HENG MEN
139. DONG MEN ZHI CHI
140. DONG MEN ZHI YANG
141. MU MEN
142. FANG YOU QUE CHAO
143. YUE CHU
144. ZHU LIN
145. ZE PO

THE ODES OF KUAI

146. GAO QIU
147. SU GUAN
148. XI YOU CHANG CHU
149. FEI FENG

THE ODES OF CAO

150. FU YOU
151. HOU REN
152. SHI JIU
153. XIA QUAN

THE ODES OF BIN

154. QI YUE
155. CHI XIAO
156. DONG SHAN
157. PO FU
158. FA KE
159. JIU YU
160. LANG BA

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161. LU MING
162. SI MU
163. HUANG HUANG ZHE HUA
164. CHANG DI
165. FA MU
166. TIAN BAO
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168. CHU CHE
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DECADE OF BAIHUA

170. YU LI
171. NAN YOU JIA YU
172. NAN SHAN YOU TAI
173. LIAO XIAO
174. ZHAN LU
175. TONG GONG
176. JING JING ZHE E
177. LIU YUE
178. CAI QI
179. CHE GONG
180. JI RI
181. HONG YAN
182. TING LIAO
183. MIAN SHUI

184. HE MING

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185. QI FU
186. BAI JU
187. HUANG NIAO
188. WO XING QI YE
189. SI GAN
190. WU YANG
191. JIE NAN SHAN
192. ZHENG YUE
193. SHI YUE ZI JIAO
194. YU WU ZHENG

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195. XIAO MIN
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197. XIAO BIAN
198. QIAO YAN
199. HE REN SI
200. XIANG BO
201. GU FENG
202. LIAO E
203. DA DONG
204. SI YUE

DECADE OF BEI SHAN

205. BEI SHAN
206. WU JIANG DA CHE
207. XIAO MING
208. GU ZHONG
209. CHU CI
210. XIN NAN SHAN
211. FU TIAN
212. DA TIAN
213. ZHAN BI LUO YI
214. CHANG CHANG ZHE HUA

DECADE OF SANG HU

215. SANG HU
216. YUAN YANG
217. KUI BIAN
218. CHE XIA
219. QING YING
220. BIN ZHI CHU YAN
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222. CAI SHU
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237. MIAN
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239. ZAO LU
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242. LING TAI
243. XIA WU
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DECADE OF SHENG MIN

245. SHENG MIN
246. XING WEI
247. JI JUI
248. FU YI
249. JIA LE
250. GONG LIU
251. JIONG ZHUO
252. JUAN A
253. MIN LU
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DECADE OF DANG

255. DANG
256. YI
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258. YUN HAN
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SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU, DECADE OF QING MIAO

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286. MIN YU XIAO ZI
287. FANG LUO
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297. JIONG
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SACRIFICIAL ODES OF SHANG

301. NA
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PART I. LESSONS FROM THE STATES

THE ODES OF ZHOU AND THE SOUTH

1. GUAN SUI

Guan-guan go the ospreys,
On the islet in the river.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: —
For our prince a good mate she.

Here long, there short, is the duckweed,
To the left, to the right, borne about by the current.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: —
Waking and sleeping, he sought her.
He sought her and found her not,
And waking and sleeping he thought about her.
Long he thought; oh! long and anxiously;
On his side, on his back, he turned, and back again.

Here long, there short, is the duckweed;
On the left, on the right, we gather it.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: —
With lutes, small and large, let us give her friendly welcome.
Here long, there short, is the duckweed;
On the left, on the right, we cook and present it.
The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: —
With bells and drums let us show our delight in her.

2. GE TAN

How the dolichos spread itself out,
Extending to the middle of the valley!
Its leaves were luxuriant;
The yellow birds flew about,
And collected on the thickly growing trees,
Their pleasant notes resounding far.

How the dolichos spread itself out,
Extending to the middle of the valley!
Its leaves were luxuriant and dense.
I cut it and I boiled it,
And made both fine cloth and coarse,
Which I will wear without getting tired of it.

I have told the matron,
Who will announce that I am going to see my parents.
I will wash my private clothes clean,
And I will rinse my robes.
Which need to be rinsed, which do not?
I am going back to visit my parents.

3. JUAN ER

I was gathering and gathering the mouse-ear,
But could not fill my shallow basket.
With a sigh for the man of my heart,
I placed it there on the highway.

I was ascending that rock-covered height,
But my horses were too tired to breast it.
I will now pour a cup from that gilded vase,
Hoping I may not have to think of him long.

I was ascending that lofty ridge,
But my horses turned of a dark yellow.
I will now take a cup from that rhinoceros' horn,
Hoping I may not have long to sorrow.

I was ascending that flat-topped height,
But my horses became quite disabled,
And my servants were [also] disabled.
Oh! how great is my sorrow!

4. JIU MU

In the south are trees with curved drooping branches,
With the doliches creepers clinging to them.
To be rejoiced in is our princely lady: —
May she repose in her happiness and dignity!

In the south are the trees with curved drooping branches,
Covered by the dolichos creepers.
To be rejoiced in is our princely lady: —
May she be great in her happiness and dignity!

In the south are the trees with curved drooping branches,
Round which the dolichos creepers twine.
To be rejoiced in is our princely lady: —
May she be complete in her happiness and dignity!

5. ZHONG SI

Ye locusts, winged tribes,
How harmoniously you collect together!
Right is it that your descendants
Should be multitudinous!

Ye locusts, winged tribes,
How sound your wings in flight!
Right is it that your descendents
Should be as in unbroken strings!

Ye locusts, winged tribes,
How you cluster together!
Right is it that your descendents
Should be in swarms!

6. TAO YAO

The peach tree is young and elegant;
Brilliant are its flowers.
This young lady is going to her future home,
And will order well her chamber and house.

The peach tree is young and elegant;
Abundant will be its fruits.
This young lady is going to her future home,
And will order well her chamber and house.

The peach tree is young and elegant;
Luxuriant are its leaves.
This young lady is going to her future home,
And will order well her family.

7. TU JU

Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets;
Clang clang go the blows on the pegs.
That stalwart, martial man
Might be shield and wall to his prince.

Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets,
And placed where many ways meet.
That stalwart, martial man
Would be a good companion for his prince.

Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets,
And placed in the midst of the forest.
That stalwart, martial man
Might be head and heart to his prince.

8. FOU YI

We gather and gather the plantains;
Now we may gather them.
We gather and gather the plantains;
Now we have got them.

We gather and gather the plantains;
Now we pluck the ears.
We gather and gather the plantains;
Now we rub out the seeds.

We gather and gather the plantains;
Now we place the seeds in our skirts.
We gather and gather the plantains;
Now we tuck out skirts under our girdles.

9. HAN GUANG

In the south rise the trees without branches,
Affording no shelter.
By the Han are girls rambling about,
But it is vain to solicit them.
The breath of the Han
Cannot be dived across;
The length of the Jiang
Cannot be navigated with a raft.

Many are the bundles of firewood;
I would cut down the thorns [to form more].
Those girls that are going to their future home, —
I would feed their horses.
The breadth of the Han
Cannot be dived across;
The length of the Jiang,
Cannot be navigated with a raft.

Many are the bundles of firewood;
I would cut down the southern wood [to form more].
Those girls that are going to their future home, —
I would feed their colts.
The breadth of the Han
Cannot be dived across;
The length of the Jiang
Cannot be navigated with a raft.

10. RU FEN

Along those raised banks of the Ru,
I cut down the branches and slender stems.
While I could not see my lord,
I felt as it were pangs of great hunger.

Along those raised banks of the Ru,
I cut down the branches and fresh twigs.
I have seen my lord;
He has not cast me away.

The bream is showing its tail all red;
The royal House is like a blazing fire.
Though it be like a blazing fire,
Your parents are very near.

11. LIN ZHI ZHI

The feet of the Lin: —
The noble sons of our prince,
Ah! they are the Lin!

The forehead of the Lin: —
The noble grandsons of our prince,
Ah! they are the Lin!

The horn of the Lin: —
The noble kindred of our prince,
Ah! they are the Lin!

THE ODES OF SHAO AND THE SOUTH

12. QUE CHAO

The nest is the magpie's;
The dove dwells in it.
This young lady is going to her future home;
A hundred carriages are meeting her.

The nest is the magpie's;
The dove possesses it.
This young lady is going to her future home;
A hundred carriages are escorting her.

The nest is the magpie's;
The dove fills it.
This young lady is going to her future home;
These hundreds of carriages complete her array.

13. CAI FAN

She gathers the white southernwood,
By the ponds, on the islets.
She employs it,
In the business of our prince.

She gathers the white southernwood,
Along the streams in the valleys.
She employs it,
In the temple of our prince.

With head-dress reverently rising aloft,
Early, while yet it is night, she is in the prince's temple;
In her dead-dress, slowly retiring,
She returns to her own apartments.

14. CAO CHONG

Yao-yao went the grass-insects,
And the hoppers sprang about.
While I do not see my lord,
My sorrowful heart is agitated.
Let me have seen him,
Let me have met him,
And my heart will then be stilled.

I ascended that hill in the south,
And gathered the turtle-foot ferns.
While I do not see my lord,
My sorrowful heart is very sad.
Let me have seen him,
Let me have met him,
And my heart will then be pleased.

I ascended that hill in the south,
And gathered the thorn-ferns.
While I do not see my lord,
My sorrowful heart is wounded with grief.
Let me have seen him,
Let me have met him,
And my heart will then be at peace.

15. CAI PING

She gathers the large duckweed,
By the banks of the stream in the southern valley.
She gathers the pondweed,
In those pools left by the floods.

She deposits what she gathers,
In her square baskets and round ones
She boils it,
In her tripods and pans.

She sets forth her preparations,
Under the window in the ancestral chamber.
Who superintends the business?
It is [this] reverent young lady.

16. GAN TANG

[This] umbrageous sweet pear-tree; —
Clip it not, hew it not down.
Under it the chief of Zhou lodged.

[This] umbrageous sweet pear-tree; —
Clip it not, break not a twig of it.
Under it the chief of Zhou rested.

[This] umbrageous sweet pear-tree; —
Clip it not, bend not a twig of it.
Under it the chief of Zhou halted.

17. XING LU

Wet lay the dew on the path: —
Might I not [have walked there] in the early dawn?
But I said there was [too] much dew on the path.

Who can say the sparrow has no horn?
How else can it bore through my house?
Who can say that you did not get me betrothed?
How else could you have urged on this trial?
But though you have forced me to trial,
Your ceremonies for betrothal were not sufficient.

Who can say that the rat has no molar teeth?
How else could it bore through my wall?
Who can say that you did not get me betrothed?
How else could you have urged on this trial?
But though you have forced me to trial,
I will still not follow you.

18. GAO YANG

[Those] lamb-skins and sheep-skins,
With their five braidings of white silk!
They have retired from the court to take their their meal;
Easy are they and self-possessed.

[Those] lamb-skins and sheep-skins,
With their five seams wrought with white silk!
Easy are they and self-possessed;
They have retired from the court to take their meal.

The seams of [those] lamb-skins and sheep-skins,
The five joinings wrought with white silk!
Easy are they and self-possessed;
They have retired to take their meal from the court.

19. YIN QI LEI

Grandly rolls the thunder,
On the south of the southern hill!
How was it he went away from this,
Not daring to take a little rest?
My noble lord!
May he return! May he return!

Grandly rolls the thunder,
About the sides of the southern hill!
How was it he went away from this,
Not daring to take a little rest?
My noble lord!
May he return! May he return!

Grandly rolls the thunder,
At the foot of the southern hill!
How was it he went away from this,
Not remaining a little at rest?
My noble lord!
May he return! May he return!

20. BIAO YOU MEI

Dropping are the fruits from the plum-tree;
There are [but] seven [tenths] of them left!
For the gentlemen who seek me,
This is the fortunate time!

Dropping are the fruits from the plum-tree;
There are [but] three [tenths] of them left!
For the gentlemen who seek me,
Now is the time.

Dropt are the fruits from the plum-tree;
In my shallow basket I have collected them.
Would the gentlemen who seek me
[Only] speak about it!

21. XIAO XING

Small are those starlets,
Three or five of them in the east,
Swiftly by night we go;
In the early dawn we are with the prince.
Our lot is not like hers.

Small are those starlets,
And there are Orion and the Pleiades.
Swiftly by night we go,
Carrying our coverlets and sheets.
Our lot is not like hers.

22. JIANG YOU SI

The Jiang has its branches, led from it and returning to it.
Our lady, when she was married,
Would not employ us.
She would not employ us;
But afterwards she repented.

The Jiang has its islets.
Our lady, when she was married,
Would not let us be with her.
She would not let us be with her;
But afterwards she repressed [such feelings].

The Jiang has the Tuo.
Our lady, when she was married,
Would not come near us
She would not come near us;
But she blew that feeling away, and sang.

23. YE YOU SI JUN

In the wild there is a dead antelope,
And it is wrapped up with the white grass.
There is a young lady with thoughts natural to the spring,
And a fine gentleman would lead her astray.

In the forest there are the scrubby oaks;
In the wild there is a dead deer,
And it is bound round with the white grass.
There is a young lady like a gem.

[She says], Slowly; gently, gently;
Do not move my handkerchief;
Do not make my dog bark.

24. HE BI NONG YI

How great is that luxuriance,
Those flowers of the sparrow-plum!
Are they not expressive of reverence and harmony, —
The carriages of the king's daughter?

How great is that luxuriance,
The flowers like those of the peach-tree or the plum!
[See] the grand-daughter of the tranquillizing king,
And the son of the reverent marquis!

What are used in angling?
Silk threads formed into lines.
The son of the reverent marquis,
And the grand-daughter of the tranquillizing king!

25. ZOU YU

Strong and abundant grow the rushes;
He discharges [but] one arrow at five wild boars.
Ah! he is the Zou-yu!

Strong and abundant grow the artemisia;
He discharges [but] one arrow at five wild boars.
Ah! he is the Zou-yu!

THE ODES OF BEI

26. BO ZHOU

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood;
Yea, it floats about on the current.
Disturbed am I and sleepless,
As if suffering from a painful wound.
It is not because I have no wine,
And that I might not wander and saunder about.

My mind is not a mirror; —
It cannot [equally] receive [all impressions].
I, indeed, have brothers,
But I cannot depend on them,
I meet with their anger.

My mind is not a stone; —
It cannot be rolled about.
My mind is not a mat; —
It cannot be rolled up.
My deportment has been dignified and good,
With nothing wrong which can be pointed out.

My anxious heart is full of trouble;
I am hated by the herd of mean creatures;
I meet with many distresses;
I receive insults not a few.
Silently I think of my case,
And, starting as from sleep, I beat my breast.

There are the sun and moon, —
How is it that the former has become small, and not the latter?
The sorrow cleaves to my heart,
Like an unwashed dress.
Silently I think of my case,
But I cannot spread my wings and fly away.

27. LU YI

Green is the upper robe,
Green with a yellow lining!
The sorrow of my heart, —
How can it cease?

Green is the upper robe,
Green the upper, and yellow the lower garment!
The sorrow of my heart, —
How can it be forgotten?

[Dyed] green has been the silk; —
It was you who did it.
[But] I think of the ancients,
That I may be kept from doing wrong.

Linen, fine or coarse,
Is cold when worn in the wind.
I think of the ancients,
And find what is in my heart.

28. YAN YAN

The swallows go flying about,
With their wings unevenly displayed.
The lady was returning [to her native state],
And I escorted her far into the country.
I looked till I could no longer see her,
And my tears fell down like rain.

The swallows go flying about,
Now up, now down.
The lady was returning [to her native state],
And far did I accompany her.
I looked till I could no longer see her,
And long I stood and wept.

The swallows go flying about;
From below, from above, comes their twittering.
The lady was returning [to her native state],
And far did I escort her to the south.
I looked till I could no longer see her,
And great was the grief of my heart.

Lovingly confiding was lady Zhong;
Truly deep was her feeling.
Both gentle was she and docile,
Virtuously careful of her person.
In thinking of our deceased lord,
She stimulated worthless me.

29. RI YUE

O sun; O moon,
Which enlightens this lower earth!
Here is the man,
Who treats me not according to the ancient rule.
How can he get his mind settled?
Would he then not regard me?

O sun; O moon,
Which overshadow this lower earth!
Here is this man,
Who will not be friendly with me.
How can he get his mind settled?
Would he then not respond to me?

O sun; O moon,
Which come forth from the east!
Here is the man,
With virtuous words, but really not good.
How can he get his mind settled?
Would he then allow me to be forgotten?

O sun; o moon,
From the east which come forth!
O father, O mother,
There is no sequel to your nourishing of me.
How can he get his mind settled?
Would he then respond to me, contrary to all reason?

30. ZHONG FENG

The wind blows and is fierce,
He looks at me and smiles,
With scornful words and dissolute, — the smile of pride.
To the centre of my heart I am grieved.

The wind blows, with clouds of dust.
Kindly he seems to be willing to come to me;
[But] he neither goes nor comes.
Long, long, do I think of him.

The wind blew, and the sky was cloudy;
Before a day elapses, it is cloudy again.
I awake, and cannot sleep;
I think of him, and gasp.

All cloudy is the darkness,
And the thunder keeps muttering.
I awake and cannot sleep;
I think of him, and my breast is full of pain.

31. JI GU

Hear the roll of our drums!
See how we leap about, using our weapons!
Those do the fieldwork in the State, or fortify Cao,
While we alone march to the south.

We followed Sun Zizhong,
Peace having been made with Chen and Song;
[But] he did not lead us back,
And our sorrowful hearts are very sad.

Here we stay, here we stop;
Here we lose our horses;
And we seek for them,
Among the trees of the forest.

For life or for death, however separated,
To our wives we pledged our word.
We held their hands; —
We were to grow old together with them.

Alas for our separation!
We have no prospect of life.
Alas for our stipulation!
We cannot make it good.

32. KAI FENG

The genial wind from the south
Blows on the heart of that jujube tree,
Till that heart looks tender and beautiful.
What toil and pain did our mother endure!

The genial wind from the south
Blows on the branches of that jujube tree,
Our mother is wise and good;
But among us there is none good.

There is the cool spring
Below [the city of] Jun.
We are seven sons,
And our mother is full of pain and suffering.

The beautiful yellow birds
Give forth their pleasant notes.
We are seven sons,
And cannot compose our mother's heart.

33. XIONG ZHI

The male pheasant flies away,
Lazily moving his wings.
The man of my heart! —
He has brought on us this separation.

The pheasant has flown away,
But from below, from above, comes his voice.
Ah! the princely man! —
He afflicts my heart.

Look at that sun and moon!
Long, long do I think.
The way is distant;
How can he come to me?

All ye princely men,
Know ye not his virtuous conduct?
He hates none; he covets nothing; —
What does he which is not good?

34. PAO YOU KU YE

The gourd has [still] its bitter leaves,
And the crossing at the ford is deep.
If deep, I will go through with my clothes on;
If shallow, I will do so, holding them up.

The ford is full to overflowing;
There is the note of the female pheasant.
The full ford will not wet the axle of my carriage;
It is the pheasant calling for her mate.

The wild goose, with its harmonious notes,
At sunrise, with the earliest dawn,
By the gentleman, who wishes to bring home his bride,
[Is presented] before the ice is melted.

The boatman keeps beckoning;
And others cross with him, but I do not.
Others cross with him, but I do not; —
I am waiting for my friend.

35. GU FENG

Gently blows the east wind,
With cloudy skies and with rain.
[Husband and wife] should strive to be of the same mind,
And not let angry feelings arise.
When we gather the mustard plant and earth melons,
We do not reject them because of their roots.
While I do nothing contrary to my good name,
I should live with you till our death.

I go along the road slowly, slowly,
In my inmost heart reluctant.
Not far, only a little way,
Did he accompany me to the threshold.
Who says that the sowthistle is bitter?
It is as sweet as the shepherd's purse.
You feast with your new wife,
[Loving] as brothers.

The muddiness of the King appears from the Wei,
But its bottom may be seen about the islets.
You feast with your new wife,
And think me not worth being with
Do not approach my dam,
Do not move my basket.
My person is rejected; —
What avails it to care for what may come after?

Where the water was deep,
I crossed it by a raft or a boat.
Where it was shallow,
I dived or swam across it.
Whether we had plenty or not,
I exerted myself to be getting.
When among others there was a death,
I crawled on my knees to help them.

You cannot cherish me.

And you even count me as an enemy.
You disdain my virtues, —
A pedlar's wares which do not sell.
Formerly, I was afraid our means might be exhausted,
And I might come with you to destitution.
Now, when your means are abundant,
You compare me to poison.

My fine collection of vegetables,
Is but a provision against the winter.
Feasting with your new wife,
You think of me as a provision [only] against your poverty.
Cavalierly and angrily you treat me;
You give me only pain.
You do not think of the former days,
And are only angry with me.

36. SHI WEI

Reduced! Reduced!
Why not return?
If it were not for your sake, O prince,
How should we be thus exposed to the dew?

Reduced! Reduced!
Why not return?
If it were not for your person, O prince,
How should we be here in the mire?

37. MAO QIU

The dolichos on that high and sloping mound; —
How wide apart are [now] its joints!
O ye uncles,
Why have ye delayed these many days?

Why do they rest without stirring?
It must be they expect allies.
Why do they prolong the time?
There must be a reason for their conduct.

Our fox-furs are frayed and worn.
Came our carriages not eastwards?
O ye uncles,
You do not sympathize with us.

Fragments, and a remnant,
Children of dispersion [are we]!
O ye uncles,
Notwithstanding your full robes, your ears are stopped.

38. JIAN XI

Easy and indifferent! easy and indifferent!
I am ready to perform in all dances,
Then when the sun is in the meridian,
There in that conspicuous place.

With my large figure,
I dance in the ducal courtyard.
I am strong [also] as a tiger;
The reins are in my grasp like ribbons.

In my left hand I grasp a flute;
In my right I hold a pheasant's feather.
I am red as if I were rouged;
The duke gives me a cup [of spirits].

The hazel grows on the hills,
And the liquorice in the marshes.
Of whom are my thoughts?
Of the fine men of the west.
O those fine men!
Those men of the west!

39. QUAN SHUI

How the water bubbles up from that spring,
And flows away to the Qi!
My heart is in Wei;
There is not a day I do not think of it.
Admirable are those, my cousins;
I will take counsel with them.

When I came forth, I lodged in Ji,
And we drank the cup of convoy at Ni.
When a young lady goes [to be married],
She leaves her parents and brothers;
[But] I would ask for my aunts,
And then for my elder sister.

I will go forth and lodge in Gan,
And we drink the cup of convoy at Yan.
I will grease the axle and fix the pin,
And the returning chariot will proceed.
Quickly shall we arrive in Wei; —
But would not this be wrong?

I think of the Feiquan,
I am ever sighing about it.
I think of Xu and Cao,
Long, long, my heart dwells with them.
Let me drive forth and travel there,
To dissipate my sorrow.

40. BEI MEN

I go out at the north gate,
With my heart full of sorrow.
Straitened am I and poor,
And no one takes knowledge of my distress.
So it is!
Heaven has done it; —
What then shall I say?

The king’s business comes on me,
And the affairs of our government in increasing measure.
When I come home from abroad,
The members of my family all emulously reproach me.
So it is!
Heaven has done it; —
What then shall I say?

The king’s business is thrown on me,
And the affairs of our government are left to me more and more.
When I come home from abroad,
The members of my family all emulously thrust at me.
So it is!
Heaven has done it; —
What then shall I say?

41. BEI FENG

Cold blows the north wind;
Thick falls the snow.
Ye who love and regard me,
Let us join hands and go together.
Is it a time for delay?
The urgency is extreme!

The north wind whistles;
The snow falls and drifts about.
Ye who love and regard me,
Let us join hands, and go away for ever.
Is it a time for delay?
The urgency is extreme!

Nothing red is seen but foxes,
Nothing black but crows.
Ye who love and regard me,
Let us join hands, and go together in our carriages.
Is it a time for delay?
The urgency is extreme!

42. JING NU

How lovely is the retiring girl!
She was to await me at a corner of the wall.
Loving and not seeing her,
I scratch my head, and am in perplexity.

How handsome is the retiring girl!
She presented to me a red tube.
Bright is the red tube; —
I delight in the beauty of the girl.

From the pasture lands she gave a shoot of the white grass,
Truly elegant and rare.
It is not you, O grass, that are elegant; —
You are the gift of an elegant girl.

43. XIN TAI

Fresh and bright is the New Tower,
On the waters of the He, wide and deep.
A pleasant, genial mate she sought,
[And has got this] vicious bloated mass!

Lofty is the New Tower,
On the waters of the He, flowing still.
A pleasant, genial mate she sought,
[And has got this] vicious bloated mass!

It was a fish net that was set,
And a goose has fallen into it.
A pleasant, genial mate she sought,
And she has got this hunchback.

44. ER ZI CHENG ZHOU

The two youths got into their boats,
Whose shadows floated about [on the water].
I think longingly of them,
And my heart is tossed about in uncertainty.

The two youths got into their boats,
Which floated away [on the stream].
I think longingly of them,
Did they not come to harm?

THE ODES OF YONG

45. BO ZHOU

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood,
There in the middle of the He.
With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead,
He was my mate;
And I swear that till death I will have no other.
O mother, O Heaven,
Why will you not understand me?

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood,
There by the side of the He.
With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead,
He was my only one;
And I swear that till death I will not do the evil thing.
O mother, O Heaven,
Why will you not understand me?

46. QIANG YOU CI

The tribulus grows on the wall,
And cannot be brushed away.
The story of the inner chamber,
Cannot be told.
What would have to be told,
Would be the vilest of recitals.

The tribulus grow on the wall,
And cannot be removed.
The story of the inner chamber,
Cannot be particularly related.
What might be particularly related
Would be a long story.

The tribulus grow on the wall,
And cannot be bound together, [and taken away].
The story of the inner chamber
Cannot be recited,
What might be recited,
Would be the most disgraceful of things.

47. JUN ZI XIE LAO

The husband's to their old age,
In her headdress, and the cross-pins, with their six jewels;
Easy and elegant in her movements;
[Stately] as a mountain, [majestic]as a river,
Well beseeming her pictured robes: —
[But] with your want of virtue, O lady,
What have you to do with these things?

How rich and splendid
Is her pleasant-figured robe!
Her black hair in masses like clouds,
No false locks does she descend to.
There are her ear-plugs of jade,
Her comb-pin of ivory,
And her high forehead, so white.
She appears like a visitant from heaven!
She appears like a goddess!

How rich and splendid
Is her robe of state!
It is worn over the finest muslin of dolichos,
The more cumbrous and warm garment being removed.
Clear are her eyes; fine is her forehead;
Full are her temples.
Ah! such a woman as this!
The beauty of the country!

48. SANG ZHONG

I am going to gather the dodder,
In the fields of Mei.
But of whom are my thoughts?
Of that beauty, the eldest of the Jiang.
She made an appointment with me in Sangzhong;
She will meet me in Shanggong;
She will accompany me to Qishang.

I am going to gather the wheat,
In the north of Mei.
But of whom are my thoughts?
Of that beauty, the eldest of the Yi.
She made an appointment with me in Sangzhong;
She will meet me in Shanggong;
She will accompany me to Qishang.

I am going to gather the mustard plant,,
In the east of Mei.
But of whom are my thoughts?
Of that beauty, the eldest of the Yong.
She made an appointment with me in Sangzhong;
She will meet me in Shanggong;
She will accompany me to Qishang.

49. CHUN ZI BEN BEN

Boldly faithful in their pairings are quails;
Vigorously so are magpies.
This man is all vicious,
And I consider him my brother!

Vigorously faithful in their pairings are magpies;
Boldly so are quails.
This woman is all vicious,
And I regard her as marchioness.

50. DING ZHI FANG ZHONG

When [Ding] culminated [at night fall],
He began to build the palace at Chu.
Determining its aspects by means of the sun,
He built the mansion at Chu.
He planted about it hazel and chestnut trees,
The yi, the tong, the zi, and the varnish-tree,
Which, when cut down, might afford materials for lutes.

He ascended those old walls,
And thence surveyed [the site of] Chu.
He surveyed Chu and Tang,
With the high hills and lofty elevations about:
He descended and examined the mulberry trees;
He then divined, and got a fortunate response;
And thus the issue has been truly good.

When the good rain had fallen,
He would order his groom,
By starlight, in the morning, to yoke his carriage,
And would then stop among the mulberry trees and fields.
But not only thus did he show what he was; —
Maintaining in his heart a profound devotion to his duties,
His tall horses and mares amounted to three thousand.

51. DI DONG

There is a rainbow in the east,
And no one dares to point to it.
When a girl goes away [from her home],
She separates from her parents and brothers.

In the morning [a rainbow] rises in the west,
And [only] during the morning is there rain.
When a girl goes away [from her home],
She separates from her brothers and parents.

This person
Has her heart only on being married.
Greatly is she untrue to herself,
And does not recognize [the law of] her lot.

52. XIANG SHU

Look at a rat, — it has its skin;
But a man should be without dignity of demeanour.
If a man have no dignity of demeanour,
What should he but die?

Look at a rat, — it has its teeth;
But a man shall be without any right deportment.
If a man have not right deportment,
What should he wait for but death?

Look at a rat, — it has its limbs;
But a man shall be without any rules of propriety.
If a man observe no rules of propriety,
Why does he not quickly die?

53. GAN MAO

Conspicuously rise the staffs with their ox-tails,
In the distant suburbs of Jun,
Ornamented with the white silk bands;
There are four carriages with their good horses,
That admirable gentleman, —
What will he give them for [this]?

Conspicuously rise the staffs with their falcon-banners,
In the nearer suburbs of Jun,
Ornamented with the white silk ribbons;
There are four carriages with their good horses,
That admirable gentleman, —
What will he give them for [this]?

Conspicuously rise the staffs with their feathered streamers,
At the walls of Jun,
Bound with the white silk cords;
There are six carriages with their good horses,
That admirable gentleman, —
What will he give them for [this]?

54. ZAI CHI

I would have galloped my horses and whipt them,
Returning to condole with the marquis of Wei.
I would have urged them all the long way,
Till I arrived at Cao.
A great officer has gone, over the hills and through the rivers;
But my heart is full of sorrow.

You disapproved of my [proposal],
And I cannot return to [Wei];
But I regard you as in the wrong,
And cannot forget my purpose.
You disapproved of my purpose,
But I cannot return across the streams;
But I regard you as in the wrong,
And cannot shut out my thoughts.

I will ascend that mound with the steep side,
And gather the mother-of-pearl lilies.
I might, as a woman, have many thoughts,
But every one of them was practicable.
The people of Xu blame me,
But they are all childish and hasty [in their conclusions].

I would have gone through the country,
Amidst the wheat so luxuriant.
I would have carried the case before the great State.
On whom should I have relied? Who would come [to the help of Wei]?
Ye great officers and gentlemen,
The hundred plans you think of
Are not equal to the course I was going to take.

THE ODES OF WEI

55. QI AO

Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi,
With their green bamboos, so fresh and luxuriant!
There is our elegant and accomplished prince, —
As from the knife and the file,
As from the chisel and the polisher!
How grave is he and dignified!
How commanding and distinguished!
Our elegant and accomplished prince, —
Never can he be forgotten!

Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi,
With their green bamboos, so strong and luxuriant!
There is our elegant and accomplished prince, —
With his ear-stoppers of beautiful pebbles,
And his cap, glittering as with stars between the seams!
How grave is he and dignified!
How commanding and distinguished!
Our elegant and accomplished prince, —
Never can he be forgotten!

Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi,
With their green bamboos, so dense together!
There is our elegant and accomplished prince, —
[Pure] as gold and as tin,
[Soft and rich] as a sceptre of jade!
How magnanimous is he and gentle!
There he is in his chariot with its two high sides!
Skilful is he at quips and jokes,
But how does he keep from rudeness from them!

56. KAO PAN

He has reared his hut by the stream in the valley,
— That large man, so much at his ease.
Alone he sleeps, and wakes, and talks.
He swears he will never forgets [his true joy].

He has reared his hut in the bend of the mound,
— That large man, with such an air of indifference.
Alone he sleeps, and wakes, and sings.
He swears he will never pass from the spot.

He has reared his hut on the level height,
— That large man, so self-collected.
Alone, he sleeps and wakes, and sleeps again.
He swears he will never tell [of his delight].

57. SHUO REN

Large was she and tall,
In her embroidered robe, with a [plain] single garment over it: —
The daughter of the marquis of Qi.
The wife of the marquis of Wei,
The sister of the heir-son of Tong
The sister-in-law of the marquis of Xing,
The viscount of Tan also her brother-in-law.

Her fingers were like the blades of the young white-grass;
Her skin was like congealed ointment;
Her neck was like the tree-grub;
Her teeth were like melon seeds;
Her forehead cicada-like; her eyebrows like [the antenne of] the silkworm moth;
What dimples, as she artfully smiled!
How lovely her eyes, with the black and white so well defined!

Large was she and tall,
When she halted in the cultivated suburbs.
Strong looked her four horses,
With the red ornaments so rich about their bits.
Thus in her carriage, with its screens of pheasant feathers,
She proceeded to our court.
Early retire, ye great officers,
And do not make the marquis fatigued!

The waters of the He, wide and deep,
Flow northwards in majestic course.
The nets are dropt into them with a plashing sound,
Among shoals of sturgeon, large and small,
While the rushes and sedges are rank about.
Splendidly adorned were her sister ladies;
Martial looked the attendant officers.

58. MANG

A simple-looking lad you were,
Carrying cloth to exchange it for silk.
[But] you came not so to purchase silk; —
You came to make proposals to me.
I convoyed you through the Qi,
As far as Dunqiu.
'It is not I,' [I said], 'who would protract the time;
But you have had no good go-between.
I pray you be not angry,
And let autumn be the time.'

I ascended that ruinous wall,
To look towards Fuguan;
And when I saw [you] not [coming from] it;
My tears flowed in streams.
When I did see [you coming from] Fuquan,
I laughed and I spoke.
You had consulted, [you said], the tortoise-shell and the reeds,
And there was nothing unfavourable in their response.
'Then come,' [I said], 'with your carriage,
And I will remove with my goods.

Before the mulberry tree has shed its leaves,
How rich and glossy are they!
Ah! thou dove,
Eat not its fruit [to excess].
Ah! thou young lady,
Seek no licentious pleasure with a gentleman.
When a gentleman indulges in such pleasure,
Something may still be said for him;
When a lady does so,
Nothing can be said for her.

When the mulberry tree sheds its leaves,
They fall yellow on the ground.
Since I went with you,
Three years have I eaten of your poverty;

Three years have I eaten of your poverty;
And [now] the full waters of the Qi,
Wet the curtains of my carriage.
There has been no difference in me,
But you have been double in your ways.
It is you, Sir, who transgress the right,
Thus changeable in your conduct.

For three years I was your wife,
And thought nothing of my toil in your house.
I rose early and went to sleep late,
Not intermitting my labours for a morning.
Thus [on my part] our contract was fulfilled,
But you have behaved thus cruelly.
My brothers will not know [all this],
And will only laugh at me.
Silently I think of it,
And bemoan myself.

I was to grow old with you; —
Old, you give me cause for sad repining.
The Qi has its banks,
And the marsh has its shores.
In the pleasant time of my girlhood, with my hair simply gathered in a knot,
Harmoniously we talked and laughed.
Clearly were we sworn to good faith,
And I did not think the engagement would be broken.
That it would be broken I did not think,
And now it must be all over!

59. ZHU GAN

With your long and tapering bamboo rods,
You angle in the Qi.
Do I not think of you?
But I am far away, and cannot get you.

The Quanyuan is on the left,
And the waters of the Qi are on the right.
But when a young lady goes away, [and is married],
She leaves her brothers and parents.

The waters of the Qi are on the right
And the Quanyuan is on the left.
How shine the white teeth through the artful smiles!
How the girdle gems move to the measured steps!

The waters of the Qi flow smoothly;
There are the oars of cedar and boats of pine.
Might I but go there in my carriage and ramble,
To dissipate my sorrow!

60. WAN LAN

There are the branches of the sparrow-gourd; —
There is that lad, with the spike at his girdle.
Though he carries a spike at his girdle,
He does not know us.
How easy and conceited is his manner,
With the ends of his girdle hanging down as they do!

There are the leaves of the sparrow-gourd; —
There is that lad with the archer’s thimble at his girdle.
Though he carries an archer’s thimble at his girdle,
He is not superior to us.
How easy and conceited is his manner,
With the ends of his girdle hanging down as they do!

61. HE GUANG

Who says that the He is wide?
With [a bundle of] reeds I can cross it.
Who says that Song is distant?
On tiptoe I can see it.

Who says that the He is wide?
It will not admit a little boat.
Who says that Song is distant?
It would not take a whole morning to reach it.

62. BO XI

My noble husband is now martial-like!
The hero of the country!
My husband, grasping his halberd,
Is in the leading chariot of the king's [host].

Since my husband went to the east,
My head has been like the flying [pappus of the] artemisia.
It is not that I could not anoint and wash it;
But for whom should I adorn myself?

O for rain! O for rain!
But brightly the sun comes forth.
Longingly I think of my husband,
Till my heart is weary, and my head aches.

How shall I get the plant of forgetfulness?
I would plant it on the north of my house.
Longingly I think of my husband,
And my heart is made to ache.

63. YOU HU

There is a fox, solitary and suspicious,
At that dam over the Qi.
My heart is sad; —
That man has no lower garment.

There is a fox, solitary and suspicious,
At that deep ford of the Qi.
My heart is sad; —
That man has no girdle.

There is a fox, solitary and suspicious,
By the side there of the Qi.
My heart is sad; —
That man has no clothes.

64. MU GUA

There was presented to me a papaya,
And I returned for it a beautiful Ju-gem;
Not as a return for it,
But that our friendship might be lasting.

There was presented to me a peach,
And I returned for it a beautiful Yao-gem;
Not as a return for it,
But that our friendship might be lasting.

There was presented to me a plum,
And I returned for it a beautiful Jiu-gem;
Not as a return for it,
But that our friendship might be lasting.

THE ODES OF WANG

65. SHU LI

There was the millet with its drooping heads;
There was the sacrificial millet into blade.
Slowly I moved about,
In my heart all-agitated.
Those who knew me,
Said I was sad at heart.
Those who did not know me,
Said I was seeking for something.
O distant and azure Heaven!
By what man was this [brought about]?

There was the millet with its drooping heads;
There was the sacrificial millet in the ear.
Slowly I moved about,
My heart intoxicated, as it were, [with grief].
Those who knew me,
Said I was sad at heart.
Those who did not know me,
Said I was seeking for something.
O thou distant and azure Heaven!
By what man was this [brought about]?

There was the millet with its drooping heads;
There was the sacrificial millet in grain.
Slowly I moved about,
As if there were a stoppage at my heart.
Those who knew me,
Said I was sad at heart.
Those who did not know me,
Said I was seeking for something.
O thou distant and azure Heaven!
By what man was this [brought about]?

66. JUN ZI YU YI

My husband is away on service,
And I know not when he will return.
Where is he now?
The fowls roost in their holes in the walls;
And in the evening of the day,
The goats and cows come down [from the hill];
But my husband is away on service.
How can I but keep thinking of him?

My husband is away on service,
Not for days [merely] or for months.
When will he come back to me?
The fowls roost on their perches;
And in the evening of the day,
The goats and cows come down and home;
But my husband is away on service.
Oh if he be but kept from hunger and thirst!

67. JUN ZI YANG YANG

My husband looks full of satisfaction.
In his left hand he holds his reed-organ,
And with his right he calls me to the room.
Oh the joy!

My husband looks delighted.
In his left hand he holds his screen of feathers,
And with his right he calls me to the stage.
Oh the joy!

68. YANG ZHI SHUI

The fretted waters,
Do not carry on their current a bundle of firewood!
Those, the members of our families,
Are not with us here guarding Shen.
How we think of them! How we think of them!
What month shall we return home?

The fretted waters,
Do not carry on their current a bundle of thorns!
Those, the members of our families,
Are not with us here guarding Pu.
How we think of them! How we think of them!
What month shall we return?

The fretted waters,
Do not carry on their current a bundle of osiers!
Those, the members of our families,
Are not with us here guarding Xu.
How we think of them! How we think of them!
What month shall we return?

69. ZHONG GU

In the valleys grows the mother-wort,
But scorched is it in the drier places.
There is a woman forced to leave her husband;
Sadly she sighs!
Sadly she sighs!
She suffers from his hard lot.

In the valleys grows the mother-wort,
But scorched is it where it had become long.
There is a woman forced to leave her husband;
Long-drawn are her groanings!
Long-drawn are her groanings!
She suffers from his misfortune.

In the valleys grows the mother-wort,
But scorched is it even in the moist places.
There is a woman forced to leave her husband;
Ever flow her tears!
Ever flow her tears!
But of what avail is her lament?

70. TU YUAN

The hare is slow and cautious;
The pheasant plumps into the net.
In the early part of my life,
Time still passed without commotion.
In the subsequent part of it,
We are meeting with all these evils.
I wish I might sleep and never move more.

The hare is slow and cautious;
The pheasant plumps into the snare.
In the early part of my life,
Time still passed without anything stirring.
In the subsequent part of it,
We are meeting with all these sorrows.
I wish I might sleep and never move more.

The hare is slow and cautious;
The pheasant plumps into the trap.
In the early part of my life,
Time still passed without any call for our services.
In the subsequent part of it,
We are meeting with all these miseries.
I would that I might sleep, and hear of nothing more.

71. GE LEI

Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers,
On the borders of the He.
For ever separated from my brothers,
I call a stranger father.
I call a stranger father,
But he will not look at me.

Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers,
On the banks of the He.
For ever separated from my brothers,
I call a stranger mother.
I call a stranger mother,
But she will not recognize me.

Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers,
On the lips of the He.
For ever separated from my brothers,
I call a stranger elder-brother.
I call a stranger elder-brother,
But he will not listen to me.

72. CAI GE

There he is gathering the dolichos!
A day without seeing him,
Is like three months!

There he is gathering the oxtail-southern-wood!
A day without seeing him,
Is like three seasons!

There he is gathering the mugwort!
A day without seeing him,
Is like three years!

73. DA CHE

His great carriage rumbles along,
And his robes of rank glitter like the young sedge.
Do I not think of you?
But I am afraid of this officer, and dare not.

His great carriage moves heavily and slowly,
And his robes of rank glitter like a carnation-gem.
Do I not think of you?
But I am afraid of this officer, and do not rush to you.

While living, we may have to occupy different apartments;
But when dead, we shall share the same grave.
If you say that I am not sincere,
By the bright sun I swear that I am.

74. QIU ZHONG YOU MA

On the mound where is the hemp,
Some one is detaining Zijie.
Some one is there detaining Zijie; —
Would that he would come jauntily [to me]!

On the mound where is the wheat,
Some one is detaining Ziguo.
Some one is there detaining Ziguo; —
Would that he would come and eat with me!

On the mound where are the plum trees,
Some one is detaining those youths.
Some one is there detaining those youths; —
They will give me Jiu-stones for my girdle.

THE ODES OF ZHENG

75. ZI YI

How well do the black robes befit you!
When worn out, we will make others for you.
We will go to your court,
And when we return [from it], we will send you a feast!

How good on you are the black robes!
When worn out, we will make others for you.
We will go to your court,
And when we return [from it], we will send you a feast!

How easy sit the black robes on you!
When worn out, we will make others for you.
We will go to your court,
And when we return [from it], we will send you a feast!

76. JIANG ZHONG ZI

I pray you, Mr. Zhong,
Do not come leaping into my hamlet;
Do not break my willow trees.
Do I care for them?
But I fear my parents.
You, O Zhong, are to be loved,
But the words of my parents,
Are also to be feared.

I pray you, Mr. Zhong,
Do not come leaping over my wall;
Do not break my mulberry trees.
Do I care for them?
But I fear the words of my brothers.
You, O Zhong, are to be loved,
But the words of my brothers,
Are also to be feared.

I pray you, Mr. Zhong,
Do not come leaping into my garden;
Do not break my sandal trees.
Do I care for them?
But I dread the talk of people.
You, O Zhong, are to be loved,
But the talk of people,
Is also to be feared.

77. SHU YU TIAN

Shu has gone hunting;
And in the streets there are no inhabitants.
Are there indeed no inhabitants?
[But] they are not like Shu,
Who is truly admirable and kind.

Shu has gone to the grand chase;
And in the streets there are none feasting.
Are there indeed none feasting?
[But] they are not like Shu,
Who is truly admirable and good.

Shu has gone into the country;
And in the streets there are none driving about.
Are there indeed none driving about?
[But] they are not like Shu,
Who is truly admirable and martial.

78. DA SHU YU TIAN

Shu has gone hunting,
Mounted in his chariot and four.
The reins are in his grasp like ribbons,
While the two outside horses move [with regular steps], as dancers do.
Shu is at the marshy ground; —
The fire flames out all at once,
And with bared arms he seizes a tiger,
And presents it before the duke.
O Shu, try not [such sport] again;
Beware of getting hurt.

Shu has gone hunting,
Mounted in his chariot with four bay horses.
The two insides are two finest possible animals,
And the two outsides follow them regularly as in a flying flock of wild geese.
Shu is at the marshy ground; —
The fire blazes up all at once,
A skilful archer is Shu!
A good charioteer also!
Now he gives his horse the reins; now he brings them up;
Now he discharges his arrows; now he follows it.

Shu has gone hunting,
Mounted in his chariot with four grey horses.
His two insides have their heads in a line,
And the two outsides come after like arms.
Shu is at the marsh; —
The fire spreads grandly all together.
His horses move slowly;
He shoots but seldom;
Now he lays aside his quiver;
Now he returns his bows to his case.

79. QING REN

The men of Qing are in Peng;
The chariot with its team in mail ever moves about;
The two spears in it, with their ornaments, rising, one above the other.
So do they roam about the He.

The men of Qing are in Xiao;
The chariot with its team in mail looks martial;
And the two spears in it, with their hooks, rise one above the other.
So do they saunter about by the He.

The men of Qing are in Zhou;
The mailed team of the chariot prance proudly.
[The driver] on the left wheels it about, and [the spearman] on the right brandishes his weapon,
While the general in the middle looks pleased.

80. GAO QIU

His lambs's fur is glossy,
Truly smooth and beautiful.
That officer,
Rests in his lot and will not change.

His lambs's fur, with its cuffs of leopard-skin.
Looks grandly martial and strong.
That officer,
In the country will ever hold to the right.

How splendid is his lamb's fur!
How bright are its three ornaments!
That officer,
Is the ornament of the country.

81. ZUN DA LU

Along the highway,
I hold you by the cuff.
Do not hate me; —
Old intercourse should not be suddenly broken off.

Along the highway,
I hold you by the hand.
Do not think me vile; —
Old friendship should not hastily be broken off.

82. NU YUE JI MING

Says the wife, ‘It is cock-crow;’
Says the husband, ‘It is grey dawn.’
‘Rise, Sir, and look at the night,—’
If the morning star be not shining.
Bestir yourself, and move about,
To shoot the wild ducks and geese.

When your arrows and line have found them,
I will dress them fitly for you.
When they are dressed, we will drink [together over them],
And I will hope to grow old with you.
Your lute in your hands,
Will emits its quiet pleasant tones.

When I know those whose acquaintance you wish,
I will give them off the ornaments of my girdle.
When I know those with whom you are cordial,
I will send to them of the ornaments of my girdle.
When I know those whom you love,
I will repay their friendship from the ornaments of my girdle.

83. YOU NU TONG CHE

There is the lady in the carriage [with him],
With the countenance like the flower of the ephermeral hedge-tree.
As they move about,
The beautiful Ju-gems of her girdle-pendant appear.
That beautiful eldest Jiang,
Is truly admirable and elegant.

There is the young lady walking [with him],
With a countenance like the ephermeral blossoms of the hedge-tree.
As they move about,
The gems of her girdle-pendant tinkle.
Of that beautiful eldest Jiang,
The virtuous fame is not to be forgotten.

84. SHAN YOU FU SU

On the mountain is the mulberry tree;
In the marshes is the lotus flower.
I do not see Zidu,
But I see this mad fellow.

On the mountain is the lofty pine;
In the marshes is the spreading water-polygonum..
I do not see Zichong,
But I see this artful boy.

85. TUO XI

Ye withered leaves! Ye withered leaves!
How the wind is blowing you away!
O ye uncles,
Give us the first note, and we will join in with you.

Ye withered leaves! Ye withered leaves!
How the wind is carrying you away!
O ye uncles,
Give us the first note, and we will complete [the song].

86. JIAO TONG

That artful boy!
He will not speak with me!
But for the sake of you, Sir,
Shall I make myself unable to eat?

That artful boy!
He will not eat with me!
But for the sake of you, Sir,
Shall I make myself unable to rest?

87. QIAN CHANG

If you, Sir, think kindly of me,
I will hold up my lower garments, and cross the Zhen.
If you do not think of me,
Is there no other person [to do so]?
You, foolish, foolish fellow!

If you, Sir, think kindly of me,
I will hold up my lower garments, and cross the Wei.
If you do not think of me,
Is there no other gentleman [to do so]?
You, foolish, foolish fellow!

88. FENG

Full and good looking was the gentleman,
Who waited for me in the lane!
I repent that I did not go with him.

A splendid gentleman was he,
Who waited for me in the hall!
I regret that I did not accompany him.

Over my embroidered upper robe, I have put on a [plain] single garment;
Over my embroidered lower robe, I have done the same.
O Sir, O Sir,
Have your carriage ready to take me home with you.

Over my embroidered lower robe, I have put on a [plain] single garment;
Over my embroidered upper robe, I have done the same.
O Sir, O Sir,
Have your carriage ready to take me home with you.

89. DONG MEN ZHI SHAN

Near the level ground at the east gate,
Is the madder plant on the bank.
The house is near there,
But the man is very far away.

By the chestnut trees at the east gate,
Is a row of houses.
Do I not think of you?
But you do not come to me.

90. FENG YU

Cold are the wind and the rain,
And shrilly crows the cock.
But I have seen my husband,
And should I but feel at rest?

The wind whistles and the rain patters,
While loudly crows the cock.
But I have seen my husband,
And could my ailment but be cured?

Through the wind and rain all looks dark,
And the cock crows without ceasing.
But I have seen my husband,
And how should I not rejoice?

91. ZI JIN

O you, with the blue collar,
Prolonged is the anxiety of my heart.
Although I do not go [to you],
Why do you not continue your messages [to me]?

O you with the blue [strings to your] girdle-gems,
Long, long do I think of you.
Although I do not go [to you],
Why do you not come [to me]?

How volatile are you and dissipated,
By the look-out tower on the wall!
One day without the sight of you,
Is like three months.

92. YANG ZHI SHUI

The fretted waters,
Do not carry on their current a bundle of thorns.
Few are our brethren;
There are only I and you.
Do not believe what people say;
They are deceiving you.

The fretted waters,
Do not carry on their current a bundle of firewood.
Few are our brethren;
There are only we two.
Do not believe what people say;
They are not to be trusted.

93. CHU QI DONG MEN

I went out at the east gate,
Where the girls were in clouds.
Although they are like clouds,
It is not on them that my thoughts rest.
She in the thin white silk, and the grey coiffure, —
She is my joy!

I went out by the tower on the covering wall,
Where the girls were like flowering rushes.
Although they are like flowering rushes,
It is not of them that I think.
She in the thin white silk, and the madder-[dyed coiffure], —
It is she that makes me happy!

94. YE YOU MAN CAO

On the moor is the creeping grass,
And how heavily is it loaded with dew!
There was a beautiful man,
Lovely, with clear eyes and fine forehead!
We met together accidentally,
And so my desire was satisfied.

On the moor is the creeping grass,
Heavily covered with dew!
There was a beautiful man,
Lovely, with clear eyes and fine forehead!
We met together accidentally,
And he and I were happy together.

95. QIN WEI

The Qin and Wei,
Now present their broad sheets of water.
Ladies and gentlemen,
Are carrying flowers of valerian.
A lady says, ‘Have you been to see?’
A gentleman replies, ‘I have been.’
‘But let us go again to see.
Beyond the Wei,
The ground is large and fit for pleasure.’
So the gentlemen and ladies.
Make sport together,
Presenting one another with small peonies.

The Qin and Wei,
Show their deep, clear streams.
Gentlemen and ladies,
Appear in crowds.
A lady says, ‘Have you been to see?’
A gentleman replies, ‘I have been.’
‘But let us go again to see.
Beyond the Wei,
The ground is large and fit for pleasure.’
So the gentlemen and ladies.
Make sport together,
Presenting one another with small peonies.

THE ODES OF QI

96. JI MING

‘The cock has crowed;
The court is full.’
But it was not the cock that was crowing; —
It was the sound of the blue flies.

‘The east is bright;
The court is crowded.’
But it was not the east that was bright; —
It was the light of the moon coming forth.

‘The insects are flying in buzzing crowds;
It would be sweet to lie by you and dream.’
But the assembled officers will be going home; —
Let them not hate both me and you.’

97. XUAN

How agile you are!
You met me in the neighbourhood of Nao,
And we pursued together tow boars of three years.
You bowed to me, and said that I was active.

How admirable your skill!
You met me in the way to Nao,
And we drove together after two males.
You bowed to me, and said that I was skilful.

How complete your art!
You met me on the south of Nao,
And we pursued together two wolves.
You bowed to me, and said that I was dexterous.

98. ZHU

He was waiting for me between the door and the screen.
The strings of his ear-stoppers were of white silk,
And there were appended to them beautiful Hua-stones.

He was waiting for me in the open court.
The strings of his ear-stoppers were of green silk,
And there were appended to them beautiful Ying-stones.

He was waiting for me in the hall.
The strings of his ear-stoppers were of yellow silk,
And there were appended to them beautiful Ying-stones.

99. DONG FANG ZHI RI

The sun is in the east,
And that lovely girl,
Is in my chamber.
She is in my chamber;
She treads in my footsteps, and comes to me.

The moon is in the east,
And that lovely girl,
Is inside my door.
She is inside my door;
She treads in my footsteps, and hastens away.

100. DONG FANG WEI MING

Before the east was bright,
I was putting on my clothes upside down;
I was putting them on upside down,
And there was one from the court calling me.

Before there was a streak of dawn in the east,
I was putting on my clothes upside down;
I was putting them on upside down,
And there was one from the court with orders for me.

You fence your garden with branches of willow,
And the reckless fellows stand in awe.
He, [however], cannot fix the time of night;
If he be not too early, he is sure to be late.

101. NAN SHAN

High and large is the south hill,
And a male fox is on it, solitary and suspicious.
The way to Lu is easy and plain,
And the daughter of Qi went by it to her husband's.
Since she went to her husband's,
Why do you further think of her?

The five kinds of dolichos shoes are [made] in pairs,
And the string-ends of a cap are made to match;
The way to Lu is easy and plain,
And the daughter of Qi travelled it.
Since she travelled it,
Why do you still follow her?

How do we proceed in planting hemp?
The acres must be dressed lengthwise and crosswise.
How do we proceed in taking a wife?
Announcement must first be made to our parents.
Since such announcement was made,
Why do you still indulge her desires?

How do we proceed in splitting firewood?
Without an axe it cannot be done.
How do we proceed in taking a wife?
Without a go-between it cannot be done.
Since this was done,
Why do you still allow her to go to this extreme?

102. FU TIAN

Do not try to cultivate fields too large; —
The weeds will only grow luxuriantly.
Do not think of winning people far away; —
Your toiling heart will be grieved.

Do not try to cultivate fields too large; —
The weeds will only grow proudly.
Do not think of winning people far away; —
Your toiling heart will be distressed.

How young and tender,
Is the child with his two tufts of hair!
When you see him after not a long time,
Lo! he is wearing the cap!

103. LU LING

Ling-ling go the hounds; —
Their master is admirable and kind.

There go the hounds with their double rings; —
Their master is admirable and good.

There go the hounds with their triple rings; —
Their master is admirable and able.

104. BI GOU

Worn out is the basket at the dam,
And the fishes are the bream and the Guan,
The daughter of Qi has returned,
With a cloud of attendants.

Worn out is the basket at the dam,
And the fishes are the bream and the tench,
The daughter of Qi has returned,
With a shower of attendants.

Worn out is the basket at the dam,
And the fishes go in and out freely,
The daughter of Qi has returned,
With a stream of attendants.

105. ZAI QU

She urges on her chariot rapidly,
With its screen of bamboos woven in squares, and its vermilion coloured leather.
The way from Lu is easy and plain,
And the daughter of Qi's started on it in the evening.

Her four black horses are beautiful,
And soft look their reins as they hang.
The way from Lu is easy and plain,
And the daughter of Qi's is delighted and complacent.

The waters of the Wen flow broadly on;
The travellers are numerous.
The way from Lu is easy and plain,
And the daughter of Qi's moves on with unconcern.

The waters of the Wen sweep on;
The travellers are in crowds.
The way from Lu is easy and plain,
And the daughter of Qi's proceeds at her ease.

106. YI JIE

Alas for him, so handsome and accomplished!
How grandly tall!
With what elegance in his high forehead!
With what motion of his beautiful eyes!
With what skill in the swift movements of his feet!
With what mastery of archery!

Alas for him, so famous!
His beautiful eyes how clear!
His manners how complete!
Shooting all day at the target,
And never lodging outside the bird-square!
Indeed our [ruler's] nephew!

Alas for him, so beautiful!
His bright eyes and high forehead how lovely!
His dancing so choice!
Sure to send his arrows right through!
The four all going to the same place!
One able to withstand rebellion!

THE ODES OF WEI

107. GE JU

Shoes thinly woven of the dolichos fibre,
May be used to walk on the hoarfrost.
The delicate fingers of a bride,
May be used in making clothes.
[His bride] puts the waistband to his lower garment and the collar to his upper,
And he, a wealthy man, wears them.

Wealthy, he moves about quite at ease,
And politely he stands aside to the left.
From his girdle hangs his ivory comb-pin.
It is the narrowness of his disposition,
Which makes him a subject for satire.

108. FEN JU RU

There in the oozy grounds of the Fen,
They gather the sorrel.
That officer,
Is elegant beyond measure.
He is elegant beyond measure.
But, perhaps, he is not what the superintendent of the ruler's carriages ought to be.

There along the side of the Fen,
They gather the mulberry leaves.
That officer,
Is elegant as a flower.
He is elegant as a flower;
But, perhaps, he is not what the marshaller of the carriages ought to be.

There along the bend of the Fen,
They gather the ox-lips.
That officer,
Is elegant as a gem.
He is elegant as a gem;
But, perhaps, he is not what the superintendent of the ruler's relations should be.

109. YUAN YOU TAO

Of the peach trees in the garden,
The fruit may be used as food.
My heart is grieved,
And I play and sing.
Those who do not know me,
Say I am a scholar venting his pride.
‘Those men are right;
What do you mean by your words?’
My heart is grieved;
Who knows [the cause of] it?
Who knows [the cause of] it?
[They know it not], because they will not think.

Of the jujube trees in the garden,
The fruit may be used as food.
My heart is grieved,
And I think I must travel about through the State.
Those who do not know me,
Say I am an officer going to the verge of license.
‘Those men are right;
What do you mean by your words?’
My heart is grieved;
Who knows [the cause of] it?
Who knows [the cause of] it?
[They do not know it], because they will not think.

110. ZHI HU

I ascend that tree-clad hill,
And look towards [the residence of] my father.
My father is saying, ‘Alas! my son, abroad on the public service,
Morning and night never rests.
May he be careful,
That he may come [back], and not remain there!’

I ascend that bare hill,
And look towards [the residence of] my mother.
My mother is saying, ‘Alas! my child, abroad on the public service,
Morning and night has no sleep.
May he be careful,
That he may come [back], and not leave his body there!’

I ascend that ridge,
And look towards [the residence of] my elder brother.
My brother is saying, ‘Alas! my younger brother, abroad on the public service,
Morning and night must consort with his comrades.
May he be careful,
That he may come back, and not die!’

111. SHI MU ZHI JIAN

Among their ten acres,
The mulberry-planters stand idly about.
‘Come,’ [says one to another], ‘I will go away with you.’

Beyond those ten acres,
The mulberry-planters move idly about.
‘Come,’ [says one to another], ‘I will go away with you.’

112. FA TAN

Kan-kan go his blows on the sandal trees,
And he places what he hews on the river's bank,
Whose waters flow clear and rippling.
You sow not nor reap; —
How do you get the produce of those three hundred farms?
You do not follow the chase; —
How do we see the badgers hanging up in your court yards?
O that superior man!
He would not eat the bread of idleness!

Kan-kan go his blows on the wood for his spokes,
And he places it by the side of the river,
Whose waters flow clear and even.
You sow not nor reap; —
How do you get your three millions of sheaves?
You do not follow the chase; —
How do we see the three-year-olds hanging up in your court yards?
O that superior man!
He would not eat the bread of idleness!

Kan-kan go his blows on the wood for his wheels,
And he places it by the lip of the river,
Whose waters flow clear in rippling circles.
You sow not nor reap; —
How do you get the paddy for your three hundred round binns?
You do not follow the chase; —
How do we see the quails hanging in your court yards?
O that superior man!
He would not eat the bread of idleness!

113. SHUO SHU

Large rats! Large rats!
Do not eat our millet.
Three years have we had to do with you,
And you have not been willing to show any regard for us.
We will leave you,
And go to that happy land.
Happy land! Happy land!
There shall we find our place.

Large rats! Large rats!
Do not eat our wheat.
Three years have we had to do with you,
And you have not been willing to show any kindness to us.
We will leave you,
And go to that happy State.
Happy State! Happy State!
There shall we find ourselves right.

Large rats! Large rats!
Do not eat our springing grain!
Three years have we had to do with you,
And you have not been willing to think of our toil.
We will leave you,
And go to those happy borders.
Happy borders! Happy borders!
Who will there make us always to groan?

THE ODES OF TANG

114. XI SHUAI

The cricket is in the hall,
And the year is drawing to a close.
If we do not enjoy ourselves now,
The days and months will be leaving us.
But let us not go to great excess;
Let us first think of the duties of our position;
Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment.
The good man is anxiously thoughtful.

The cricket is in the hall,
And the year is passing away.
If we do not enjoy ourselves now,
The days and months will have gone.
But let us not go to great excess;
Let us first send our thoughts beyond the present;
Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment.
The good man is ever diligent.

The cricket is in the hall,
And our carts stand unemployed.
If we do not enjoy ourselves now,
The days and months will have gone by.
But let us not go to an excess;
Let us first think of the griefs that may arise;
Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment.
The good man is quiet and serene.

115. SHAN YOU SHU

On the mountains are the thorny elms,
In the low, wet grounds are the white elms.
You have suits of robes,
But you will not wear them;
You have carriages and horses,
But you will not drive them.
You will drop off in death,
And another person will enjoy them.

On the mountains is the Kao,
In the low wet grounds is the Niu.
You have courtyards and inner rooms,
But you will not have them sprinkled or swept;
You have drums and bells,
But you will not have them beat or struck,
You will drop off in death,
And another person will possess them.

On the mountains are the varnish trees,
In the low wet grounds are the chestnuts.
You have spirits and viands; —
Why not daily play your lute?
Both to give a zest to your joy,
And to prolong the day?
You will drop off in death,
And another person will enter your chamber.

116. YANG ZHI SHUI

Amidst the fretted waters,
The white rocks stand up grandly.
Bringing a robe of white silk, with a vermillion collar,
We will follow you to Wo.
When we have seen the princely lord,
Shall we not rejoice?

Amidst the fretted waters,
The white rocks stand glistening.
Bringing a robe of white silk, with a vermillion collar, and embroidered,
We will follow you to Hu.
When we have seen the princely lord,
What sorrow will remain to us?

Amidst the fretted waters,
The white rocks clearly show.
We have heard your orders,
And will not dare to inform any one of them.

117. JIAO LIAO

The clusters of the pepper plant,
Large and luxuriant, would fill a pint.
That hero there
Is large and peerless.
O the pepper plant!
How its shoots extend!

The clusters of the pepper plant,
Large and luxuriant, would fill both your hands.
That hero there
Is large and generous.
O the pepper plant!
How its shoots extend!

118. CHOU MOU

Round and round the firewood is bound;
And the Three Stars appear in the sky.
This evening is what evening,
That I see this good man?
O me! O me!
That I should get a good man like this!

Round and round the grass is bound;
And the Three Stars are seen from the corner.
This evening is what evening,
That we have this unexpected meeting?
Happy pair! Happy pair!
That we should have this unexpected meeting!

Round and round the thorns are bound;
And the Three Stars are seen from the door.
This evening is what evening,
That I see this beauty?
O me! O me!
That I should see a beauty like this!

119. DI DU

There is a solitary russet pear tree,
[But] its leaves are luxuriant.
Alone I walk unbefriended; —
Is it because there are no other people?
But none are like the sons of one's father.
O ye travellers,
Why do ye not sympathize with me?
Without brothers as I am,
Why do ye not help me?

There is a solitary russet pear tree,
[But] its leaves are abundant.
Alone I walk uncared for; —
Is it that there are not other people?
But none are like those of one's own surname.
O ye travellers,
Why do ye not sympathize with me?
Without brothers as I am,
Why do ye not help me?

120. GAO QIU

Lamb’s fur and leopard’s cuffs,
You use us with unkindness.
Might we not find another chief?
But [we stay] because of your forefathers.

Lamb’s fur and leopard’s cuffs,
You use us with cruel unkindness.
Might we not find another chief?
But [we stay] from our regard to you.

121. BAO YU

Su-su go the feathers of the wild geese,
As they settle on the bushy oaks.
The king's affairs must not be slackly discharged,
And [so] we cannot plant our sacrificial millet and millet; —
What will our parents have to rely on?
O thou distant and azure Heaven!
When shall we be in our places again?

Su-su go the wings of the wild geese,
As they settle on the bushy jujube trees.
The king's affairs must not be slackly discharged,
And [so] we cannot plant our millet and sacrificial millet; —
How shall our parents be supplied with food?
O thou distant and azure Heaven!
When shall [our service] have an end?

Su-su go the rows of the wild geese,
As they rest on the bushy mulberry trees.
The king's business must not be slackly discharged,
And [so] we cannot plant our rice and maize; —
How shall our parents get food?
O thou distant and azure Heaven!
When shall we get [back] to our ordinary lot?

122. WU YI

How can it be said that he is without robes?
He has those of the seven orders;
But it is better that he get those robes from you.
That will secure tranquillity and good fortune.

How can it be said that he is without robes?
He has those of the six orders;
But it is better that he get those robes from you.
That will secure tranquillity and permanence.

123. YOU DI ZHI DU

There is a solitary russet pear tree,
Growing on the left of the way.
That princely man there!
He might be willing to come to me.
In the centre of my heart I love him,
[But] how shall I supply him with drink and food?

There is a solitary russet pear tree,
Growing where the way makes a compass.
That princely man there!
He might be willing to come and ramble [with me].
In the centre of my heart I love him,
[But] how shall I supply him with drink and food?

124. GE SHENG

The dolichos grows, covering the thorn trees;
The convolvulus spreads all over the waste.
The man of my admiration is no more here;
With whom can I dwell? — I abide alone.

The dolichos grows, covering the jujube trees;
The convolvulus spreads all over the tombs.
The man of my admiration is no more here;
With whom can I dwell? — I rest alone.

How beautiful was the pillow of horn!
How splendid was the embroidered coverlet!
The man of my admiration is no more here; —
With whom can I dwell? — Alone [I wait for] the morning.

Through the [long] days of summer,
Through the [long] nights of winter [shall I be alone],
Till the lapse of a hundred years,
When I shall go home to his abode.

Through the [long] nights of winter,
Through the [long] days of summer [shall I be alone],
Till the lapse of a hundred years,
When I shall go home to his chamber.

125. CAI LING

Would you gather the liquorice, would you gather the liquorice,
On the top of Shouyang?
When men tell their stories,
Do not readily believe them;
Put them aside, put them aside.
Do not readily assent to them;
And, when men tell their stories,
How will they find course?

Would you gather the sowthistle, would you gather the sowthistle,
At the foot of Shouyang?
When men tell their stories,
Do not readily approve them;
Put them aside, put them aside.
Do not readily assent to them;
And, when men tell their stories,
How will they find course?

Would you gather the mustard plant, would you gather the mustard plant,
On the east of Shouyang?
When men tell their stories,
Do not readily listen to them; —
Put them aside, put them aside.
Do not readily assent to them;
And, when men tell their stories,
How will they find course?

THE ODES OF QIN

126. CHE LIN

He has many carriages, giving forth their Lin-Lin;
He has horses with their white foreheads.
Before we can see our prince,
We must get the services of eunuch.

On the hill-sides are varnish trees;
In the low wet grounds are chestnuts.
When we have seen our prince,
We sit together with him, and they play on their lutes.
If now we do not take our joy,
The time will pass till we are octogenarians.

On the hill-sides are mulberry trees;
In the low wet grounds are willows.
When we have seen our prince,
We sit together with him, and they play on their organs.
If now we do not take our joy,
The time will pass till we are no more.

127. SI TIE

His four iron-black horses are in very fine condition;
The six reins are in the hand [of the charioteer].
The ruler's favourites,
Follow him to the chase.

The male animals of the season are made to present themselves,
The males in season, of very large size.
The ruler says, 'To the left of them;'
Then he lets go his arrows and hits.

He rambles in the northern park;
His four horses display their training.
Light carriages, with bells at the horses' bits,
Convey the long and short-mouthed dogs.

128. XIAO RONG

[There is] his short war carriage; —
With the ridge-like end of its pole, elegantly bound in five places;
With its slip rings and side straps,
And the traces attached by gilt rings to the masked transverse;
With its beautiful mat of tiger's skin, and its long naves;
With its piebalds, and horses with white left feet.
When I think of my husband [thus],
Looking bland and soft as a piece of jade;
Living there in his blank house;
It sends confusion into all the corners of my heart.

His four horses are in very fine condition,
And the six reins are in the hand [of the charioteer].
Piebald, and bay with black mane, are the insides;
Yellow with black mouth, and black, are the outsides;
Side by side are placed the dragon-figured shields;
Gilt are the buckles for the inner reins.
I think of my husband [thus],
Looking so mild in the cities there.
What time can be fixed for his return?
Oh! how I think of him!

His mail-covered team moves in great harmony;
There are the trident spears with their gilt ends;
And the beautiful feather-figured shield;
With the tiger-skin bow-case, and the carved metal ornaments on its front.
The two bows are placed in the case,
Bound with string to their bamboo frames.
I think of my husband,
When I lie down and rise up.
Tranquil and serene is the good man,
With his virtuous fame spread far and near.

129. JIAN JIA

The reeds and rushes are deeply green,
And the white dew is turned into hoarfrost.
The man of whom I think,
Is somewhere about the water.
I go up the stream in quest of him,
But the way is difficult and long.
I go down the stream in quest of him,
And lo! he is right in the midst of the water.

The reeds and rushes are luxuriant,
And the white dew is not yet dry.
The man of whom I think,
Is on the margin of the water.
I go up the stream in quest of him,
But the way is difficult and steep.
I go down the stream in quest of him,
And lo! he is on the islet in the midst of the water.

The reeds and rushes are abundant,
And the white dew is not yet ceased.
The man of whom I think,
Is on the bank of the river.
I go up the stream in quest of him,
But the way is difficult and turns to the right.
I go down the stream in quest of him,
And lo! he is on the island in the midst of the water.

130. ZHONG NAN

What are there on Zhongnan?
There are white firs and plum trees.
Our prince has arrived at it,
Wearing an embroidered robe over his fox-fur,
And with his countenance rouged as with vermilion.
May he prove a ruler indeed!

What are there on Zhongnan?
There are nooks and open glades.
Our prince has arrived at it,
With the symbol of distinction embroidered on his lower garment,
And the gems at his girdle emitting their thinking.
May long life and an endless name be his?

131. HUANG NIAO

They flit about, the yellow birds,
And rest upon the jujube trees.
Who followed duke Mu [to the grave]?
Ziche Yansi.
And this Yansi,
Was a man above a hundred.
When he came to the grave,
He looked terrified and trembled.
Thou azure Heaven there!
Thou art destroying our good men.
Could he have been redeemed,
We should have given a hundred lives for him.

They flit about, the yellow birds,
And rest upon the mulberry trees.
Who followed duke Mu [to the grave]?
Ziche Zhongheng.
And this Zhongheng,
Was a match for a hundred.
When he came to the grave,
He looked terrified and trembled.
Thou azure Heaven there!
Thou art destroying our good men.
Could he have been redeemed,
We should have given a hundred lives for him.

They flit about, the yellow birds,
And rest upon the thorn trees.
Who followed duke Mu [to the grave]?
Ziche Qianhu.
And this Ziche Qianhu,
Could withstand a hundred men.
When he came to the grave,
He looked terrified and trembled.
Thou azure Heaven there!
Thou art destroying our good men.
Could he have been redeemed

Could he have been redeemed,
We should have given a hundred lives for him.

132. CHEN FENG

Swift flies the falcon,
To the thick-wooded forest in the north.
While I do not see my husband,
My heart cannot forget its grief.
How is it, how is it,
That he forgets me so very much?

On the mountain are the bushy oaks;
In the low wet grounds are six elms.
While I do not see my husband,
My sad heart has no joy.
How is it, how is it,
That he forgets me so very much?

On the mountain are the bushy sparrow-plums;
In the low wet grounds are the high, wild pear trees.
While I do not see my husband,
My heart is as if intoxicated with grief.
How is it, how is it,
That he forgets me so very much?

133. WU YI

How shall it be said that you have no clothes?
I will share my long robes with you.
The king is raising his forces;
I will prepare my lance and spear,
And will be your comrade.

How shall it be said that you have no clothes?
I will share my under clothes with you.
The king is raising his forces;
I will prepare my spear and lance,
And will take the field with you.

How shall it be said that you have no clothes?
I will share my lower garments with you.
The king is raising his forces;
I will prepare my buffcoat and sharp weapons,
And will march along with you.

134. WEI YANG

I escorted my mother's nephew,
To the north of the Wei,
What did I present to him?
Four bay horses for his carriage of state.

I escorted my mother's nephew,
Long, long did I think of him.
What did I present to him?
A precious jasper, and gems for his girdle-pendant.

135. QUAN YU

He assigned us a house large and spacious;
But now at every meal there is nothing left.
Alas that he could not continue as he began!

He assigned us at every meal four dishes of grain;
But now at every meal we do not get our fill.
Alas that he could not continue as he began!

THE ODES OF CHEN

136. WAN QIU

How gay and dissipated you are,
There on the top of Wanqiu!
You are full of kindly affection indeed,
But you have nothing to make you looked up to!

How your blows on the drum resound,
At the foot of Wanqiu!
Be it winter, be it summer,
You are holding your egret's feather!

How you beat your earthen vessel,
On the way to Wanqiu!
Be it winter, be it summer,
You are holding your egret-fan!

137. DONG MEN ZHI FEN

[There are] the white elms at the east gate.
And the oaks on Wanqiu;
The daughter of Zizhong,
Dances about under them.

A good morning having been chosen,
For the plain in the South,
She leaves twisting her hemp,
And dances to it through the market-place.

The morning being good for excursion,
They all proceed together.
‘I look on you as the flower of the thorny mallow;
You give me a stalk of the pepper plant.

138. HENG MEN

Beneath my door made of cross pieces of wood,
I can rest at my leisure;
By the wimpling stream from my fountain,
I can joy amid my hunger.

Why, in eating fish;
Must we have bream from the He?
Why, in taking a wife,
Must we have a Jiang of Qi?

Why, in eating fish;
Must we have carp from the He?
Why, in taking a wife,
Must we have a Zi of Song?

139. DONG MEN ZHI CHI

The moat at the east gate,
Is fit to steep hemp in.
That beautiful, virtuous, lady,
Can respond to you in songs.

The moat at the east gate,
Is fit to steep the boehmeria in.
That beautiful, virtuous, lady,
Can respond to you in discourse.

The moat at the east gate,
Is fit to steep the rope-rush in.
That beautiful, virtuous lady,
Can respond to you in conversation.

140. DONG MEN ZHI YANG

On the willows at the east gate,
The leaves are very luxuria....
The evening was the time agreed on,
And the morning star is shining bright.

On the willows at the east gate,
The leaves are dense.
The evening was the time agreed on,
And the morning star is shining bright.

141. MU MEN

At the gate to the tombs there are jujube trees; —
They should be cut away with an axe.
That man is not good,
And the people of the State know it.
They know it, but he does not give over; —
Long time has it been thus with him.

At the gate to the tombs there are plum trees;
And there are owls collecting on them.
That man is not good,
And I sing [this song] to admonish him.
I admonish him, but he will not regard me; —
When he is overthrown, he will think of me.

142. FANG YOU QUE CHAO

On the embankment are magpies' nests;
On the height grows the beautiful pea.
Who has been imposing on the object of my admiration?
— My heart is full of sorrow.

The middle path of the temple is covered with its tiles;
On the height is the beautiful medallion plant.
Who has been imposing on the object of my admiration?
— My heart is full of trouble.

143. YUE CHU

The moon comes forth in her brightness;
How lovely is that beautiful lady!
O to have my deep longings for her relieved!
How anxious is my toiled heart!

The moon comes forth in her splendour;
How attractive is that beautiful lady!
O to have my anxieties about her relieved!
How agitated is my toiled heart!

The moon comes forth and shines;
How brilliant is that beautiful lady!
O to have the chains of my mind relaxed!
How miserable is my toiled heart!

144. ZHU LIN

What does he in Zhulin?
He is going after Xianan.
He is not going to Zhulin;
He is going after Xianan.

‘Yoke for me my team of horses;
I will rest in the country about Zhu.
I will drive my team of colts,
And breakfast at Zhu.’

145. ZE PO

By the shores of that marsh,
There are rushes and lotus plants.
There is the beautiful lady; —
I am tortured for her, but what avails it?
Waking or sleeping, I do nothing;
From my eyes and nose the water streams.

By the shores of that marsh,
There are rushes and the valerian.
There is the beautiful lady;
Tall and large, and elegant.
Waking or sleeping, I do nothing;
My inmost heart is full of grief.

By the shores of that marsh,
There are rushes and lotus flowers.
There is the beautiful lady;
Tall and large, and majestic.
Waking or sleeping, I do nothing;
On my side, on my back, with my face on the pillow, I lie.

THE ODES OF KUAI

146. GAO QIU

In your lamb's fur you saunter about;
In your fox's fur you hold your court.
How should I not think anxiously about you?
My toiled heart is full of grief.

In your lamb's fur you wander aimlessly about;
In your fox's fur you appear in your hall.
How should I not think anxiously about you?
My heart is wounded with sorrow.

Your lamb's fur, as if covered with ointment;
Glistens when the sun comes forth.
How should I not think anxiously about you?
To the core of my heart I am grieved.

147. SU GUAN

If I could but see the white cap,
And the earnest mourner worn to leanness! —
My toiled heart is worn with grief!

If I could but see the white [lower] dress! —
My heart is wounded with sadness!
I should be inclined to go and live with the wearer!

If I could but see the white knee-covers! —
Sorrow is knotted in my heart!
I should almost feel as of one soul with the wearer!

148. XI YOU CHANG CHU

In the low wet grounds is the carambola tree;
Soft and pliant are its branches,
With the glossiness of tender beauty.
I should rejoice to be like you, [O tree], without consciousness.

In the low, damp grounds is the carambola tree;
Soft and delicate are its flowers,
With the glossiness of its tender beauty.
I should rejoice to be like you, [O tree], without a family.

In the low, damp grounds is the carambola tree;
Soft and delicate is its fruit,
With the glossiness of its tender beauty.
I should rejoice to be like you, [O tree], without a household.

149. FEI FENG

Not for the violence of the wind;
Not for a rushing motion of a chariot; —
But when I look to the road to Zhou,
Am I pained to the core of my heart.

Not for the whirlwind;
Not for the irregular motion of a chariot; —
But when I look to the road to Zhou,
Am I sad to the core of my heart.

Who can cook fish?
I will wash his boilers for him.
Who will loyally go to the west?
I will cheer him with good words.

THE ODES OF CAO

150. FU YOU

The wings of the ephemera,
Are robes, bright and splendid.
My heart is grieved; —
Would they but come and abide with me!

The wings of the ephemera,
Are robes, variously adorned.
My heart is grieved; —
Would they but come and rest with me!

The ephemera bursts from its hole,
With a robe of hemp like snow.
My heart is grieved; —
Would they but come and lodge with me!

151. HOU REN

Those officers of escort,
Have their carriers of lances and halberds.
But these creatures,
With their three hundred red covers for the knees! — The pelican is on the dam,
And will not wet his wings!
These creatures,
Are not equal to their dress!

The pelican is on the dam,
And will not wet his beak!
These creatures,
Do not respond to the favour they enjoy.

Extensive and luxuriant is the vegetation,
And up the south hill in the morning rise the vapours.
Tender is she and lovely,
But the young lady is suffering from hunger.

152. SHI JIU

The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree,
And her young ones are seven.
The virtuous man, the princely one,
Is uniformly correct in his deportment.
He is uniformly correct in his deportment,
His heart is as if it were tied to what is correct.

The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree,
And her young ones are in the plum tree.
The virtuous man, the princely one,
Has his girdle of silk.
His girdle is of silk,
And his cap is of spotted deer-skin.

The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree,
And her young ones are in the jujube tree.
The virtuous man, the princely one,
Has nothing wrong in his deportment.
He has nothing wrong in his deportment,
And thus he rectifies the four quarters of the State.

The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree,
And her young ones are in the hazel tree.
The virtuous man, the princely one,
Rectifies the people of the State.
He rectifies the people of his State: —
May he continue for ten thousand years!

153. XIA QUAN

Cold come the waters down from that spring,
And overflow the bushy wolf's-tail grass,
Ah me! I awake and sigh,
Thinking of that capital of Zhou.

Cold come the waters down from that spring,
And overflow the bushy southernwood,
Ah me! I awake and sigh,
Thinking of that capital of Zhou.

Cold come the waters down from that spring,
And overflow the bushy divining plants,
Ah me! I awake and sigh,
Thinking of that capital-city.

Beautifully grew the fields of young millet,
Enriched by fertilizing rains.
The States had their sovereign,
And there was the chief of Xun to reward their princes.

THE ODES OF BIN

154. QI YUE

In the seventh month, the Fire Star passes the meridian;
In the 9th month, clothes are given out.
In the days of [our] first month, the wind blows cold;
In the days of [our] second, the air is cold; —
Without the clothes and garments of hair,
How could we get to the end of the year?
In the days of [our] third month, they take their ploughs in hand;
In the days of [our] fourth, they take their way to the fields.
Along with my wife and children,
I carry food to them in those south-lying acres.
The surveyor of the fields comes, and is glad.

In the seventh month, the Fire Star passes the meridian;
In the ninth month, clothes are given out.
With the spring days the warmth begins,
And the oriole utters its song.
The young women take their deep baskets,
And go along the small paths,
Looking for the tender [leaves of the] mulberry trees.
As the spring days lengthen out,
They gather in crowds the white southernwood.
That young lady's heart is wounded with sadness,
For she will [soon] be going with one of our princess as his wife.

In the seventh month, the Fire Star passes the meridian;
In the eighth month are the sedges and reeds.
In the silkworm month they strip the mulberry branches of their leaves,
And take their axes and hatchets,
To lop off those that are distant and high;
Only stripping the young trees of their leaves.
In the seventh month, the shrike is heard;
In the eighth month, they begin their spinning; —
They make dark fabrics and yellow.
Our red manufacture is very brilliant,
It is for the lower robes of our young princes.

In the fourth month, the Small grass is in seed

In the fourth month, the Sinan grass is in seed.
In the fifth, the cicada gives out its note.
In the eighth, they reap.
In the tenth, the leaves fall.
In the days of [our] first month, they go after badgers,
And take foxes and wild cats,
To make furs for our young princes.
In the days of [our] second month, they have a general hunt,
And proceed to keep up the exercises of war.
The boars of one year are for themselves;
Those of three years are for our prince.

In the fifth month, the locust moves its legs;
In the sixth month, the spinner sounds its wings.
In the seventh month, in the fields;
In the eighth month, under the eaves;
In the ninth month, about the doors;
In the tenth month, the cricket
Enters under our beds.
Chinks are filled up, and rats are smoked out;
The windows that face [the north] are stopped up;
And the doors are plastered.
'Ah! our wives and children,
'Changing the year requires this:
Enter here and dwell.'

In the sixth month they eat the sparrow-plums and grapes;
In the seventh, they cook the Kui and pulse,
In the eighth, they knock down the dates;
In the tenth, they reap the rice;
And make the spirits for the spring,
For the benefit of the bushy eyebrows.
In the seventh month, they eat the melons;
In the eighth, they cut down the bottle-gourds;
In the ninth, they gather the hemp-seed;
They gather the sowthistle and make firewood of the Fetid tree;
To feed our husbandmen.

In the ninth month, they prepare the vegetable gardens for their stacks,
And in the tenth they convey the sheaves to them;

The millets, both the early sown and the late,
With other grain, the hemp, the pulse, and the wheat.
‘O my husbandmen,
Our harvest is all collected.
Let us go to the town, and be at work on our houses.
In the day time collect the grass,
And at night twist it into ropes;
Then get up quickly on our roofs; —
We shall have to recommence our sowing.’

In the days of [our] second month, they hew out the ice with harmonious blows;
And in those of [our] third month, they convey it to the ice-houses,
[Which they open] in those of the fourth, early in the morning,
Having offered in sacrifice a lamb with scallions.
In the ninth month, it is cold, with frost;
In the tenth month, they sweep clean their stack-sites.
The two bottles of spirits are enjoyed,
And they say, ‘Let us kill our lambs and sheep,
And go to the hall of our prince,
There raise the cup of rhinoceros horn,
And wish him long life, — that he may live for ever.’

155. CHI XIAO

O owl, O owl,
You have taken my young ones; —
Do not [also] destroy my nest.
With love and with toil,
I nourished them. — I am to be pitied.

Before the sky was dark with rain,
I gathered the roots of the mulberry tree,
And bound round and round my window and door.
Now ye people below,
Dare any of you despise my house?

With my claws I tore and held.
Through the rushes which I gathered,
And all the materials I collected,
My mouth was all sore; —
I said to myself, ‘I have not yet got my house complete.’

My wings are all-injured;
My tail is all-broken;
My house is in a perilous condition;
It is tossed about in the wind and rain: —
I can but cry out with this note of alarm.

156. DONG SHAN

We went to the hills of the east,
And long were we there without returning,
When we came from the east,
Down came the rain drizzlingly.
When we were in the east, and it was said we should return,
Our hearts were in the west and sad;
But there were they preparing our clothes for us,
As to serve no more in the ranks with the gags.
Creeping about were the caterpillars,
All over the mulberry grounds;
And quietly and solitarily did we pass the night,
Under our carriages.

We went to the hills of the east,
And long were we there without returning,
When we came from the east,
Down came the rain drizzlingly.
The fruit of the heavenly gourd,
Would be hanging about our eaves;
The sowbug would be in our chambers;
The spiders webs would be in our doors;
Our paddocks would be deer-fields;
The fitful light of the glow-worms would be all about.
These thoughts made us apprehensive,
And they occupied our breasts.

We went to the hills of the east,
And long were we there without returning,
On our way back from the east,
Down came the rain drizzlingly.
The cranes were crying on the ant-hills;
Our wives were sighing in their rooms;
They had sprinkled and swept, and stuffed up all the crevices.
Suddenly we arrived from the expedition,
And there were the bitter gourds hanging,
From the branches of the chestnut trees.
Since we had seen such a sight

Since we had seen such a sight,
Three years were now elapsed.

We went to the hills of the east,
And long were we there without returning,
On our way back from the east,
Down came the rain drizzlingly.
The oriole is flying about,
Now here, now there, are its wings.
Those young ladies are going to be married,
With their bay and red horses, flecked with white.
Their mothers have tied their sashes;
Complete are their equipments.
The new matches are admirable; —
How can the reunions of the old be expressed?

157. PO FU

We broke our axes,
And we splintered our hatchets;
But the object of the duke of Zhou, in marching to the east,
Was to put the four States to rights.
His compassion for us people,
Is very great.

We broke our axes,
And we splintered our chisels;
But the object of the duke of Zhou, in marching to the east,
Was to reform the four States.
His compassion for us people,
Is very admirable.

We broke our axes,
And splintered our clubs.
But the object of the duke of Zhou, in marching to the east,
Was to save the alliance of the four States.
His compassion for us people,
Is very excellent.

158. FA KE

In hewing [the wood for] an axe-handle, how do you proceed?
Without [another] axe it cannot be done.
In taking a wife, how do you proceed?
Without a go-between it cannot be done.

In hewing an axe-handle, in hewing an axe-handle,
The pattern is not far off.
I see the lady,
And forthwith the vessels are arranged in rows.

159. JIU YU

In the net with its nine bags,
Are rud and bream.
We see this prince,
With his grand-ducal robe and embroidered skirt.

The wild geese fly [only] about the islets.
The duke is returning; — is it not to his proper place?
He was stopping with you [and me] but for a couple of nights.

The wild geese fly about the land.
The duke is returning, and will not come back here?
He was lodging with you [and me] but for a couple of nights.

160. LANG BA

The wolf springs forward on his dewlap,
Or trips back on his tail.
The duke was humble, and greatly admirable,
Self-composed in his red slippers.

The wolf springs forward on his dewlap,
Or trips back on his tail.
The duke was humble, and greatly admirable,
There is no flaw in his virtuous fame.

PART II. MINOR ODES OF THE KINGDOM

DECADE OF LU MING

161. LU MING

With pleased sounds the deer call to one another,
Eating the celery of the fields.
I have here admirable guests;
The lutes are struck, and the organ is blown [for them]; —
The organ is blown till its tongues are all moving.
The baskets of offerings [also] are presented to them.
The men love me,
And will show me the perfect path.

With pleased sounds the deer call to one another,
Eating the southernwood of the fields.
I have here admirable guests;
Whose virtuous fame is grandly brilliant.
They show the people not to be mean;
The officers have in them a pattern and model.
I have good wine,
Which my admirable guests drink, enjoying themselves.

With pleased sounds the deer call to one another,
Eating the salsola of the fields.
I have here admirable guests;
For whom are struck the lutes, large and small.
The lutes, large and small, are struck,
And our harmonious joy is long-continued.
I have good wine,
To feast and make glad the hearts of my admirable guests.

162. SI MU

My four steeds advanced without stopping;
The way from Zhou was winding and tedious.
Did I not have the wish to return?
But the king's business was not to be slackly performed;
And my heart was wounded with sadness.

My four steeds advanced without stopping;
They panted and snorted, the white steeds black-maned.
Did I not have the wish to return?
But the king's business was not to be slackly performed;
And I had not leisure to kneel or to sit.

The Filial doves keep flying about,
Now soaring aloft, and now descending,
Collecting on the bushy oaks;
But the king's business was not to be slackly performed;
And I had not leisure to nourish my father.

The Filial doves keep flying about,
Now flying, now stopping,
Collecting on the bushy medlars;
But the king's business was not to be slackly performed;
And I had not leisure to nourish my mother.

I yoked my four white steeds, black-maned;
They hurried away with speed.
[But] did I not wish to return?
Therefore I make this song,
Announcing my wish to nourish my mother.

163. HUANG HUANG ZHE HUA

Brilliant are the flowers,
On those level heights and the low grounds.
Complete and alert is the messenger, with his suite,
Ever anxious lest he should not succeed.

My horses are young;
The six reins look as if they were moistened.
I gallop them, and urge them on,
Everywhere pushing my inquiries.

My horses are piebald;
The six reins are like silk.
I gallop them, and urge them on,
Everywhere seeking information and counsel.

My horses are white and black-maned;
The six reins look glossy.
I gallop them, and urge them on,
Everywhere seeking information and advice.

My horses are grey;
The six reins are well in hand.
I gallop them, and urge them on,
Everywhere seeking information and suggestions.

164. CHANG DI

The flowers of the cherry tree —
Are they not gorgeously displayed?
Of all the men in the world,
There are none equal to brothers.

On the dreaded occasions of death and burial,
It is brothers who greatly sympathize.
When fugitives are collected on the heights and low grounds,
They are brothers who will seek one another out.

There is the wagtail on the level height; —
When brothers are in urgent difficulties,
Friends, though they may be good,
Will [only] heave long sighs.

Brothers may quarrel inside the walls,
But they will oppose insult from without,
When friends, however good they may be,
Will not afford help.

When death and disorder are past,
And there are tranquillity and rest;
Although they have brothers,
[Some] reckon them not equal to friends.

Your dishes may be set in array,
And you may drink to satiety;
But it is when your brothers are all present,
That you are harmonious and happy, with child-like joy.

Loving union with wife and children,
Is like the music of lutes;
But it is the accord of brothers,
Which makes the harmony and happiness lasting.

For the ordering of your family,
For your joy in your wife and children,

Examine this and study it; —
Will you not find that it is truly so?

165. FA MU

On the trees go the blows ding-ding;
And the birds cry out ying-ying.
One issues from the dark valley,
And removes to the lofty tree,
While ying goes its cry,
Seeking with its voice its companion.
Look at the bird,
Bird as it is, seeking with its voice its companion;
And shall a man,
Not seek to have his friends?
Spiritual beings will then hearken to him;
He shall have harmony and peace.

Xu-xu they go, as they fell the trees.
I have strained off my spirits, till they are fine,
And the fatted lambs are provided,
To which to invite my paternal uncles.
It is better that something should keep them from coming,
Than that I should not have regarded them.
Oh! brightly I have sprinkled and swept my courtyard,
And arranged my viands, with eight dishes of grain, along with my fatted meat,
To which to invite my maternal uncles.
It is better that something should keep them from coming,
Than that there should be blame attaching to me.

They fell down the trees along the hill-side.
I have strained off my spirits in abundance;
The dishes stand in rows,
And none of my brethren are absent.
The loss of kindly feeling among people,
May arise from faults in the matter of dry provisions.
If I have spirits I strain them, do I;
If I have no spirits, I buy them, do I;
I make the drums beat, do I;
I lead on the dance, do I.
Whenever we have leisure,
Let us drink the sparkling spirits.

Let us drink the sparkling spirits.

166. TIAN BAO

Heaven protects and establishes thee,
With the greatest security;
Makes thee entirely virtuous,
That thou mayest enjoy every happiness;
Grants thee much increase,
So that thou hast all in abundance.

Heaven protects and establishes thee,
It grants thee all excellence,
So that thine every matter is right,
And thou receivest every heavenly favour.
It sends down to thee long-during happiness,
Which the days are not sufficient to enjoy.

Heaven protects and establishes thee,
So that in every thing thou dost prosper,
Like the high hills, and the mountain masses,
Like the topmost ridges, and the greatest bulks;
That, as the stream ever coming on,
Such is thine increase.

With happy auspices and purifications, thou bringest the offerings,
And dost filially present them;
In spring, summer, autumn, and winter,
To the dukes and former kings,
Who says, ‘We give to thee,
Myriad of years of duration unlimited.’

The spirits come,
And confer on thee many blessings.
The people are simple and honest,
Daily enjoying their meat and drink.
All the black-haired race, in all their surnames,
Universally practise your virtue.

Like the moon advancing to the full,
Like the sun ascending the heavens,

Like the age of the southern hills,
Never waning, never falling,
Like the luxuriance of the fir and the cypress; —
May such be thy succeeding line!

167. CAI WEI

Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns;
The thorn-ferns are now springing up.
When shall we return? When shall we return?
It will be late in the [next] year.
Wife and husband will be separated,
Because of the Xian-yun.
We shall have no leisure to rest,
Because of the Xian-yun.

Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns;
The thorn-ferns are now tender.
When shall we return? When shall we return?
Our hearts are sorrowful;
Our hearts are sad and sorrowful;
We shall hunger, we shall thirst.
While our service on guard is not finished,
We can send no one home to enquire about our families.

Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns;
The thorn-ferns are now hard.
When shall we return? When shall we return?
The year will be in the tenth month.
But the king's business must not be slackly performed;
We shall have no leisure to rest.
Our sorrowing hearts are in great distress;
But we shall not return from our expedition.

What is that so gorgeous?
It is the flowers of the cherry tree.
What carriage is that?
It is the carriage of our general.
His war carriage is yoked;
The four steeds are strong.
Dare we remain inactive?
In one month we shall have three victories.

The four steeds are voked.

The four steeds, eager and strong; —
The confidence of the general,
The protection of the men.
The four steeds move regularly, like wings; —
There are the bow with its ivory ends, and the seal-skin quiver.
Shall we not daily warn one another?
The business of the Xian-yun is very urgent.

At first, when we set out,
The willows were fresh and green;
Now, when we shall be returning,
The snow will be falling in clouds.
Long and tedious will be our marching;
We shall hunger; we shall thirst.
Our hearts are wounded with grief,
And no one knows our sadness.

168. CHU CHE

We proceeded with our carriage,
To those pasture grounds.
‘From the place of the son of Heaven,
Came an order to me to march,’ [said the general].
So he called his carriage-officers,
And told them to get the carriages all ready.
‘The king’s business,’ [said he], ‘is surrounded with difficulties;
We must use despatch.’

We proceeded with our carriage,
To that suburban region.
The banner with tortoises and serpents was raised,
And the ox-tails set up at the top of its staff;
Did not it and the falcon banner,
Fly about grandly?
The [general’s] heart was anxious and sad,
And the carriage-officers appeared full of care.

The king charged Nan Zhong,
To go and build a wall in the [disturbed] region.
How numerous were his chariots!
How splendid his dragon, his tortoise and serpent flags!
The son of Heaven had charged us,
To build a wall in that northern region.
Awe-inspiring was Nan Zhong;
The Xian-yun were sure to be swept away!

When we were marching at first,
The millets were in flower.
Now that we are returning,
The snow falls, and the roads are all mire.
The king’s business was not to be slackly performed,
And we had not leisure to rest.
Did we not long to return?
But we were in awe of the orders in the tablets.

‘Yao-yao go the grass-insects,

And the hoppers leap about.
While we do not see our husbands,
Our hearts must be full of grief.
Let us but see our husbands,
And our hearts will be at rest.'
The awe-inspiring Nan Zhong,
Is smiting the Rong of the west.

The spring-days are lengthening out;
The plants and trees grow full of verdure;
The oriole's cry comes jie-jie;
[Our wives] go in crowds to gather the white southernwood.
With our prisoners for the question and our captive crowd,
We return.
Awe-inspiring is Nan zhong;
The Xian-yun are pacified.

169. DI DU

Solitary stands the russet pear tree,
With its fruit so bright.
The king's business must not be slackly performed,
And the days are prolonged with us one after another.
The sun and moon are in the tenth month.
My woman's heart is wounded;
My soldier might have leisure [to return]!

Solitary stands the russet pear tree,
With its leaves so luxuriant.
The king's business must not be slackly performed,
And my heart is wounded and sad.
The plants and trees are luxuriant,
But my heart is sad.
O that my soldier might return!

I ascended that hill in the north,
To gather the medlars.
The king's business must not be slackly performed,
And our parents are made sorrowful.
His chariot of sandal wood must be damaged;
His four horses must be worn out;
My soldier cannot be far off.

They have not packed up, they do not come;
My sorrowing heart is greatly distressed.
The time is past, and he is not here,
To the multiplication of my sorrows.
Both by the tortoise shell and the reeds have I divined,
And they unite in saying he is near.
My soldier is at hand!

DECADE OF BAIHUA

170. YU LI

The fish pass into the basket,
Yellow-jaws and sand-blowers.
Our host has spirits,
Good and abundance of them.

The fish pass into the basket,
Bream and tench.
Our host has spirits,
Abundance of them and good.

The fish pass into the basket,
Mud-fish and carp.
Our host has spirits,
Good and in quantities.

The viands are abundant,
And they are admirable.

The viands are excellent,
Both from the land and the sea.

The viands are in quantities,
And all in season.

171. NAN YOU JIA YU

In the south is the barbel,
And, in multitudes, they are taken under baskets.
The host has spirits,
On which his admirable quests feast with him joyfully.

In the south is the barbel,
And, in multitudes, they are taken with wicker nets.
The host has spirits,
On which his admirable quests feast with him, delighted.

In the south are trees with curved drooping branches,
And the sweet gourds cling to them.
The host has spirits,
On which his admirable quests feast with him cheerfully.

The Filial doves keep flying about,
Coming in multitudes.
The host has spirits,
On which his admirable quests feast with him again and again.

172. NAN SHAN YOU TAI

On the hills of the south is the Tai plant,
On those of the north is the Lai.
To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men,
The foundations of the State.
To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; —
May your years be myriads and without end!

On the hills of the south are the mulberry trees,
On those of the north are willows.
To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men,
The light of the State.
To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; —
May your years be myriads, unlimited!

On the hills of the south are medlars;
On those of the north are plum trees.
To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men,
Parents of the people.
To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; —
May your virtuous fame have no end!

On the hills of the south is the Kao;
On those of the north is the Niu.
To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men,
Have ye not the eyebrows of longevity?
To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; —
May your virtuous fame be abundant!

On the hills of the south is the Ju;
On those of the north is the Yu.
To be rejoiced in are ye, gentlemen; —
Will ye not have the grey hair and wrinkled face?
To be rejoiced in are ye, gentlemen; —
May ye preserve and maintain your posterity!

173. LIAO XIAO

How long grows the southernwood,
With the dew lying on it so bright!
Now that I see my noble men,
My heart is entirely satisfied.
As we feast, we laugh and talk; —
It is right they should have fame and prosperity!

How long grows the southernwood,
With the dew lying on it so abundantly!
Now that I see my noble men,
I appreciate their favour and their brightness.
Their virtue is without taint of error; —
May they live long, and not be forgotten!

How high is the southernwood,
All wet with the fallen dew!
Now that I see my noble men,
Grandly we feast, delighted and complacent.
May their relations with their brothers be right!
May they be happy in their excellent virtue to old age!

How high is the southernwood,
With the dew lying on it so richly!
I have seen my noble men,
With the ends of their reins hanging down,
With the bells tinkling on their cross-boards and bits.
May all happiness gather upon them.

174. ZHAN LU

Heavy lies the dew;
Nothing but the sun can dry it.
Happily and long into the night we drink; —
Till all are drunk, there is no retiring.

Heavy lies the dew;
On that luxuriant grass.
Happily and long into the night we drink.
In the honoured apartment we complete our carousal.

Heavy lies the dew;
On those willows and jujube trees.
Distinguished and true are my noble quests, —
Every one of excellent virtue.

From the Tong and the Yi,
Their fruit hangs down.
Happy and self-possessed are my noble quests, —
Every one of them of excellent deportment.

175. TONG GONG

The red bows unbent,
Were received and deposited.
I have here an admirable quest,
And with all my heart I bestow one on him.
The bells and drums have been arranged in order,
And all morning will I feast him.

The red bows unbent,
Were received and fitted on their frames.
I have here an admirable quest,
And with all my heart I rejoice in him.
The bells and drums have been arranged in order,
And all morning will I honour him.

The red bows unbent,
Were received and placed in their cases.
I have here an admirable quest,
And with all my heart I love him.
The bells and drums have been arranged in order,
And all morning will I pledge him.

176. JING JING ZHE E

Luxuriantly grows the aster-southernwood,
In the midst of that large mound.
Since we see our noble lord,
We rejoice, and he shows us all courtesy.

Luxuriantly grows the aster-southernwood,
In the midst of that islet.
Since we see our noble lord,
Our hearts are full of joy.

Luxuriantly grows the aster-southernwood,
In the midst of that great height.
We see our noble lord,
And he gives us a hundred sets of cowries.

It floats about, — the willow boat,
Now sinking, now rising again.
Since we see our noble lord,
Our hearts are at rest.

177. LIU YUE

In the sixth month all was bustle and excitement.
The war carriages had been made ready,
With the four steeds [of each], strong and eager;
And the regular accoutrements had been placed in the carriages.
The Xian-yun were in blazing force,
And thence was the urgency.
The king had ordered their expedition,
To deliver the royal kingdom.

Matched in strength were the four black steeds,
Well trained to observe every rule.
On this sixth month,
We completed our accoutrements.
Our accoutrements were completed,
And we marched thirty Li [every day].
The king had ordered their expedition,
To help the son of Heaven.

The four steeds were long, and stout,
And large-headed.
We smote the Xian-yun,
And achieved great merit.
Severely strict and careful [was our leader],
Discharging his military service, —
Discharging his military service,
And settling thereby the royal kingdom.

Badly reckoned the Xian-yun,
When they confidently occupied Jiao and Huo,
And overran Hao and Fang,
As far as to the north of the Jing.
On our flags was their blazonry of birds,
While their white streamers fluttered brightly.
Ten large war chariots,
Led the way in front.

The war carriages were well made.

Nicely balanced, before and behind.
Their four steeds were strong,
Both strong and well trained.
We smote the Xian-yun,
As far as Tai-yuan.
For peace or for war fit is Ji-fu,
A pattern to all the States.

Ji-fu feasts and is glad;
Great happiness is his.
In returning from Hao,
Distant and long had been our march.
He entertains and feasts his friends,
With roast turtle and minced carp.
And who are there?
There is Zhang Zhong, the filial and brotherly.

178. CAI QI

They were gathering the white millet,
In those new fields,
And in these acres brought only one year under cultivation,
When Fang Shu came to take the command.
His chariots were three thousand,
With a host of well-disciplined warriors.
Fang Shu led them on,
In his carriage drawn by four piebalds,
Four piebalds orderly moving.
Red shone his grand carriage,
With its chequered bamboo screen, and seal-skin quivers,
With the hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, and the rein-ends.

They were gathering the white millet,
In those new fields,
And all about these villages,
When Fang Shu came to take the command.
His chariots were three thousand;
His banners, with their blazonry of dragons, and of serpents and tortoises, fluttered gaily.
Fang Shu led them on,
The naves of his wheels bound with leather, and his yoke ornamented.
Tinkle-tinkle went the eight bells at the horses' bits.
He wore the robes conferred [by the king];
His red knee-covers were resplendent,
And the gems of his girdle-pendant sounding.

Rapid is the flight of the hawk,
Soaring to the heavens,
And again descending and settling in its place.
Fang Shu came to take the command.
His chariots were three thousand,
With a host of well disciplined warriors.
Fang Shu led them on.
With his janglers and drummers,
He marshalled his hosts and addressed them.
Intelligent and true is Fang Shu

Intelligent and true is Fang Shu,
Deep rolled the sound of his drums;
With a lighter sound he led the troops back.

Foolish were the savage tribes of King,
Presuming to oppose our great region.
Fang Shu is of great age,
But full of vigour were his plans.
He led his army on,
Seized [the chiefs] for the question, and made captives of a crowd [besides].
Numerous were his war chariots,
Numerous and in grand array,
Like the clap or the roll of thunder their onset.
Intelligent and true is Fang Shu.
He had gone and smitten the Xian-yun,
And the tribes of King came, awed by his majesty.

179. CHE GONG

Our chariots were strong,
Our horses were well matched,
And with four steeds [for each], sleek and large,
We yoked and proceeded to the east.

Our hunting carriages were good,
And their four steeds in fine condition.
Eastwards were the grassy plains of Fu; —
We yoked and went there to hunt.

Of the officers in charge of the hunt,
The voices resounded as they told off the men.
They set up the banners, with ox-tails displayed,
And we proceeded to pursue the chase in Ao.

With their four-horsed chariots [they came],
Forming a long train,
In their red knee-covers and gold-adorned slippers,
Like the crowd of an occasional or a general audience.

The bowstring thimbles and armlets were fitted on;
The bows and arrows were adjusted to one another;
The archers acted in unison,
Helping us to rear a pile of game.

Of the four yellow horses of each chariot,
The two outsiders inclined not to either side.
No error in driving was committed,
And the arrows went forth like downright blows.

As if at their ease, the horses neighed,
Long and slow moved the line of pennons and banners;
The footmen and charioteers created no alarms;
The great kitchen did not claim its full complement.

So did the officers conduct this expedition,
Without any clamour in the noise of it.

Truly a princely man is [the king];
Great indeed are his achievements!

180. JI RI

A lucky day was wu,
And we sacrificed on it to the Ruler [of horses], and prayed.
Our hunting carriages were good;
The team for each was in fine condition.
We would ascend the greatest heights,
And pursue the herds [of the game].

A lucky day was geng-wu.
We had selected our horses;
The haunts of the animals,
Where the does and stags lay numerous,
The grounds by the Qi and the Ju, —
That was the place for the son of Heaven [to hunt].

We looked to the midst of the plain,
Where the animals were large and abundant,
Now rushing about, now waiting together,
Here in threes, there in twos.
We led on all our attendants,
To give pleasure to the son of Heaven.

We have bent our bows;
We have our arrows on the string.
Here is a small boar transfixed;
There is a large rhinoceros killed.
The spoil will be presented to the visitors and guests,
Along with the cup of sweet wine.

181. HONG YAN

The wild geese are flying about;
Su-su goes the rustle of their wings.
[There were] those officers engaged on the commission.
Pained were we and toiled in the open fields;
All were objects of pity,
But alas for those wifeless and widows!

The wild geese are flying about;
And they settle in the midst of the marsh.
[There were] those officers directing the rearing of the walls; —
Five thousand cubits of them arose at once.
Though there was pain and toil,
In the end we had rest in our dwellings.

The wild geese are flying about,
And melancholy is their cry of ao-ao.
There were they, wise men,
Who recognized our pain and toil;
If they had been stupid men,
They would have said we were proclaiming our insolence.

182. TING LIAO

How goes the night?
It is not yet midnight.
The torch is blazing in the court-yard.
My princely men are arriving; —
There is the tinkling of their bells.

How goes the night?
The night is not yet through.
The torch is growing pale in the court-yard.
My princely men are arriving; —
There is the sound of their bells, regular and near.

How goes the night?
It is getting towards morning.
The torch is smoking in the court-yard.
My princely men are arriving; —
I see their banners.

183. MIAN SHUI

In large volume, those flowing waters,
Go to the court of the sea.
Rapid is that flying falcon,
Now soaring, now resting.
Alas! among my brethren,
My countrymen, my friends,
No one is willing to think of the prevailing disorder;
[But] who has not parents [to suffer from it]?

In large volume, those flowing waters,
Roll on their swollen flood.
Rapid is that flying falcon,
Now soaring, now rising higher.
When I think of those lawless men,
Now I rise up, now I walk about.
The sorrow of my heart,
Cannot be repressed nor forgotten.

Rapid is that flying falcon,
Yet he keeps along the middle of the height.
The talk of the people, —
Is there no means of stopping it?
If my friends would reverently [watch over themselves],
Would slanderous speeches be made?

184. HE MING

The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh,
And her voice is heard in the [distant] wilds.
The fish lies in the deep,
And now is by the islet.
Pleasant is that garden,
In which are the sandal trees;
But beneath them are only withered leaves.
The stones of those hills,
May be made into grind-stones.

The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh,
And her voice is heard in the sky.
The fish is by the islet,
And now it lies hid in the deep.
Pleasant is that garden,
In which are the sandal trees;
But beneath them is the paper-mulberry tree,
The stones of those hills,
May be used to polish gems.

DECADE OF QI FU

185. QI FU

Minister of war,
We are the claws and teeth of the king.
Why have you rolled us into this sorrow,
So that we have no abiding place?

Minister of war,
We are the taloned soldiers of the king.
Why have you rolled us into this sorrow,
So that there is no end [of our toils]?

Minister of war,
You have indeed acted without discrimination.
Why have you rolled us into this sorrow,
So that our mothers have to do all the labour of cooking?

186. BAI JU

Let the brilliant white colt,
Feed on the young growth of my vegetable garden.
Tether it by the foot, tie it by the collar,
To prolong this morning.
So may its owner of whom I think,
Spend his time here at his ease!

Let the brilliant white colt,
Feed on the bean sprouts of my vegetable garden.
Tether it by the foot, tie it by the collar,
To prolong this evening.
So may its owner of whom I think,
Be here, an admired quest!

If [you with] the brilliant white colt,
Would brightly come to me,
You should be a duke, you should be a marquis,
Enjoying yourself without end.
Be on your guard against idly wandering;
Deal vigorously with your thoughts of retirement.

The brilliant white colt,
Is there in that empty valley,
With a bundle of fresh grass.
Its owner is like a gem.
Do not make the news of you rare as gold and gems, —
Indulging your purpose to abandon me.

187. HUANG NIAO

Yellow bird, yellow bird,
Do not settle on the broussonetias,
Do not eat my paddy.
The people of this country,
Are not willing to treat me well.
I will return, I will go back,
Back to my country and kin.

Yellow bird, yellow bird,
Do not settle on the mulberry trees,
Do not eat my maize.
The people of this country,
Will not let me come to an understanding with them.
I will return, I will go back,
Back to my brethren.

Yellow bird, yellow bird,
Do not settle on the oaks,
Do not eat my grand millet.
The people of this country,
I cannot dwell with.
I will return, I will go back,
Back to my uncles.

188. WO XING QI YE

I travelled through the country,
Where the Fetid tree grew luxuriant.
Because of our affinity by marriage,
I went to reside with you.
But you do not entertain me;
And I go back to my country and clan.

I travelled through the country,
Gathering the sheep's-foot.
Because of our affinity by marriage,
I came to lodge with you.
But you do not entertain me;
And I will return, I will go back.

I travelled through the country,
Gathering the pokeweed.
You do not think of our old affinity,
And seek to please your new relative.
If indeed you are not influenced by her riches,
You still are so by the difference [between the new and the old].

189. SI GAN

By the graceful sweep of these banks,
With the southern hill, so calm in the distance,
[Has the palace arisen], firm as the roots of a clump of bamboos,
[With its roof] like the luxuriant head of a pine tree.
May the brothers [here],
Be loving among themselves,
And have no schemings against one another!

Having entered into the inheritance of his ancestors,
He has built his chambers, five thousand cubits of walls,
With their doors to the west and to the south.
Here will he reside; here will he sit;
Here will he laugh; here will he talk.

They bound the frames for the earth, exactly over one another;
Tuo-tuo went on the pounding; —
Impervious [the walls] to wind and rain,
Offering no cranny to bird or rat.
A grand dwelling is it for our noble lord.

Like a man on tip-toe, in reverent expectation;
Like an arrow, flying rapidly;
Like a bird which has changed its feathers;
Like a pheasant on flying wings;
Is the [hall] which our noble lord will ascend.

Level and smooth is the court-yard,
And lofty are the pillars around it.
Pleasant is the exposure of the chamber to the light,
And deep and wide are its recesses; —
Here will our noble lord repose.

On the rush-mat below, and that of fine bamboos above it,
Here may he repose in slumber!
May he sleep and awake,
[Saying] ‘Divine for me my dreams.
What dreams are lucky?

They have been of bears and grisly bears;
They have been of cobras and [other] serpents.'

The chief diviner will divine them.
The bears and grisly bears,
Are the auspicious intimations of sons.
The cobras and [other] serpents,
Are the auspicious intimations of daughters.

Sons shall be born to him: —
They will be put to sleep on couches;
They will be clothed in robes;
They will have sceptres to play with;
Their cry will be loud.
They will be [hereafter] resplendent with red knee-covers,
The [future] king, the princes of the land.

Daughters shall be born to him: —
They will be put to sleep on the ground;
They will be clothed with wrappers;
They will have tiles to play with.
It will be theirs neither to do wrong nor to do good.
Only about the spirits and the food will they have to think,
And to cause no sorrow to their parents.

190. WU YANG

Who can say that you have no sheep?
There are three hundred in [each] herd.
Who says that you have no cattle?
There are ninety, which are black-lipped.
Your sheep come,
Horned, but all agreeing.
Your cattle come,
Flapping their ears.

Some are descending among the mounds;
Some are drinking at the pools;
Some are lying down, some are moving about.
Your herdsmen come,
Bearing their rain-coats and bamboo-hats,
Or carrying on their backs their provisions.
In thirties are the creatures arranged according to their colours;
For your victims there is abundant provision.

Your herdsmen come,
With their large faggots, and smaller branches,
And with their prey of birds and beasts.
Your sheep come,
Vigorous and strong,
None injured, no infection in the herd.
At the wave of the [herdsman's] arm,
All come, all go up [into the fold].

Your herdsmen shall dream, —
Of multitudes and then of fishes;
Of the tortoise-and serpent; and then of the falcon banners.
The chief diviner will divine the dreams,
How the multitudes dissolving into fishes,
Betoken plentiful years;
How the tortoise-and-serpent dissolving into falcon banners,
Betoken the increasing population of the kingdom.

191. JIE NAN SHAN

Lofty is that southern hill,
With its masses of rocks!
Awe-inspiring are you, O [Grand] master Yin,
And the people all look to you!
A fire burns in their grieving hearts;
They do not dare to speak of you even in jest.
The kingdom is verging to extinction; —
How is it that you do not consider the state of things?

Lofty is that southern hill,
And vigorously grows the vegetation on it!
Awe-inspiring are you, O [Grand] master Yin,
But how is it that you are so unjust?
Heaven is continually redoubling its afflictions;
Deaths and disorder increase and multiply;
No words of satisfaction come from the people;
And yet you do not correct nor bemoan yourself!

The Grand-master Yin,
Is the foundation of our Zhou,
And the balance of the State is in his hands.
He should be keeping together the four quarters [of the kingdom];
He should be aiding the Son of Heaven,
So as to preserve the people from going astray.
O unpitying great Heaven,
It is not right he should reduce us all to such misery!

Doing nothing himself personally,
The people have no confidence in him,
By making no inquiry, and no trial of their services,
He should not deal deceitfully with superior men.
By dismissing them on the requirement of justice,
Mean men would not be endangering [the common weal];
And his mean relatives,
Would not be in offices of importance.

Great Heaven, unjust.

Is sending down these exhausting disorders.
Great Heaven, unkind,
Is sending down these great miseries.
Let superior men come [into office],
And that would bring rest to the people's hearts.
Let superior men do justly,
And the animosities and angers would disappear.

O unpitying, great Heaven,
There is no end to the disorder!
With every month it continues to grow,
So that the people have no repose.
I am as if intoxicated with the grief of my heart.
Who holds the ordering of the kingdom?
Not attending himself to the government,
The issue is toil and pain to the people.

I yoke my four steeds,
My four steeds, long-necked.
I look to the four quarters [of the kingdom];
Distress is everywhere; there is nowhere I can drive to.

Now your evil is rampant,
And I see your spears.
Again you are pacified and friendly,
As if you were pledging one another.

From great Heaven is the injustice,
And our king has no repose.
[Yet] he will not correct his heart,
And goes on to resent endeavours to rectify him.

I, Jia-fu, have made this song,
To lay bare the king's disorders.
If you would but change your heart,
And nourish the myriad States! —

192. ZHENG YUE

In the first month [of summer] the hoar-frost abounds,
And my heart is wounded with sorrow.
The false calumnies of the people,
Also wax greater and greater.
I think how I stand alone,
And the sorrow of my heart grows intense.
Alas! through my anxious cares,
My hidden sorrow goes on to make me ill.

Ye parents who gave me birth!
Was it to make me suffer this pain?
[Why was this time] not before me?
Or [why was it] not after me?
Their good words are [only] from the mouth;
Their bad words are [only] from the mouth.
The sorrow of my heart becomes greater,
And because of this I incur contempt.

My sorrow heart is very sad;
I think of my unfortunate position.
The innocent people,
Will all be reduced to servitude with me.
Alas for me!
From whom shall I henceforth get support?
I see a crow which will rest,
— But on whose house?

Look into the middle of the forest;
There are [only] large faggots and small branches in it.
The people now amidst their perils,
Look to Heaven, all dark.
But let its determination be fixed,
And there is none whom it will not overcome.
There is the great God, —
Does He hate any one?

If one sav of a hill that it is low.

There are its ridges, and its large masses.
The false calumnies of the people, —
How is it that you do not repress them?
You call those experienced ancients;
You consult the diviner of dreams:
They all say, ‘We are wise;
But who can distinguish the male and female crow?’

We say of the heavens that they are high,
But I dare not but stoop under them.
We say of the earth that it is thick,
But I dare not but walk daintily on it.
For my freely expressing myself thus,
I have reason, I have good ground.
Alas for the men of this time!
Why are they such cobras and efts?

Look at that rugged and stony field; —
Luxuriantly rises in it the springing grain!
[But] Heaven moves and shakes me,
As if it could not overcome me.
They sought me [at first] to be a pattern [to them],
[Eagerly] as if they could not get me.
[Now] they regard me with great animosity,
And will not use my strength.

My heart with its sorrow,
Feels as if it were tied and bound by something.
This government of the present time, —
How oppressive it is!
The flames, when they are blazing,
May still perhaps be extinguished;
But the majestic honoured capital of Zhou,
Is being destroyed by Si of Bao.

This issue is ever my anxious thought.
Moreover, you have the embarrassment of soaking rain.
Your carriage is loaded,
And if you throw away your wheel-aids,
Your load will be overturned.

Your load will be overturned,
And you will be crying, ‘O sir, help me!’

If you do throw away your wheel-aids,
Which give assistance to the spokes;
And if you constantly look after the driver,
You will not overturn your load,
And in the end will get over the most difficult places;
But you have not thought of this.

The fish are in the pond,
But they cannot enjoy themselves.
Although they dive to the bottom,
They are very clearly seen.
My sorrow heart is deeply pained,
When I think of the oppression in the kingdom.

They have their good spirits,
And their fine viands along with them.
They assemble their neighbours,
And their relatives are full of their praise.
When I think of my solitariness,
My sorrowing heart is full of distress.

Mean-like, those have their houses;
Abjects, they will have their emoluments.
But the people now have no maintenance.
For Heaven is pounding them with its calamities,
The rich may get through,
But alas for the helpless and solitary!

193. SHI YUE ZI JIAO

At the conjunction [of the sun and moon] in the tenth month,
On the first day of the moon, which was Xin-mao,
The sun was eclipsed,
A thing of very evil omen.
Then the moon became small,
And now the sun became small.
Henceforth the lower people,
Will be in a very deplorable case.

The sun and moon announce evil,
Not keeping to their proper paths.
All through the kingdom there is no [proper] government,
Because the good are not employed.
For the moon to be eclipsed,
Is but an ordinary matter.
Now that the sun has been eclipsed, —
How bad it is!

Grandly flashes the lightning of the thunder; —
There is a want of rest, a want of good.
The streams all bubble up and overflow.
The crags on the hill-tops fall down.
High banks become valleys;
Deep valleys become hills.
Alas for the men of this time!
How does [the king] not stop these things?

Huang-fu is the president;
Fan is the minister of instruction;
Jia-bo is the [chief] administrator;
Zhong-yun is the chief cook;
Zou is the recorder of the interior;
Jue is master of the house;
Yu is captain of the guards;
And the beautiful wife blazes, now in possession of her place.

This Huang-fu,

Will not acknowledge that he is acting out of season.
But why does he call us to action,
Without coming and consulting with us?
He has removed our walls and roofs,
And our fields are all either a marsh or a moor.
He says, 'I am not injuring you;
The laws require that thus it should be?'

Huang-fu is very wise;
He has built a great city for himself in Xiang.
He chose three men as his ministers,
All of them indeed of great wealth.
He could not bring himself to leave a single minister,
Who might guard our king.
He [also] selected those who had chariots and horses,
To go and reside in Xiang.'

I have exerted myself to discharge my service,
And do not dare to make a report of my toils.
Without crime or offense of any kind,
Slanderous mouths are loud against me.
[But] the calamities of the lower people,
Do not come down from Heaven.
A multitude of [fair] words, and hatred behind the back, —
The earnest, strong pursuit of this is from men.

Distant far is my village,
And my dissatisfaction is great.
In other quarters there is ease,
And I dwell here alone and sorrowful.
Every body is going into retirement,
And I alone dare not seek rest.
The ordinances of Heaven are inexplicable,
But I will not dare to follow my friends and leave my post.

194. YU WU ZHENG

Great and wide Heaven,
How is it you have contracted your kindness,
Sending down death and famine,
Destroying all through the kingdom?
Compassionate Heaven, arrayed in terrors,
How is it you exercise no forethought, no care?
Let alone the criminals: —
They have suffered for their offences;
But those who have no crime,
Are indiscriminately involved in ruin.

The honoured House of Zhou is [nearly] extinguished,
And there is no means of stopping or settling [the troubles].
The Heads of the officers have left their places,
And no one knows my toil.
The three high ministers, and [other] great officers,
Are unwilling [to attend to their duties] early and late.
The lords of the various States,
Are unwilling [to appear at court] morning and evening.
If indeed he would turn to good, —
But on the contrary he proceeds to [greater] evil.

How is it, O great Heaven,
That he will not hearken to the justest words?
He is like a man going [astray],
[Who knows] not where he will proceed to.
All ye officers,
Let each of you reverently attend to his duties.
How do ye not stand in awe of one another?
Ye do not stand in awe of Heaven.

War has done its work, but he withdraws not [from evil];
Famine has done its work, but he goes not on [to good];
So that I, a [mere] groom of the chambers,
Am full of grief and in pain daily.
All ye officers,
Ye are unwilling to declare [the truth to him]

Ye are unwilling to declare [the truth to him].
When you hear a question, you [simply] answer it,
And when slander touches you, you withdraw.

Alas that [right words] cannot be spoken,
Which come not from the tongue [only]!
The speakers of them are sure to suffer.
Well is it for the words that can be spoken!
The artful speech flows like a stream,
And the speakers dwell at ease in prosperity.

It may be said about taking office,
That it is full of hazard and peril.
By [advice] that he says cannot be followed,
You offend against the Son of Heaven.
By advice that he says will be followed,
You excite the resentment of your friends.

I say to you, ‘Remove to the royal capital,’
And ye say that you have not got houses there.
Painful are my inmost thoughts, and I weep blood; —
Every word I speak makes me hated;
But when you formerly left to reside elsewhere,
Who was it that made houses for you?

DECADE OF XIAO MIN

195. XIAO MIN

The angry terrors of Compassionate Heaven,
Extend through this lower world;
[The king's] counsels and plans are crooked and bad; —
When will he stop [in the course]?
Counsels which are good he will not follow,
And those which are not good he employs,
When I look at his counsels and plans,
I am greatly pained.

Now they agree, and now they defame one another; —
The case is greatly to be deplored.
If a counsel be good,
They all are found opposing it.
If a counsel be bad,
They all are found according with it.
When I look at such counsels and plans,
What will they come to?

Our tortoises are wearied out,
And will not tell us anything about the plans.
The counsellors are very many,
But on that account nothing is accomplished.
The speakers fill the court,
But who dares to take any responsibility on himself?
We are as if we consulted [about a journey] without taking a step in advance,
And therefore did not get on the road.

Alas! our formers of plans,
Do not take the ancients for their pattern,
And do not regulate them by great principles.
They only hearken to shallow words,
And quarrel about shallow words,
They are like one taking counsel with wayfarers about building a house.
Which will consequently never come to completion.

Although the kingdom be unsettled,
There are some who are wise, and others who are not.

Although the people may not be numerous,
Some have perspicacity, some have counsel,
Some have gravity, and some have orderliness.
But we are going on like the stream flowing from a spring,
And will sink together in a common ruin.

They dare not without weapons attack a tiger;
They dare not without a boat cross the He.
They know one thing,
But they only know that one.
We should be apprehensive and careful,
As if we were on the brink of a deep gulf,
As if we were treading on thin ice.

196. XIAO WAN

Small is the cooing dove,
But it flies aloft up to heaven.
My heart is wounded with sorrow,
And I think of our forefathers.
When the dawn is breaking, and I cannot sleep,
The thoughts in my breast are of our parents.

Men who are grave and wise,
Though they drink, are mild and masters of themselves;
But those who are benighted and ignorant,
Are devoted to drink, and more so daily.
Be careful, each of you, of your deportment; —
What Heaven confers, [when once lost], is not regained.

In the midst of the plain there is pulse,
And the common people gather it.
The mulberry insect has young ones,
And the sphex carries them away.
Teach and train your sons,
And they will become good as you are.

Look at the wagtail,
Flying, and at the same time twittering.
My days are advancing;
Your months are going on.
Rising early and going to sleep late,
Do not disgrace those who gave you birth.

The greenbeaks come and go,
Pecking up grain about the stack-yard.
Alas for the distressed and solitary,
Deemed fit inmates for the prisons!
With a handful of grain I go out and divine,
How I may be able to become good.

We must be mild, and humble,
As if we were perched on trees.

We must be anxious and careful,
As if we were on the brink of a valley.
We must be apprehensive and cautious,
As if we were treading upon thin ice.

197. XIAO BIAN

With flapping wings the crows,
Come back, flying all in a flock.
Other people all are happy,
And I only am full of misery.
What is my offence against Heaven?
What is my crime?
My heart is sad; —
What is to be done?

The way to Zhou should be level and easy,
But it is all overgrown with rank grass.
My heart is wounded with sorrow,
And I think till I feel as if pounded [all over].
I lie down undressed, and sigh continually;
Through my grief I am growing old.
My heart is sad; —
It puts me in pain like a headache.

Even the mulberry trees and the Zi,
Must be regarded with reverence:
But no one is to be looked up to like a father;
No one is to be depended on like a mother.
Have I not a connection with the hairs [of my father]?
Did I not dwell in the womb [of my mother]?
O Heaven who gave me birth!
How was it at such an inauspicious time?

Luxuriant grow those willows,
And the cicadas [on them] go hui-hui.
Deep looks the pool,
And abundantly grow the rushes and reeds [about it],
[But] I am like a boat adrift, —
Where it will go you know not.
My heart is sad; —
I have not leisure to lie down [even] undressed.

The stag is running away,

But his legs move slowly.
The pheasant crows in the morning,
Seeking his mate.
I am like a ruined tree,
Stript by disease of all its branches.
My heart is sad; —
How is it that no one knows me?

Look at the hare seeking protection; —
Some one will step in before and save it.
One the road there is a dead man;
Some one will bury him.
[But] such is the heart of our sovereign,
That there is nothing he cannot bear to do.
My heart is sad,
So that my tears are falling down.

Our sovereign believes slanders,
As readily as he joins in the pledge cup.
Our sovereign is unkind,
And does not leisurely examine into things.
The tree-fellers follow the lean of the tree;
The faggot-cleavers follow the direction of the grain;
[But] he lets alone the guilty,
And imputes guilt to me.

There is nothing higher than a mountain;
There is nothing deeper than a [great] spring.
Our sovereign should not lightly utter his words,
Lest an ear be laid close to the wall.
Do not approach my dam;
Do not remove my basket.
My person is rejected; —
Of what use is it to care for what may come after?

198. QIAO YAN

O vast and distant Heaven,
Who art called our parent,
That without crime or offence,
I should suffer from disorders thus great!
The terrors of great Heaven are excessive,
But indeed I have committed no crime.
[The terrors of] great Heaven are very excessive,
But indeed I have committed no offence.

Disorder then comes to the birth,
When the first untruth is received.
Its further increase,
Is from our sovereign's believing the slanderers.
If he were to be angry [with them],
The disorder would probably quickly be abated;
If he were to show his joy [in the good],
The disorder would probably quickly cease.

Our sovereign makes frequent covenants,
And the disorders are thereby increased.
He believes the scoundrels,
And the disorders thereby grow into oppression.
Their words are very sweet,
And the disorders thereby advance.
They do not discharge their duties,
But only create distress to the king.

Very grand is the ancestral temple; —
A true sovereign made it.
Wisely arranged are the great plans; —
Sages determined them.
What other men have in their minds,
I can measure by reflection.
Swiftly runs the crafty hare,
But it is caught by the hound.

Trees of soft wood, easily wrought,

Are planted by wise men.
The words of way-farers that come and go,
Can be discriminated by the mind.
Their easy and grand words,
[Only] issue from their mouths.
Their artful words, like organ-tongues,
Show how unblushing are their faces.

Who are they?
They [are like men who] dwell on the banks of the river;
And they have neither strength nor courage,
While yet they rear the steps of disorder!
With legs ulcerated and swollen,
What courage can you have?
You form plans great and many,
But your followers about you are few.

199. HE REN SI

What man was that?
His mind is full of dangerous devices.
Why did he approach my dam,
Without entering my gate?
Of whom is he a follower?
I venture to say, — of Bao.

Those two follow each other in their goings; —
Which of them wrought me this calamity?
Why came he to my dam,
Without entering to condole with me?
Our former relations were different from the present,
When he will have nothing to do with me.

What man was it?
Why came he to the path inside my gate?
I heard his voice,
But did not see his person.
He is not ashamed before men;
He does not stand in awe of Heaven.

What man was it?
He is like a violent wind.
Why came he not from the north?
Or why not from the south?
Why did he approach my dam,
Doing nothing but perturb my mind?

You go along slowly,
And yet you have not leisure to stop!
You go along rapidly,
And yet you have leisure to grease your wheels!
If you would come to me but once! —
Why am I kept in a state of expectation?

If on your return you entered my house,
My heart would be relieved.

When on your return you do not enter it,
It is hard to understand your denial.
If you would come to me but once,
It would set me at rest.

The elder of us blew the porcelain whistle,
And the younger blew the bamboo flute;
I was as if strung on the same string with you.
If indeed you do not understand me,
Here are the three creatures [for sacrifice],
And I will take an oath to you.

If you were an imp or a water-bow,
You could not be got at.
But when one with face and eyes stands opposite to another,
The man can be seen through and through.
I have made this good song,
To probe to the utmost your veerings and turnings.

200. XIANG BO

A few elegant lines,
May be made out to be shell-embroidery.
Those slanderers,
Have gone to great excess.

A few diverging points,
May be made out to be the southern Sieve.
Those slanderers!
Who devised their schemes for them?

With babbling mouths you go about,
Scheming and wishing to slander others,
[But] be careful of your words; —
[People] will [yet] say that you are untruthful.

Clever you are, and ever changing.
In your schemes and wishes to slander.
They receive it [now] indeed,
But by and by it will turn to your own hurt.

The proud are delighted,
And the troubled are in sorrow.
O azure Heaven! O azure Heaven!
Look on those proud men,
Pity those troubled.

Those slanderers!
Who devised their schemes for them?
I would take those slanderers,
And throw them to wolves and tigers.
If these refused to devour them,
I would cast them into the north.
If the north refused to receive them,
I would throw them into the hands of great [Heaven].

The way through the willow garden,
Lies near the acred height.

I, the eunuch Meng-zi,
Have made this poem.
All ye officers,
Reverently hearken to it.

201. GU FENG

Gently blows the east wind; —
The wind followed by the rain.
In the time of fear and dread,
It was all I and you.
In your time of rest and pleasure,
You have turned and cast me off.

Gently blows the east wind; —
And the wind is followed by the tornado.
In the time of fear and dread,
You placed me in your breast.
In your time of rest and pleasure,
You have cast me off like an abandoned thing.

Gently blows the east wind; —
And on the rock-covered tops of the hills.
There is no grass which is not dying,
No tree which is not withering.
You forget my great virtues,
And think of my small faults.

202. LIAO E

Long and large grows the *ngo*; —
It is not the *ngo* but the *haou*.
Alas! alas! my parents,
With what toil ye gave me birth!

Long and large grows the *ngo*; —
It is not the *ngo* but the *wei*.
Alas! alas! my parents,
With what toil and suffering ye gave me birth!

When the pitcher is exhausted,
It is the shame of the jar.
Than to live an orphan,
It would be better to have been long dead.
Fatherless, who is there to rely on?
Motherless, who is there to depend on?
When I go abroad, I carry my grief with me;
When I come home, I have no one to go to.

O my father, who begat me!
O my mother, who nourished me!
Ye indulged me, ye fed me,
Ye held me up, ye supported me,
Ye looked after me, ye never left me,
Out and in ye bore me in your arms.
If I would return your kindness,
It is like great Heaven, illimitable,

Cold and bleak is the Southern hill;
The rushing wind is very fierce.
People all are happy; —
Why am I alone thus miserable?

The Southern hill is very steep;
The rushing wind is blustering.
People all are happy; —
I alone have been unable to finish [my duty].

Patient have been unable to finish [my/ daily].

203. DA DONG

Well loaded with millet were the dishes,
And long and curved were spoons of thorn-wood.
The way to Zhou was like a whetstone,
And straight as an arrow.
[So] the officers trod it,
And the common people looked on it.
When I look back and think of it,
My tears run down in streams.

In the States of the east, large and small,
The looms are empty.
Thin shoes of dolichos fibre,
Are made to serve to walk on the hoar-frost.
Slight and elegant gentlemen,
Walk along that road to Zhou.
Their going and coming,
Makes my heart ache.

Ye cold waters, issuing variously from the spring,
Do not soak the firewood I have cut.
Sorrowful I awake and sigh; —
Alas for us toiled people!
The firewood has been cut; —
Would that it were conveyed home!
Alas for us the toiled people!
Would that we could have rest!

The sons of the east,
Are only summoned [to service], without encouragement;
While the sons of the west,
Shine in splendid dresses.
The sons of boatmen,
Have furs of the bear and grisly bear.
The sons of the poorest families,
Form the officers in public employment.

If we present them with spirits,

They do not look on them as liquor.
If we give them long girdle-pendants with their stones,
They do not think them long enough.
There is the milky way in heaven,
Which looks down on us in light;
And the three stars together are the Weaving Sisters,
Passing in a day through seven stages [of the sky].

Although they go through their seven stages,
They complete no bright work for us.
Brilliant shine the Draught Oxen,
But they do not serve to draw our carts.
In the east there is Lucifer;
In the west there is Hesperus;
Long and curved is the Rabbit Net of the sky; —
But they only occupy their places.

In the south is the Sieve,
But it is of no use to sift.
In the north is the Ladle,
But it lades out no liquor.
In the south is the Sieve,
Idly showing its mouth.
In the north is the Ladle,
Raising its handle in the west.

204. SI YUE

In the fourth month comes summer,
And in the sixth month the heat begins to decrease.
Were not my forefathers men?
How can they endure that I should be [thus]?

The autumn days become cold,
And the plants all decay.
Amid such distress of disorder and dispersion,
Whither can I betake myself?

The winter days are very fierce,
And the storm blows in rapid gusts.
People all are happy;
Why do I alone suffer this misery?

On the mountain are fine trees, —
Chestnut trees and plum trees.
Of their degenerating into ravening thieves,
I know not the evil cause.

Look at the water of that spring,
Sometimes clear, sometimes muddy.
I am every day coming into contact with misfortune;
How can I be happy?

Grandly flow the Jiang and the Han,
Regulators of the southern States.
Worn out as I am with service,
He yet takes no notice of me.

I am not an eagle nor a hawk,
Which flies aloft to heaven.
I am not a sturgeon, large or small,
Which can dive and hide in the deep.

On the hills are the turtle-foot and thorn ferns;
In the marshes are the medlar and the yi.

I, an officer, have made this song,
To make known my plaint.

DECADE OF BEI SHAN

205. BEI SHAN

I ascend that northern hill,
And gather the medlars.
An officer, strong and vigorous,
Morning and evening I am engaged in service.
The king's business is not to be slackly performed;
And my parents are left in sorrow.

Under the wide heaven,
All is the king's land.
Within the sea-boundaries of the land,
All are the king's servants.
His great officers are unfair, —
Making me serve thus as if I alone were worthy.

My four horses never halt;
The king's business allows no rest.
They praise me as not yet old;
They think few like me in vigour.
While the backbone retains its strength,
I must plan and labour in all parts of the kingdom.

Some enjoy their ease and rest,
And some are worn out in the service of the State;
Some rest and loll upon their couches,
And some never cease marching about.

Some never hear a sound,
And some are cruelly toiled;
Some lazily roost, on their backs looking up,
And some are all-bustled in the service of the king.

Some indulge long in pleasure and drinking,
And some are miserable, in apprehension of blame;
Some, at home and abroad, pass critical remarks,
And some have everything to do.

206. WU JIANG DA CHE

Do not push forward a waggon; —
You will only raise the dust about yourself.
Do not think of all your anxieties; —
You will only make yourself ill.

Do not push forward a waggon; —
The dust will only blind you.
Do not think of all your anxieties; —
You will not emerge from imperfect views.

Do not push forward a waggon; —
The dust will only becloud you.
Do not think of all your anxieties; —
You will only weigh yourself down.

207. XIAO MING

O bright and high Heaven,
Who enlightenest and rulest this lower world!
I marched on this expedition to the west,
As far as this wilderness of Qiu.
From the first day of the second month,
I have passed through the cold and the heat.
My heart is sad;
The poison [of my lot] is too bitter.
I think of those [at court] in their offices,
And my tears flow down like rain.
Do I not wish to return?
But I fear the net for crime.

Formerly, when I set out,
The sun and moon had renewed the year.
When shall I return?
The year is now late.
I think how I am alone,
While the affairs devolving on me are very many.
My heart is sad;
And I am toiled without any leisure.
I think of those [at court] in their offices,
Looking back to them with fond regard.
Do I not wish to return?
But I am afraid of reproof and anger.

Formerly, when I set out,
The sun and moon were giving a mild warmth.
When shall I return?
The affairs of government are become more urgent.
It is late in the year,
And we are gathering the southernwood, and reaping the beans.
My heart is sad;
I give myself nothing but distress.
When I think of those [at court] in their offices,
I rise and pass the night outside.
Do I not wish to return?

Do I not wish to return?
But I am afraid of the vicissitudes of things.

Ah! ye gentlemen!
Do not reckon on your rest being permanent.
Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices,
Associating with the correct and upright.
So shall the Spirits hearken to you,
And give you good.

Ah! ye gentlemen!
Do not reckon on your repose being permanent.
Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices,
Loving the correct and upright.
So shall the Spirits hearken to you,
And give you large measures of bright happiness.

208. GU ZHONG

His bells ring out jiang-jiang,
While the waters of the Huai go sweeping on;
Sad is my heart and wounded.
The virtuous sovereigns [of old], —
In my heart, indeed, I cannot forget them.

His drums ring out jie-jie,
While the waters of the Huai rush along;
My heart is sad and grieved.
Of the virtuous sovereigns [of old],
The virtue was without flaw.

His bells ring out, his large drums resound,
There are the three islands in the Huai;
Sad is my heart and moved.
Of the virtuous sovereigns [of old],
The virtue was different from this.

His bells ring out qin-qin;
His lutes, large and small, give their notes;
The tones of his organs and sounding stones are in unison.
They sing the Ya and the Nan,
Dancing to their flutes without error.

209. CHU CI

Thick grew the tribulus [on the ground],
But they cleared away its thorny bushes.
Why did they this of old?
That we might plant our millet and sacrificial millet;
That our millet might be abundant,
And our sacrificial millet luxuriant.
When our barns are full,
And our stacks can be counted by tens of myriads,
We proceed to make spirits and prepare viands,
For offerings and sacrifice;
We seat the representatives of the dead, and urge them to eat: —
Thus seeking to increase our bright happiness.

With correct and reverent deportment,
The oxen and sheep all pure,
We proceed to the winter and autumnal sacrifices.
Some flay [the victims]; some boil [their flesh];
Some arrange [the meat]; some adjust [the pieces of it].
The priest sacrifices inside the temple gate,
And all the service is complete and brilliant.
Grandly come our progenitors;
Their Spirits happily enjoy the offerings;
Their filial descendent receives blessing: —
They will reward him with great happiness,
With myriads of years, life without end.

They attend to the furnaces with reverence;
They prepare the trays, which are very large; —
Some for the roast meat; some for the broiled.
Wives presiding are still and reverent,
Preparing the numerous [smaller] dishes.
The guests and visitors,
Present the cup, and drink all round.
Every form is according to rule;
Every smile and word are as they should be.
The Spirits quietly come,
And respond with great blessings;

And respond with great blessings, —
Myriads of years as the [fitting] reward.

We are very much exhausted,
And have performed every ceremony without error.
The able priest announces [the will of the Spirits],
And goes to the filial descendent to convey it.
‘Fragrant has been your filial sacrifice,
And the Spirits have enjoyed your spirits and viands.
They confer upon you a hundred blessings;
Each as it is desired, each as sure as law.
You have been exact and expeditions;
You have been correct and careful:
They will ever confer on you the choicest favours,
In myriads and tens of myriads.’

The ceremonies having thus been completed,
And the bells and drums having given their warning,
The filial descendent goes to his place,
And the able priest makes his announcement,
‘The Spirits have drunk to the full.’
The great representative of the dead then rises,
And the bells and drums escort his withdrawal,
[On which] the Spirits tranquilly return [to their place].
All the servants, and the presiding wives,
Remove [the trays and dishes] without delay.
The [descendant’s] uncles and cousins,
All repair to the private feast.

210. XIN NAN SHAN

Yes, [all about] that southern hill,
Was made manageable by Yu.
Its plains and marshes being opened up,
It was made into fields by the distant descendant.
We define their boundaries, we form their smaller divisions,
And make the acres lie, here to the south, there to the east.

The heavens over head are one arch of clouds,
Snowing in multitudinous flakes.
There is superadded the drizzling rain.
When [the land] has received the moistening,
Soaking influence abundantly,
It produces all our kinds of grain.

The boundaries and smaller divisions are nicely adjusted,
And the millets yield abundant crops,
The harvest of the distant descendant.
We proceed to make therewith spirits and food,
To supply our representatives of the dead, and our guests; —
To obtain long life, extending over myriads of years.

In the midst of the fields are the huts,
And along the bounding divisions are gourds.
The fruits is sliced and pickled,
To be presented to our great ancestors,
That their distant descendant may have long life,
And receive the blessing of Heaven.

We sacrifice [first] with pure spirits,
And then follow with a red bull;
Offering them to our ancestors.
[Our lord] holds the knife with tinkling bells,
To lay open the hair of the victim,
And takes its flesh and fat.

Then we present, then we offer;
All round the fragrance is diffused.

Complete and brilliant is the sacrificial service;
Grandly come our ancestors.
They will reward [their descendant] with great blessing, —
Long life, years without end.

211. FU TIAN

Bright are those extensive fields,
A tenth of whose produce is annually levied.
I take the old stores,
And with them feed the husbandmen,
From of old we have had good years,
And now I go to the south-lying acres,
Where some are weeding, and some gather the earth about the roots.
The millets look luxuriant;
And in a spacious resting place,
I collect and encourage the men of greater promise.

With my vessels full of bright millet,
And my pure victim-rams,
We sacrificed to [the Spirits of] the land, and to [those of] the four quarters.
That my fields are in such good condition,
Is matter of joy to my husbandmen.
With lutes, and with drums beating,
We will invoke the Father of husbandry,
And pray for sweet rain,
To increase the produce of our millets,
And to bless my men and their wives.

The distant descendant comes,
When their wives and children,
Are bringing food to those [at work] in the south-lying acres.
The surveyor of the fields [also] comes, and is glad.
He takes [of the food] on the left and the right,
And tastes whether it be good or not.
The grain is well cultivated, all the acres over;
Good will it be and abundant.
The distant descendant has no displacency;
The husbandmen are encouraged to diligence.

The crops of the distant descendant,
Look [thick] as thatch, and [swelling] like a carriage cover.
The stacks of the distant descendant,
Will stand like islands and mounds

Will stand like islands and mounds.
He will seek for thousands of granaries;
He will seek for myriads of carts.
The millets, the paddy, and the maize,
Will awake the joy of the husbandmen;
[And they will say], ‘May he be rewarded with great happiness.
With myriads of years, life without end!

212. DA TIAN

Large are the fields, and various is the work to be done.
Having selected the seed, and looked after the implements,
So that all preparations have been made for our labour,
We take our sharp plough-shares,
And commence on the south-lying acres.
We sow all the kinds of grain,
Which grow up straight and large,
So that the wish of the distant descendant is satisfied.

It ears, and the fruit lies soft in its sheath;
It hardens and is of good quality;
There is no wolf's-tail grass, nor darnel.
We remove the insects that eat the heart and the leaf,
And those that eat the roots and the joints.
So that they shall not hurt the young plants of our fields.
May the Spirit, the Father of husbandry,
Lay hold of them, and put them in the blazing fire!

The clouds form in dense masses,
And the rain comes down slowly.
May it rain first on our public fields,
And then come to our private!
There shall be young grain unreaped,
And here some sheaves ungathered;
There shall be handfuls left on the ground,
And here ears untouched: — The distant descendant will come,
When their wives and children,
Are bringing food to those [at work] on the south-lying acres.
The surveyor of the fields [also] will come and be glad.
They will come and offer pure sacrifices to the Spirits of the four quarters,
With their preparations of millet:
Thus offering, thus sacrificing,
Thus increasing our bright happiness.

213. ZHAN BI LUO YI

Look at the Luo,
With its waters broad and deep.
Thither has come our lord,
In whom all happiness and dignity are concentrated.
Red are his madder-dyed knee covers,
In which he might raise his six armies.

Look at the Luo,
With its waters broad and deep.
Thither has our lord come,
The gems at his scabbard's mouth all-gleaming.
May our lord live myriads of years,
Preserving his House!

Look at the Luo,
With its waters broad and deep.
Thither has our lord come,
In whom all happiness and dignities are united.
May our lord live myriads of years,
Preserving his clans and States!

214. CHANG CHANG ZHE HUA

Splendid are the flowers,
And the leaves are luxuriant.
I see these princes,
And my heart is entirely satisfied.
My heart is entirely satisfied.
Right is it they should have praise and prosperity!

Splendid are the flowers,
And deep is their yellow.
I see these princes,
Full of all elegance.
They are full of all elegance; —
Right is it they should have every blessing!

Splendid are the flowers,
Some yellow, some white.
I see these princes,
Drawn by their four white steeds, black-maned.
They are drawn by their four white steeds, black-maned.
And the six reins are glossy!

To the left [they move], to the left,
And they execute the movement properly.
To the right [they move], to the right,
And they execute the movement properly.
They are possessed of the ability,
And right is it their movements should indicate it.

DECADE OF SANG HU

215. SANG HU

They flit about, the green-beaks,
With their variegated wings.
To be rejoiced in are these princes!
May they receive the blessing of Heaven!

They flit about, the green-beaks,
With their glancing necks.
To be rejoiced in are these princes!
They are screens to all the States.

These screens, these buttresses, —
All the chiefs will take them as a pattern.
Are they not self-restrained? Are they not careful?
Will they not receive much happiness?

How long is that cup of rhinoceros' horn!
Good are the spirits in it and soft.
While it passes round, they show no pride;
All blessing must come to seek them.

216. YUAN YANG

The Yellow ducks fly about,
And are taken with hand-nets and spread-nets.
May our sovereign live for ten thousand years,
Enjoying the happiness and wealth which are his due!

The Yellow ducks are on the dam,
With their left wings gathered up.
May our sovereign live for ten thousand years,
Enjoying the happiness and wealth which are his due!

The teams of steeds are in the stable,
Fed with forage and grain.
May our sovereign live for ten thousand years,
Sustained in his happiness and wealth!

The teams of steeds are in the stable,
Fed with grain and forage.
May our sovereign live for ten thousand years,
In the comfort of his happiness and wealth!

217. KUI BIAN

Those in the leather caps, —
Who are they?
Since your spirits are [so]good,
And your viands are [so] fine,
How can they be strangers?
They are your brethren, and no others.
[They are like] the mistletoe and the dodder.
Growing over the pine and the cypress.
While they do not see you, O king,
Their sorrowful hearts are all-unsettled.
When they do see you,
They begin to be happy and glad.

Those in the leather caps, —
Who are they?
Since your spirits are [so]good,
And your viands are all of the season.
How can they be strangers?
They are your brethren, all assembled.
[They are like] the mistletoe and the dodder.
Growing over the pine.
While they do not see you, O king,
Their hearts are full of sorrow.
When they do see you,
They begin to feel that things are right.

There are those in the leather caps,
Which they wear on their heads.
Since your spirits are [so] good,
And your viands are [so] abundant,
How can they be strangers?
They are your brethren, and your relatives by affinity.
When there is going to be a fall of snow,
There is first the descent of sleet.
Death and ruin may come any day,
It is not long that you will see one another.
Rejoice over your spirits for the present evening;

Rejoice over your spirits for the present evening,
O king, enjoy the feast.

218. CHE XIA

Jian-guan went the axle ends of my carriage,
As I thought of the young beauty, and went [to fetch her].
It was not that I was hungry or thirsty,
But [I longed] for one of such virtuous fame to come and be with me.
Although no good friends be with us,
We will feast and be glad.

Dense is that forest in the plain,
And there sit the long-tailed pheasants.
In her proper season that well-grown lady,
With her admirable virtue, is come to instruct me.
We will feast, and I will praise her.
'I love you, and will never be weary of you.'

Although I have no good spirits,
We will drink [what I have], and perhaps [be satisfied].
Although I have no good viands,
We will eat [what I have], and perhaps [be satisfied].
Although I have no virtue to impart to you,
We will sing and dance.

I ascend that lofty ridge,
And split the branches of the oaks for firewood.
I split the branches of the oaks for firewood,
Amid the luxuriance of their leaves.
I see you whose match is seldom to be seen,
And my whole heart is satisfied.

The high hill is looked up to;
The great road is easy to be travelled on.
My four steeds advanced without stopping;
The six reins [made music] in my hands like lute-[strings].
I see you my bride,
To the comfort of my heart.

219. QING YING

They buzz about, the blue flies,
Lighting on the fences.
O happy and courteous sovereign,
Do not believe slanderous speeches.

They buzz about, the blue flies,
Lighting on the jujube trees.
The slanderous observe no limits,
And throw the whole kingdom into confusion.

They buzz about, the blue flies,
Lighting on the hazel trees.
The slanderous observe no limits,
And set us two at variance.

220. BIN ZHI CHU YAN

When the guests first approach the mats,
They take their places on the left and the right in an orderly manner.
The dishes of bamboo and wood are arranged in rows,
With the sauces and kernels displayed in them.
The spirits are mild and good,
And they drink, all equally reverent.
The bells and drums are properly arranged;
And they raise their pledge-cups with order and ease.
[Then] the great target is set up;
The bows and arrows are made ready for the shooting;
The archers are matched in classes.
'Show your skill in shooting, '[it is said].
'I shall hit that mark,' [it is responded],
'And pray you to drink the cup.'

The dancers move with their flutes to the notes of the organ and drum,
While all the instruments perform in harmony.
All this is done to please the meritorious ancestors,
Along with the observance of all ceremonies.
When all the ceremonies have been performed,
Grandly and fully,
'We confer on you great blessings,' [says the representative of the dead],
'And may your descendants [also] be happy!'
They are happy and delighted,
And each of them exerts his ability.
A guest draws the spirits,
An attendant enters again, with a cup,
And fills it, — the cup of rest.
Thus are performed your seasonal ceremonies.

When the guests first approach the mats,
All harmonies are they and reverent.
Before they have drunk too much,
Their deportment is carefully observant of propriety;
But when they have drunk too much,
Their deportment becomes light and frivolous: —
They leave their seats, and go elsewhere

They leave their seats, and go elsewhere,
They keep dancing and capering.
Before they have drunk too much,
Their deportment is cautious and grave: —
But when they have drunk too much,
Their deportment becomes indecent and rude: —
Thus when they have too much,
They lose all sense of orderliness.

When the guests have drunk too much,
They shout out and brawl.
They disorder the dishes;
They keep dancing in a fantastic manner.
Thus when they have drunk too much,
They become insensible of their errors.
With their caps on one side, and like to fall off,
They keep dancing the will not stop.
If, when they have drunk too much, they went out,
Both they [and their host] would be happy;
But remaining after they are drunk,
Is what is called doing injury to virtue.
Drinking is a good institution,
Only when there is good deportment in it.

On every occasion of drinking,
Some get drunk, and some do not.
An inspector is appointed,
With a recorder to assist him.
But those drunkards, in their vileness,
Are shamed of those who do not get drunk.
These have no opportunity to speak,
And prevent the others from proceeding to such great abandonment.
[They might say], ‘Do not speak what you ought not to speak;
Do not say what you have no occasion to say,
If you speak, drunk as you are,
We will make you produce a ram without horns.
With three cups you lose your memories; —
How dare you go on to more?’

221. YU ZAO

The fishes are there, there among the pondweed,
Showing their large heads.
The king is here, here in Hao,
At ease and happy, while he drinks.

The fishes are there, there among the pondweed,
Showing their long tails.
The king is here, here in Hao,
Drinking, happy and at ease.

The fishes are there, there among the pondweed,
Sheltered by the rushes.
The king is here, here in Hao,
Dwelling in tranquillity.

222. CAI SHU

They gather the beans, they gather the beans,
In their baskets, square and round.
The princes are coming to court,
And what gifts have I to give them?
Although I have none to give them,
There are the state carriages and their teams.
What more have I to give them?
The dark-coloured [upper] robes with the dragon,
And the [lower garments with the] hatchet.

Right up bubbles the water from the spring,
And they gather the cress [about it].
The princes are coming to court,
And I see their dragon flags; —
Their dragon flags moving [in the wind],
While the sound of their bells comes hui-hui.
There are the two outside horses, there are the whole teams, —
Proofs that the princes are come.

Their red covers on their knees,
And their buskins below,
There is no remissness in their demeanour; —
Of such should the son of Heaven approve.
To be rejoiced in are the princes,
And the son of Heaven gives them the badges of his favour.
To be rejoiced in are the princes,
And their happiness and dignities are renewed and extended.

On the branches of the oaks,
How abundant are the leaves!
To be rejoiced in are the princes,
Guardians of the regions of the son of Heaven.
To be rejoiced in are the princes,
Around whom all the blessings collect.
Discriminating and able are their attendants,
Who also have followed them hither.

It floats about, the boat of willow wood,
Fastened by the band of the rope.
To be rejoiced in are the princes,
And the son of Heaven scans [their merits].
To be rejoiced in are the princes,
And their happiness and dignities are enlarged.
How joyous, how happy,
Is their coming here!

223. JIAO GONG

Well fashioned is the bow adorned with horn,
And swift is its recoil.
Brothers and relatives by affinity,
Should not be treated distantly.

When you keep yours at a distance,
The people all do the same with theirs.
What you teach,
The people all imitate.

Those brothers who are good,
Continue to display much generous feeling;
But between brothers who are not good,
Their intercourse is marked by troubles.

People who have no conscience,
Repine against each other, each one holding his own point of view;
One gets a place, and shows no humility —
Till they all come to ruin.

An old horse, notwithstanding, thinks himself a colt,
And has no regard to the future.
It is like craving a superabundance of food,
And an excess of drink.

Do not teach a monkey to climb trees; —
[You act] like adding mud to one in the mud.
If the sovereign have good ways,
The small people will accord with them.

The snow may have fallen abundantly,
But when it feels the sun's heat, it dissolves.
You are not willing to discountenance [those parties],
And so they become [more] troublesome and arrogant.

The snow may have fallen largely,
But when it feels the sun's heat, it flows away.

They become like the Man or the Mao; —
This is what make me sad.

224. WAN LIU

There is a luxuriant willow tree; —
Who would not wish to rest [under it]?
[But this] god is very changeable; —
Do not approach him.
If I were to [try and] order his affairs,
His demands afterwards would be extreme.

There is a luxuriant willow tree; —
Who would not wish to take shelter [under it]?
[But this] god is very changeable,
Do not get yourself into trouble with him.
If I were to [try and] order his affairs,
His demands on me afterwards would be beyond measure.

There is a bird flying high,
Even up to heaven.
The heart of that man, —
To what will it proceed?
Why should I [try to] order his affairs?
I should only find myself in pitiable misery.

DECADE OF DU REN SHI

225. DU REN SHI

Those officers of the [old] capital,
With their fox-furs so yellow,
Their deportment unvaryingly [correct],
And their speech full of elegance! —
If we could go back to [the old] Zhou,
They would be admiringly looked up by all the people.

Those officers of the [old] capital,
With their hats of Tai leaves and small black caps! —
Those ladies of noble Houses.
With their hair so thick and straight! —
I do not see them [now],
And my heart is dissatisfied.

Those officers of the [old] capital,
With their ear-plugs of xiu-stones! —
Those ladies of noble Houses,
Each fit to be called a Yin or a Ji! —
I do not see them [now],
And my heart grieves with indissoluble sorrow.

Those officers of the [old] capital,
With their girdles hanging elegantly down! —
Those ladies of great Houses,
With their [side] hair curving up like a scorpion's tail! —
I do not see them [now],
[If I could], I would walk along after them.

Not that they purposely let their girdles hang down; —
The girdles were naturally long.
Not that they gave their hair that curve; —
The hair had a natural curl.
I do not see them [now],
And how do I long for them!

226. CAI LU

All the morning I gather the king-grass,
And do not collect enough to fill my hands.
My hair is in a wisp; —
I will go home and wash it.

All the morning I gather the indigo plant,
And do not collect enough to fill my apron.
Five days was the time agreed on; —
It is the sixth, and I do not see him.

When he went a hunting,
I put the bow in its case for him.
When he went to fish,
I arranged his line for him.

What did he take in angling?
Bream and tench; —
Bream and tench,
While people [looked on] to see.

227. SHU MIAO

Tall and strong grows the young millet,
Fattened by the genial rains.
Very long was our journey to the south,
But the earl of Zhou encouraged and cheered us.

We carried our burdens; we pushed along our barrows;
We drove our waggons; we led our oxen.
When our expedition was accomplished,
We knew we should return.

We went along on foot; we rode in our chariots; —
Our whole host, and our battalions.
When our expedition was accomplished,
We knew we should return home.

Severe was the work at Su,
But the earl of Zhou built the city.
Majestic was the march of our host; —
The earl of Zhou directed it.

The plains and low lands were regulated; —
The springs and streams were cleared.
The earl of Zhou completed his work,
And the heart of the king was at rest.

228. XI SANG

In the low, wet grounds, the mulberry trees are beautiful,
And their leaves are luxuriant.
When I see the princely men,
How great is the pleasure!

In the low, wet grounds, the mulberry trees are beautiful,
And their leaves are glossy.
When I see the princely men,
How can I be other than glad?

In the low, wet grounds, the mulberry trees are beautiful,
And their leaves are dark.
When I see the princely men,
Their virtuous fame draws them close [to my heart].

In my heart I love them,
And why should I not say so?
In the core of my heart I keep them,
And never will forget them.

229. BAI HUA

The fibres from the white flowered rush,
Are bound with the white grass.
This man's sending me away,
Makes me dwell solitary.

The light and brilliant clouds,
Bedew the rush and the grass.
The way of Heaven is hard and difficult; —
This man does not confirm [to good principle].

How the water from the pools flows away to north,
Flooding the rice fields!
I whistle and sing with wounded heart,
Thinking of that great man.

They gather firewood of branches of the mulberry trees,
And I burn them [only] in a [small] furnace.
That great man,
Does indeed toil and trouble my heart.

Their drums and bells are beaten in the palace,
And their sound is heard without.
All-sorrowful I think of him; —
He thinks of me without any regard.

The marabou is on the dam;
The [common] crane is in the forest.
That great man,
Does indeed toil and trouble my heart.

The Yellow ducks are on the dams,
With their left wings gathered up.
That man is bad,
Ever varying in his conduct.

How thin is that slab of stone!
He that stands on it is low.

That man’s sending me away,
Makes me full of affliction.

230. MIAN MAN

There is that little oriole,
Resting on a bend of the mound.
The way is distant,
And I am very much wearied.
Give me drink, give me food;
Inform me, teach me;
Order one of the attending carriages,
And tell them to carry me.

There is that little oriole,
Resting on a corner of the mound.
It is not that I dare to shrink from the journey,
But I am afraid of not being able to go on.
Give me drink, give me food;
Inform me, teach me;
Order one of the attending carriages,
And tell them to carry me.

There is that little oriole,
Resting on the side of the mound.
It is not that I dare to shrink from the journey,
But I am afraid of not getting to the end of it.
Give me drink, give me food;
Inform me, teach me;
Order one of the attending carriages,
And tell them to carry me.

231. HU YE

Of the gourd leaves, waving about,
Some are taken and boiled;
[Then] the superior man, from his spirits,
Pours out a cup, and tastes it.

There is but a single rabbit,
Baked, or roasted.
[But] the superior man, from his spirits,
Fills the cup and presents it [to his guests].

There is but a single rabbit,
Roasted, or broiled.
[But] from the spirits of the superior man,
[His guests] fill the cup, and present it to him.

There is but a single rabbit,
Roasted, or baked.
[But] from the spirits of the superior man,
[His guests and he] fill the cup and pledge one another.

232. JIAN JIAN ZHI SHI

Those frowning rocks, —
How high they rise!
Over such a distance of hills and streams,
How toilsome is the march!
The warrior, in charge of the expedition to the east,
Has not a morning's leisure.

Those frowning rocks, —
How they crown the heights!
Over such a distance of hills and streams,
When shall we have completed our march?
The warrior, in charge of the expedition to the east,
Has no leisure [to think] how he will withdraw.

There are swine, with their legs white,
All wading through streams.
The moon also is in the Hyades,
Which will bring still greater rain.
The warrior, in charge of the expedition to the east,
Has no leisure [to think] of anything but this.

233. TIAO ZHI HUA

The flowers of the bignonia,
Are of a deep yellow.
My heart is sad;
I feel its wound.

The flowers of the bignonia [are gone],
[There are only] its leaves all-green.
If I had known it would be thus with me,
I had better not have been born.

The ewes have large heads;
The Three stars are [seen] in the fish-trap.
If some men can get enough to eat,
Few can get their fill.

234. HE CAO BU HUANG

Every plant is yellow;
Every day we march.
Every man is moving about,
Doing service in some quarter of the kingdom.

Every plant is purple;
Every man is torn from his wife.
Alas for us employed on these expeditions!
How are we alone dealt with as if we were not men?

We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers,
To be kept in these desolate wilds.
Alas for us employed on these expeditions!
Morning and night we have no leisure.

The long-tailed foxes,
May keep among the dark grass.
And our box-carts,
Keep moving along the great roads.

PART III. GREATER ODES OF THE KINGDOM

DECADE OF WEN WANG

235. WEN WANG

King Wen is on high;
Oh! bright is he in heaven.
Although Zhou was an old country,
The [favouring] appointment lighted on it recently.
Illustrious was the House of Zhou,
And the appointment of God came at the proper season.
King Wen ascends and descends,
On the left and the right of God.

Full of earnest activity was king Wen,
And his fame is without end.
The gifts [of God] to Zhou,
Extend to the descendants of king Wen; —
To the descendants of king Wen,
In the direct line and the collateral branches for a hundred generations.
All the officers of Zhou,
Shall [also] be illustrious from age to age.

They shall be illustrious from age to age,
Zealously and reverently pursuing their plans.
Admirable are the many officers,
Born in this royal kingdom.
The royal kingdom is able to produce them, —
The supporters of [the House of] Zhou.
Numerous is the array of officers,
And by them king Wen enjoys his repose.

Profound was king Wen;
Oh! continuous and bright was his feeling of reverence.
Great is the appointment of Heaven!
There were the descendants of [the sovereigns] of Shang; —
The descendants of the sovereigns of Shang,
Were in number more than hundreds of thousands;
But when God gave the command,
They became subject to Zhou.

They became subject to Zhou.

The appointment of Heaven is not constant.
The officers of Yin, admirable and alert,
Assist at the libations in [our] capital; —
They assist at those libations,
Always wearing the hatchets on their lower garment and their peculiar cap.
O ye loyal ministers of the king,
Ever think of your ancestor!

Ever think of your ancestor,
Cultivating your virtue,
Always striving to accord with the will [of Heaven].
So shall you be seeking for much happiness.
Before Yin lost the multitudes,
[Its kings] were the assessors of God.
Look to Yin as a beacon;
The great appointment is not easily [preserved].

The appointment is not easily [preserved],
Do not cause your own extinction.
Display and make bright your righteousness and name,
And look at [the fate of] Yin in the light of Heaven.
The doings of High Heaven,
Have neither sound nor smell.
Take your pattern from king Wen,
And the myriad regions will repose confidence in you.

236. DA MING

The illustration of illustrious [virtue] is required below,
And the dread majesty is on high.
Heaven is not readily to be relied on;
It is not easy to be king.
Yin's rightful heir to the heavenly seat,
Was not permitted to possess the kingdom.

Jin, the second of the princesses of Zhi,
From [the domain of] Yin-shang,
Came to be married to the prince of Zhou,
And because his wife in his capital,
Both she and king Ji,
Were entirely virtuous.
[Then] Da-ren became pregnant,
And gave birth to our king Wen.

This king Wen,
Watchfully and reverently,
With entire intelligence served God,
And so secured the great blessing.
His virtue was without deflection;
And in consequence he received [the allegiance of] the States from all quarters.

Heaven surveyed this lower world;
And its appointment lighted [on king Wen].
In his early years,
It made for him a mate; —
On the north of the Qia;
On the banks of the Wei.
When king Wen would wive,
There was the lady in a large State.

In a large State was the lady,
Like a fair denizen of Heaven.
The ceremonies determined the auspiciousness [of the union].
And in person he met her on the Wei.
Over it he made a bridge of boats: —

The glory [of the occasion] was illustrious.

The favouring appointment was from Heaven,
Giving the throne to our king Wen,
In the capital of Zhou.
The lady-successor was from Xin,
Its eldest daughter, who came to marry him.
She was blessed to give birth to king Wu,
Who was preserved, and helped, and received also the appointment,
And in accordance with it smote the great Shang.

The troops of Yin-shang,
Were collected like a forest,
And marshalled in the wilderness of Mu.
We rose [to the crisis]; —
'God is with you,' [said Shang-fu to the king],
'Have no doubts in your heart.'

The wilderness of Mu spread out extensive;
Bright shone the chariots of sandal;
The teams of bays, black-maned and white-bellied, galloped along;
The grand-master Shang-fu,
Was like an eagle on the wing,
Assisting king Wu,
Who at one onset smote the great Shang.
That morning's encounter was followed by a clear bright [day].

237. MIAN

In long trains ever increasing grow the gourds.
When [our] people first sprang,
From the country about the Ju and the Qi,
The ancient duke Tan-fu,
Made for them kiln-like huts and caves,
Ere they had yet any houses.

The ancient duke Tan-fu,
Came in the morning, galloping his horses,
Along the banks of the western rivers,
To the foot of [mount] Qi;
And there, he and the lady Jiang,
Came, and together looked out for a site on which to settle.

The plain of Zhou looked beautiful and rich,
With its violets and sowthistles [sweet] as dumplings.
There he began with consulting [his followers];
There he singed the tortoise-shell, [and divined].
The responses were - there to stay, and then;
And they proceeded there to build their houses.

He encouraged the people and settled them;
Here on the left, there on the right.
He divided the ground into larger tracts and smaller portions;
He dug the ditches; he defined the acres;
From the west to the east,
There was nothing which he did not take in hand.

He called his superintendent of works;
He called his minister of instruction;
And charged them with the building of the houses.
With the line they made everything straight;
They bound the frame-boards tight, so that they should rise regularly.
Uprose the ancestral temple in its solemn grandeur.

Crowds brought the earth in baskets
They threw it with shouts into the frames;

They beat it with responsive blows;
They pared the walls repeatedly, and they sounded strong.
Five thousand cubits of them arose together,
So that the roll of the great drum did not overpower [the noise of the builders].

They set up the gate of the enceinte;
And the gate of the enceinte stood high.
They set up the court gate;
And the court gate stood grand.
They reared the great altar [to the Spirits of the land],
From which all great movements should proceed.

Thus though he could not prevent the rage [of his foes],
He did not let fall his own fame.
The oaks and the Yu were [gradually] thinned,
And roads for travelling were opened.
The hordes of the Hun disappeared,
Startled and panting.

[The chiefs of] Yu and Rui were brought to an agreement,
By king Wen's stimulating their natural virtue.
Then, I may say, some came to him, previously not knowing him;
And some, drawn the last by the first;
And some, drawn by his rapid success;
And some, by his defence [of the weak] from insult.

238. YU PU

Abundant is the growth of the *yih* and the *p'oh*,
Supplying firewood; yea, stores of it.
Elegant and dignified was our prince and king;
On the right and the left they hastened to him.

Elegant and dignified was our prince and king;
On his left and his right they bore their half-mace [libation-cups]; —
They bore their instruments with solemn gravity,
As beseemed such eminent officers.

They rush along, — those boats on the King.
All the rowers labouring at their oars.
The king of Zhou marched on,
Followed by his six hosts.

Vast is that Milky Way,
Making a brilliant figure in the sky.
Long years did the king of Zhou enjoy; —
Did he not exert an influence upon men?

Engraved and chiselled are the ornaments;
Of metal and of jade is their substance.
Ever active was our king,
Giving law and rules to the four quarters [of the kingdom].

239. ZAO LU

Look at the foot of the Han,
How abundantly grow the hazel and the arrow-thorn!
Easy and self-possessed was our prince,
In his pursuit of dignity [still] easy and self-possessed!

Massive is that libation-cup of jade,
With the yellow liquid [sparkling] in it.
Easy and self-possessed was our prince,
The fit recipient of blessing and dignity.

The hawk flies up to heaven;
The fishes leap in the deep.
Easy and self-possessed was our-prince; —
Did he not exert an influence upon men?

His clear spirits are in vessel;
His red bull is ready; —
To offer, to sacrifice,
To increase his bright happiness.

Thick grow the oaks and the *yih*,
Which the people use for fuel.
Easy and self-possessed was our prince,
Cheered and encouraged by the Spirits.

Luxuriant are the dolichos and other creepers,
Clinging to the branches and stems,
Easy and self-possessed was our prince,
Seeking for happiness by no crooked ways.

240. SI QI

Pure and reverent was Da-ren,
The mother of king Wen;
Loving was she to Zhou Jiang; —
A wife becoming the House of Zhou.
Da-si inherited her excellent fame,
And from her came a hundred sons.

He conformed to the example of his ancestors,
And their Spirits had no occasion for complaint.
Their Spirits had no occasion for dissatisfaction,
And his example acted on his wife,
Extended to his brethren,
And was felt by all the clans and States.

Full of harmony was he in his palace;
Full of reverence in the ancestral temple.
Out of sight he still felt as under inspection;
Unweariedly he maintained [his virtue].

Though he could not prevent [some] great calamities,
His brightness and magnanimity were without stain.
Without previous instruction he did what was right;
Without admonition, he went on [in the path of goodness].

So, grown up men became virtuous [through him],
And young men made [constant] attainments.
[Our] ancient prince never felt weariness,
And from him were the fame and eminence of his officers.

241. HUANG YI

Great is God,
Beholding this lower world in majesty.
He surveyed the four quarters [of the kingdom],
Seeking for some one to give settlement to the people.
Those two [earlier] dynasties,
Had failed to satisfy Him with their government;
So throughout the various States,
He sought and considered,
For one on which he might confer the rule.
Hating all the great [States],
He turned His kind regards on the west,
And there gave a settlement [to king Da].

[King Da] raised up and removed,
The dead trunks, and the fallen trees.
He dressed and regulated,
The bushy clumps, and the [tangled] rows.
He opened up and cleared,
The tamarix trees, and the stave-trees.
He hewed and thinned,
The mountain-mulberry trees.
God having brought about the removal thither of this intelligent ruler,
The Guan hordes fled away.
Heaven raised up a helpmeet for him.
And the appointment he had received was made sure.

God surveyed the hills,
Where the oaks and *yih* were thinned,
And paths made through the firs and cypresses.
God, who had raised the State, raised up a proper ruler for it; —
From the time of Da-bo and king Ju [this was done].
Now this king Ju,
In his heart was full of brotherly duty.
Full of duty to his elder brother,
He gave himself the more to promote the prosperity [of the country],
And secured to him the glory [of his act].

He accepted his dignity, and did not lose it,
And [ere long his family] possessed the whole kingdom.

The king Ju,
Was gifted by God with the power of judgement,
So that the fame of his virtue silently grew.
His virtue was highly intelligent; —
Highly intelligent and of rare discrimination;
Able to lead, able to rule, —
To rule over this great country;
Rendering a cordial submission, effecting a cordial union.
When [the sway] came to king Wen,
His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with.
He received the blessing of God,
And it was extended to his descendants.

God said to king Wen,
'Be not like those who reject this and cling to that;
Be not like those who are ruled by their likings and desires;'
So he grandly ascended before others to the height [of virtue].
The people of Mi were disobedient,
Daring to oppose our great country,
And invaded Yuan, marching to Gung.
The king rose majestic in his wrath;
He marshalled his troops,
To stop the invading foes;
To consolidate the prosperity of Zhou;
To meet [the expectations of] all under heaven.

He remained quietly in the capital;
But [his troops] went on from the borders of Yuan.
They ascended our lofty ridges,
And [the enemy] arrayed no forces on our hills,
On our hills, small or large,
Nor drank at our springs,
Our springs or our pools.
He then determined the finest of the plains,
And settled on the south of Ju,
On the side of the Wei;
The centre of all the States.

The centre of all the States,
The resort of the lower people.

God said to king Wen,
‘I am pleased with your intelligent virtue,
Not loudly proclaimed nor portrayed,
Without extravagance or changeableness,
Without consciousness of effort on your part,
In accordance with the pattern of God.’
God said to king Wen,
‘Take measures against the country of your foes.
Along with your brethren,
Get ready your scaling ladders,
And your engines of onfall and assault,
To attack the walls of Chong.’

The engines of onfall and assault were gently plied,
Against the walls of Chong high and great;
Captives for the question were brought in one after another;
‘The left ears [of the slain] were taken leisurely.
He sacrificed to God, and to the Father of War,
Thus seeking to induce submission;
And throughout the kingdom none dared to insult him.
The engines of onfall and assault were vigorously plied,
Against the walls of Chong very strong;
He attacked it, and let loose all his forces;
He extinguished [its sacrifices], and made an end of its existence;
And throughout the kingdom none dared to oppose him.’

242. LING TAI

When he planned the commencement of the marvellous tower,
He planned it, and defined it;
And the people in crowds undertook the work,
And in no time completed it.
When he planned the commencement, [he said], ‘Be not in a hurry;’
But the people came as if they were his children.

The king was in the marvellous park,
Where the does were lying down, —
The does, so sleek and fat;
With the white birds glistening.
The king was by the marvellous pond; —
How full was it of fishes leaping about!

On his posts was the toothed face-board, high and strong,
With the large drums and bells.
In what unison were their sounds!
What joy was there in the hall with its circlet of water!

In what unison sounded the drums and bells!
What joy was there in the hall with its circlet of water!
The lizard-skin drums rolled harmonious,
As the blind musicians performed their parts.

243. XIA WU

Successors tread in the steps [of their predecessors] in our Zhou.
For generations there had been wise kings;
The three sovereigns were in heaven;
And king [Wu] was their worthy successor in his capital.

King [Wu] was their worthy successor in his capital,
Rousing himself to seek for the hereditary virtue,
Always striving to accord with the will [of Heaven];
And thus he secured the confidence due to a king.

He secured the confidence due to a king,
And became a pattern of all below him.
Ever thinking how to be filial,
His filial mind was the model [which he supplied].

Men loved him, the One man,
And responded [to his example] with a docile virtue.
Ever thinking how to be filial,
He brilliantly continued the doings [of his fathers].

Brilliantly! and his posterity,
Continuing to walk in the steps of their forefathers,
For myriads of years,
Will receive the blessing of Heaven.

They will receive the blessing of Heaven.
And from the four quarters [of the kingdom] will felicitations come to them.
For myriads of years,
Will there not be their helpers?

244. WEN WANG YOU SHENG

King Wen is famous;
Yea, he is very famous.
What he sought was the repose [of the people];
What he saw was the completion [of his work].
A sovereign true was king Wen!

King Wen received the appointment [of Heaven],
And achieved his martial success.
Having overthrown Chong,
He fixed his [capital] city in Feng.
A sovereign true was king Wen!

He repaired the walls along the [old] moat:
His establishing himself in Feng was according to [the pattern of his forefathers],
It was not that he was in haste to gratify his wishes; —
It was to show the filial duty which had come down to him.
A sovereign true was [our] royal prince!

His royal merit was brightly displayed,
By those walls of Feng.
There were collected [the sympathies of the people of] the four quarters,
Who regarded the royal prince as their protector.
A sovereign true was [our] royal prince!

The Feng-water flowed on to the east [of the city],
Through the meritorious labour of Yu.
There were collected [the sympathies of the people of] the four quarters,
Who would have the great king as their ruler.
A sovereign true was the great king!

In the capital of Hao he built his hall with its circlet of water;
From the west to the east,
From the south to the north,
There was not a thought but did him homage.
A sovereign true was the great king!

He examined and divined, did the king,

About settling in the capital of Hao.
The tortoise-shell decided the site,
And king Wu completed the city.
A sovereign true was king Wu!

By the Feng-water grows the white millet; —
Did not king Wu show wisdom in his employment of officers?
He would leave his plans to his descendants,
And secure comfort and support to his son.
A sovereign true was king Wu!

DECADE OF SHENG MIN

245. SHENG MIN

The first birth of [our] people,
Was from Jiang Yuan.
How did she give birth to [our] people?
She had presented a pure offering and sacrificed,
That her childlessness might be taken away.
She then trod on a toe-print made by God, and was moved,
In the large place where she rested.
She became pregnant; she dwelt retired;
She gave birth to, and nourished [a son],
Who was Hou-ji.

When she had fulfilled her months,
Her first-born son [came forth] like a lamb.
There was no bursting, nor rending,
No injury, no hurt; —
Showing how wonderful he would be.
Did not God give her the comfort?
Had He not accepted her pure offering and sacrifice,
So that thus easily she brought forth her son?

He was placed in a narrow lane,
But the sheep and oxen protected him with loving care.
He was placed in a wide forest,
Where he was met with by the wood-cutters.
He was placed on the cold ice,
And a bird screened and supported him with its wings.
When the bird went away,
Hou-ji began to wail.
His cry was long and loud,
So that his voice filled the whole way.

When he was able to crawl,
He looked majestic and intelligent.
When he was able to feed himself,
He fell to planting large beans.
The beans grew luxuriantly;
His rows of paddy shot up beautifully;

His rows of paddy shot up beautifully;
His hemp and wheat grew strong and close;
His gourds yielded abundantly.

The husbandry of Hou-ji,
Proceeded on the plan of helping [the growth].
Having cleared away the thick grass,
He sowed the ground with the yellow cereals.
He managed the living grain, till it was ready to burst;
Then he used it as seed, and it sprang up;
It grew and came into ear;
It became strong and good;
It hung down, every grain complete; —
And thus he was appointed lord of Tai.

He gave his people the beautiful grains: —
The black millet, and the double-kernelled;
The tall red, and the white.
They planted extensively the black and the double-kernelled,
Which were reaped and stacked on the ground.
They planted extensively the tall red and the white,
Which were carried on their shoulders and backs,
Home for the sacrifices which he founded.

And how as to our sacrifices [to him]?
Some hull [the grain]; some take it from the mortar;
Some sift it; some tread it.
It is rattling in the dishes;
It is distilled, and the steam floats about.
We consult; we observe the rites of purification;
We take southernwood and offer it with the fat;
We sacrifice a ram to the Spirit of the path;
We offer roast flesh and broiled: —
And thus introduce the coming year.

We load the stands with the offerings,
The stands both of wood and of earthenware.
As soon as the fragrance ascends,
God, well pleased, smells the sweet savour.
Fragrant is it, and in its due season!

Hou-ji founded the sacrifice,
And no one, we presume, has given occasion for blame or regret in regret to it,
Down to the present day.

246. XING WEI

In thick patches are those rushes, springing by the way -side

;
Let not the cattle and sheep trample them.
Anon they will burst up; anon they will be completely formed,
With their leaves soft and glossy.
Closely related are brethren; —
Let none be absent, let all be near.
For some there are spread mats;
For some there are given stools [besides].

The mats are spread, and a second one above;
The stools are given, and there are plenty of servants.
[The guests] are pledged, and they pledge [the host] in return;
He rinses the cup, and the guests put theirs down.
Sauces and pickles are brought in,
With roast meat and broiled.
Excellent provisions there are [also] of tripe and cheek;
With singing to lutes, and with drums.

The ornamented bows are strong,
And the four arrows are all balanced.
They discharge the arrows, and all hit,
And the guests are arranged according to their skill.
The ornamented bows are drawn full,
And the four arrows are grasped in the hand.
They go straight to the mark as if planted in it,
And the quests are arranged by the humble propriety of their demeanour.

The distant descendant presides over the feast;
His sweet spirits are strong.
He fills their cups from a measure,
And prays for the hoary old [among his quests]; —
That with hoary age and wrinkled back,
They may lead on one another [to virtue], and support one another [in it];
That so their old age may be blessed,
And their bright happiness [ever] increased.

247. JI JUI

You have made us drink to the full of your spirits;
You have satiated us with your kindness,
May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years!
May your bright happiness [ever] be increased!

You have made us drink to the full of your spirits;
Your viands were all set out before us.
May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years!
May your bright intelligence [ever] be increased!

May your bright intelligence become perfect,
High and brilliant, leading to a good end!
That good end has [now] its beginning: —
The personator of your ancestors announced it in his blessing.

What was his announcement?
'[The offerings in] your dishes of bamboo and wood are clean and fine.
Your friends assisting at the service,
Have done their part with reverent demeanour.

'Your reverent demeanour was altogether what the occasion required,
And not yours only, but that also of your filial son.
For such filial piety, without ceasing,
There will ever be conferred blessing on you.

'What will the blessings be?
That along the passages of your palace,
You shall move for ten thousand years;
And there will be granted to you for ever dignity and posterity.

'How as to your posterity?
Heaven invests you with your dignity,
Yea for ten thousand years,
The bright appointment is attached to your person.

'How will it be attached?
There is given you a heroic wife.

There is given you a heroic wife,
And from her shall come [the line of] descendants.’

248. FU YI

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the King;
The personators of your ancestors feast and are happy.
Your spirits are clear,
Your viands are fragrant;
The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; —
Their happiness and dignity are made complete.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the sand;
The personators of the dead enjoy the feast, their appropriate tribute.
Your spirits are abundant,
Your viands are good;
The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; —
Happiness and dignity lend them their aids.

The wild ducks and widgeons are on the islets;
The personators of your ancestors feast and enjoy themselves.
Your spirits are strained,
Your viands are in slices;
The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; —
Happiness and dignity descend on them.

The wild ducks and widgeons are where the waters meet;
The personators of your ancestors feast, and are honoured.
The feast is spread in the ancestral temple,
The place where happiness and dignity descend.
The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; —
Their happiness and dignity are at the highest point.

The wild ducks and widgeons are in the gorge;
The personators of your ancestors rest, full of complacency.
Your fine spirits are delicious,
Your flesh, roast and broiled, is fragrant;
The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; —
No troubles shall be theirs after this.

249. JIA LE

Of [our] admirable, amiable, sovereign,
Most illustrious is the excellent virtue.
He orders rightly the people, orders rightly the officers,
And receives his dignity from heaven,
Which protects and helps him, and [confirms] his appointment,
By repeated acts of renewal from heaven.

[So] does he seek for the emoluments of dignity, [and obtain] all blessings, —
Thousands and hundreds of thousands of descendants,
Of reverent virtue and admirable character,
Fit to be rulers [of States], fit to be king,
Erring in nothing, forgetful of nothing,
Observing and following the old statutes.

[May they] manifest all self-restraint in deportment,
And their virtuous fame be without fail!
Without resentments, without dislikes,
[May they] give free course to [the good among] the officers,
Receiving blessing without limit,
And regulating all within the four quarters [of the kingdom]!

Regulating all, and determining each point,
Giving repose to his friends,
All the princes and ministers,
Will love the son of Heaven.
Not idly occupying his office,
The people will find rest in him.

250. GONG LIU

Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu,
Unable to rest or take his ease [where he was],
He divided and subdivided the country into fields;
He stored up the produce in the fields and in barns;
He tied up dried meat and grain,
In bottomless bags and in sacks; —
That he might hold [the people] together, and glorify [his tribe].
Then with bows and arrows all ready,
With shields and spears, and axes, large and small,
He commenced his march.

Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu,
He had surveyed the plain [where he was settled];
[The people] were numerous and crowded;
In sympathy with them, he made proclamation [of his contemplated measure],
And there were no perpetual sighings about it
He ascended to the hill-tops;
He ascended again to the plains.
What was it that he carried at his girdle?
Pieces of jade, and yao gems,
And his ornamented scabbard with its sword.

Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu,
He went there to [the place of] the hundred springs,
And saw [around him] the wide plain.
He ascended the ridge on the south,
And looked at a large [level] height,
A height affording space for multitudes.
Here was room to dwell in;
Here might booths be built for strangers;
Here he told out his mind;
Here he entered on deliberations.

Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu,
When he had found rest on the height,
With his officers all in dignified order,
He caused mats to be spread, with stools upon them;

He caused mats to be spread, with stools upon them;
And they took their places on the mats and leaned on the stools.
He had sent to the herds,
And taken a pig from the pen.
He poured out his spirits into calabashes;
And so he gave them to eat and to drink,
Acknowledged by them as ruler, and honoured.

Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu,
[His territory] being now broad and long,
He determined the points of the heavens by means of the shadows; and then, ascending the ridges,
He surveyed the light and the shade,
Viewing [also] the [course of the] streams and springs.
His armies were three troops;
He measured the marshes and plains;
He fixed the revenue on the system of common cultivation of the fields;
He measured also the fields west of the hills;
And the settlement of Bin became truly great.

Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu,
Having settled in temporary lodging houses in Bin,
He crossed the Wei by means of boats,
And gathered whetstones and iron.
When his settlement was fixed, and all boundaries defined,
The people became numerous and prosperous,
Occupying both sides of the Huang valley,
And pushing on up that of Guo;
And as the population became dense,
They went on to the country beyond the Ju.

251. JIONG ZHUO

Take the pool-water from a distance;
Draw it into one vessel and let it flow to another,
And it may be used to stream rice or millet.
[How much more should] the happy and courteous sovereign,
Be the parent of the people!

Take the pool-water from a distance;
Draw it into one vessel and let it flow to another,
And it may be used to wash a [spirit] vase.
[How much more should] the happy and courteous sovereign,
Be the centre of attraction to the people!

Take the pool-water from a distance;
Draw it into one vessel and let it flow to another,
And it may be used for all purpose of cleansing.
[How much more should] the happy and courteous sovereign,
Be the centre of rest to the people!

252. JUAN A

Into the recesses of the large mound,
Came the wind whirling from the south.
There was [our] happy, courteous sovereign,
Rambling and singing;
And I took occasion to give forth my notes.

‘Full of spirits you ramble;
Full of satisfaction you rest.
O happy and courteous sovereign,
May you fulfil your years,
And end them like your ancestors!

‘Your territory is great and glorious,
And perfectly secure.
O happy and courteous sovereign,
May you fulfil your years,
As the host of all the Spirits!

‘You have received the appointment long-acknowledged,
With peace around your happiness and dignity.
O happy and courteous sovereign,
May you fulfil your years,
With pure happiness your constant possession!

‘You have helpers and supporters,
Men of filial piety and of virtue,
To lead you on, and act as wings to you,
[So that], O happy and courteous sovereign,
You are a pattern to the four quarters [of the kingdom].

‘Full of dignity and majesty [are they],
Like a jade-mace [in its purity],
The subject of praise, the contemplation of hope.
O happy and courteous sovereign,
[Through them] the four quarters [of the kingdom] are guided by you.

‘The male and female phoenix fly about,

Their wings rustling,
While they settle in their proper resting place.
Many are your admirable officers, O king,
Ready to be employed by you,
Loving you, the son of Heaven.

‘The male and female phoenix fly about,
Their wings rustling,
As they soar up to heaven.
Many are your admirable officers, O king,
Waiting for your commands,
And loving the multitudes of the people.

‘The male and female phoenix give out their notes,
On that lofty ridge.
The dryandras grow,
They grow luxuriantly;
And harmoniously the notes resound.

‘Your carriages, O sovereign,
Are many, many.
Your horses, O sovereign,
Are well trained and fleet.
I have made my few verses,
In prolongation of your song.’

253. MIN LU

The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little ease may be got for them.
Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom,
To secure the repose of the four quarters of it.
Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious,
In order to make the unconscientious careful,
And to repress robbers and oppressors,
Who have no fear of the clear will [of Heaven].
Then let us show kindness to those who are distant,
And help those who are near; —
Thus establishing [the throne of] our king.

The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little rest may be got for them.
Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom,
And make it a gathering-place for the people.
Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious,
In order to make the noisy braggarts careful,
And to repress robbers and oppressors; —
So the people shall not have such sorrow.
Do not cast away your [former] service,
But secure the quiet of the king.

The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little relief may be got for them.
Let us cherish this capital,
To secure the repose of the States in the four quarters.
Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious,
To make careful those who set no limit to themselves,
And to repress robbers and oppressors; —
Not allowing them to act out their evil.
Then let us be reverently careful of our demeanour,
To cultivate association with the virtuous.

The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little repose may be got for them.
Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom

Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom,
That the sorrow of the people may be dispelled.
Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious,
In order to make the multitudes of the evil careful,
And to repress robbers and oppressors,
So that the right shall not be over thrown.
Though you may be [but as] little children,
Your work is vast and great.

The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little tranquillity may be got for them.
Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom,
That it may not everywhere suffer such wounds.
Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious,
In order to make the parasites careful,
And to repress robbers and oppressors,
So that the right shall not be reversed.
The king wishes to hold you as [sceptres of] jade,
And therefore I thus strongly admonish you.

254. BAN

God has reversed [His usual course of procedure],
And the lower people are full of distress.
The words which you utter are not right;
The plans which you form are not far-reaching.
As there are not sages, you think you have no guidance;
You have no reality in your sincerity.
[Thus] your plans do not reach far,
And I therefore strongly admonish you.

Heaven is now sending down calamities; —
Do not be so complacent.
Heaven is now producing such movements; —
Do not be so indifferent.
If your words were harmonious,
The people would become untied.
If your words were gentle and kind,
The people would be settled.

Though my duties are different from yours,
I am your fellow-servant.
I come to advise with you,
And you hear me with contemptuous indifference.
My words are about the [present urgent] affairs; —
Do not think them matter for laughter.
The ancients had a saying: —
'Consult the grass and firewood-gatherers.'

Heaven is now exercising oppression; —
Do not in such a way make a mock of things.
An old man, [I speak] with entire sincerity;
But you, my juniors, are full of pride.
It is not that my words are those of age,
But you make a joke of what is sad.
But the troubles will multiply like flames,
Till they are beyond help or remedy.

Heaven is now displaying its anger; —

Do not be either boastful or flattering,.
Utterly departing from all propriety of demeanour,
Till good men are reduced to personators of the dead.
The people now sigh and groan,
And we dare not examine [into the causes of their trouble].
The ruin and disorder are exhausting all their means of living,
And we show no kindness to our multitudes.

Heaven enlightens the people,
As the bamboo flute responds to the porcelain whistle;
As two half maces form a whole one;
As you take a thing, and bring it away in your hand,
Bringing it away without any more ado.
The enlightenment of the people is very easy.
They have [now] many perversities; —
Do not you set up your perversity [before them].

Good men are a fence;
The multitudes of the people are a wall;
Great States are screens;
Great Families are buttresses;
The cherishing of virtue secures repose;
The circle of [the king's] Relatives is a fortified wall.
We must not let the fortified wall get destroyed;
We must not let him solitary be consumed with terrors.

Revere the anger of Heaven,
And presume not to make sport or be idle.
Revere the changing moods of Heaven,
And presume not to drive about [at your pleasure].
Great Heaven is intelligent,
And is with you in all your goings.
Great Heaven is clear-seeing,
And is with you in your wandering and indulgences.

DECADE OF DANG

255. DANG

How vast is God,
The ruler of men below!
How arrayed in terrors is God,
With many things irregular in His ordinations!
Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of the people,
But the nature it confers is not to be depended on.
All are [good] at first,
But few prove themselves to be so at the last.

King Wen said, ‘Alas!
Alas! you [sovereign of] Yin-shang,
That you should have such violently oppressive ministers,
That you should have such extortionate exactors,
That you should have them in offices,
That you should have them in the conduct of affairs!
Heaven made them with their insolent dispositions,
But it is you who employ them, and gave them strength.’

King Wen said, ‘Alas!
Alas! you [sovereign of] Yin-shang,
You ought to employ such as are good,
But [you employ instead] violent oppressors, who cause many dissatisfactions.
They respond to you with baseless stories,
And [thus] robbers and thieves are in your court.
Thence come oaths and curses,
Without limit, without end.’

King Wen said, ‘Alas!
Alas! you [sovereign of] Yin-shang,
You show a strong fierce will in the centre of the kingdom,
And consider the contracting of enmities a proof of virtue.
All unintelligent are you of your [proper] virtue,
And so you have no [good] men behind you, nor by your side.
Without any intelligence of your [proper] virtue,
You have no [good] intimate adviser nor minister.’

King Wen said, ‘Alas!

Alas! you [sovereign of] Yin-shang,
It is not Heaven that flushes your face with spirits,
So that you follow what is evil and imitate it.
You go wrong in all your conduct;
You make no distinction between the light and the darkness;
But amid clamour and shouting,
You turn the day into night.'

King Wen said, 'Alas!
Alas! you [sovereign of] Yin-shang,
[All around you] is like the noise of cicadas,
Or like the bubbling of boiling soup.
Affairs, great and small, are approaching to ruin;
And still you [and your creatures] go on in this course.
Indignation is rife against you here in the Middle kingdom,
And extends to the demon regions.'

King Wen said, 'Alas!
Alas! you [sovereign of] Yin-shang,
It is not God that has caused this evil time,
But it arises from Yin's not using the old [ways].
Although you have not old experienced men,
There are still the ancient statutes and laws.
But you will not listen to them,
And so your great appointment is being overthrown.'

King Wen said, 'Alas!
Alas! you [sovereign of] Yin-shang,
People have a saying,
'When a tree falls utterly,
While its branches and leaves are yet uninjured,
It must first have been uprooted.'
The beacon of Yin is not far-distant; —
It is in the age of the [last] sovereign of Xia.'

256. YI

An outward demeanour, cautious and grave,
Is an indication of the [inward] virtue.
People have the saying,
'There is no wise man who is not [also] stupid.'
The stupidity of the ordinary man,
Is determined by his [natural] defects.
The stupidity of the wise man,

What is most powerful is the being the man; —
In all quarters [of the State] men are influenced by it.
To an upright virtuous conduct,
All in the four quarters of the State render obedient homage.
With great counsels and determinate orders,
With far-reaching plans and timely announcements,
And with reverent care of his outward demeanour,
One will become the pattern of the people.
Is from his doing violence [to his natural character].

As for the circumstances of the present time,
You are bent on error and confusion in your government.
Your virtue is subverted;
You are besotted by drink.
Although you thus pursue nothing but pleasure,
How is it you do not think of your relation to the past,
And do not widely study the former kings,
That you might hold fast their wise laws?

Shall not those whom great Heaven does not approve of,
Surely as the waters flow from a spring,
Sink down together to ruin?
Rise early and go to bed late,
Sprinkle and sweep your court-yard; —
So as to be a pattern to the people.
Have in good order your chariots and horses,
Your bows and arrows, and [other] weapons of war; —
To be prepared for warlike action,
To keep at a distance [the hordes of] the South

To keep at a distance [the hordes of] the South.

Perfect what concerns your officers and people;
Be careful of your duties as a prince [of the kingdom]; —
To be prepared for unforeseen dangers.
Be cautious of what you say;
Be reverently careful of your outward demeanour;
In all things be mild and correct.
A flaw in a mace of white jade,
May be ground away,
But for a flaw in speech,
Nothing can be done.

Do not speak lightly; — your words are your own: —
Do not say, ‘This is of little importance.’
No one can hold my tongue for me;
Words are not to be cast away.
Every word finds its answer;
Every good deed has its recompense.
If you are gracious among your friends,
And to the people, as if they were your children,
Your descendants will continue in unbroken line,
And all the people will surely be obedient to you.

Looked at in friendly intercourse with superior men,
You make your countenance harmonious and mild; —
Anxious not to do anything wrong.
Looked at in your chamber,
You ought to be equally free from shame before the light which shines in.
Do not say, ‘This place is not public;
No one can see me here.’
The approaches of spiritual Beings,
Cannot be calculated [beforehand];
But the more should they not be slighted.

O prince, let your practice of virtue,
Be entirely good and admirable.
Watch well over your behaviour,
And allow nothing wrong in your demeanour.
Committing no excess, doing nothing injurious; —

There are few who will not in such a case take you for their pattern.
When one throws to me a peach,
I return to him a plum.
To look for horns on a young ram,
Will only weary you, my son.

The soft and elastic wood,
Can be fitted with the silken string.
The mild and the respectful man,
Possesses the foundation of virtue.
There is a wise man; —
I tell him [good] words,
And he yields to them the practice of docile virtue.
There is a stupid man; —
He says on the contrary that my words are not true: —
So different are people's minds.

Oh! my son,
When you did not know what was good, and what was not good,
Not [only] did I lead you on by the hand,
But I showed the difference by appealing to affairs.
Not [only] did I charge you face to face,
But I held you by the ears.
And still perhaps you do not know,
Although you have held a son in your arms.
If people are not self-sufficient,
Who comes [only] to a late maturity after early instruction?

Great Heaven is very intelligent,
And I pass my life without pleasure.
When I see you so dark and stupid,
My heart is full of pain.
I taught you with assiduous repetition,
And you listened to me with contempt.
You would not consider me your teacher,
But regarded me as troublesome.
Still perhaps you do not know; —
But you are very old.

Oh! my son,

I have told you the old ways.
Hear and follow my counsels; —
Then shall you have no cause for great regret.
Heaven is now inflicting calamities,
And is destroying the State.
My illustrations are not taken from things remote; —
Great Heaven makes no mistakes.
If you go on to deteriorate in your virtue,
You will bring the people to great distress.

257. SANG ROU

Luxuriantly is that young mulberry tree,
And beneath it wide is the shade;
But they will pluck its leaves till it is quite destroyed.
The distress inflicted on these [multitudes of the] people,
Is an unceasing sorrow to my heart; —
My commiseration fills [my breast].
O thou bright and great Heaven,
Shouldest thou not have compassion on us?

The four steeds [gallop about], eager and strong;
The tortoise-and-serpent and the falcon banners fly about.
Disorder grows, and no peace can be secured.
Every State is being ruined;
There are no black heads among the people;
All are reduced to ashes, [as it were], by calamity.
Oh! alas!
The doom of the kingdom hurries on.

There is nothing to arrest the doom of the kingdom;
Heaven does not nourish us.
There is no place in which to stop securely;
There is no place to which to go.
Superior men are the bonds [of the social state],
Allowing no love of strife in their hearts.
Who reared the steps of the dissatisfaction,
Which has reached the present distress?

The grief of my heart is extreme,
And I dwell on [the condition of] our territory.
I was born at an unhappy time,
To meet with the severe anger of Heaven.
From the west to the east,
There is no quiet place of abiding.
Many are the distresses I meet with;
Very urgent is the trouble on our borders.

You have your counsels; you employ caution;

But the disorder grows and dismemberments ensue.
I tell you the subjects for anxiety;
I instruct you how to distinguish the orders of men.
Who can hold anything hot?
Must he not dip it [first] in water?
How can you [by your method] bring a good state of things about?
You [and your advisers] will sink together in ruin.

[The state of things] is like going in the teeth of the wind,
Which makes one quite breathless.
Some have a mind to go forward,
But they are made to think it is of no use to do so.
They attach themselves to husbandry,
And labour like the people instead of eating [the bread of office].
Their sowing and reaping are precious to them;
They love this substitute for [official] emolument.

Heaven is sending down death and disorder,
And has put an end to our king.
It is sending down those devourers of the grain,
So that the husbandry is all in evil case.
All is in peril and going to ruin;
I have no strength [to do anything],
And think of [the Power in] the azure vault.

Here is a good and righteous ruler,
Who is looked up to by the people and by all; —
He keeps his heart, and his plans are formed on mature deliberation,
Searching carefully for helpers.
There is one who has no such character,
But reckons only to his own views to be good; —
He holds only to his own thoughts,
And causes the people to be distracted.

Look into the middle of that forest,
At the herds of deer roaming together.
[But here] friends are insincere,
And do not help one another in what is good.
People have the saying,
‘To go forwards or backwards is alike impracticable.’

To go forwards or backwards is alike impracticable.

Here is a wise man; —
His views and words reach to a hundred Li,
There is a stupid man; —
He on the contrary rejoices in his madness.
It is not that I could not speak [all this]; —
How is it I was withheld by my fear?

Here is a good man,
But he is not sought out nor employed.
There is a hard-hearted man,
And he is thought of and promoted once and again.
The people [in consequence] desire disorder,
And find enjoyment in bitter, poisonous ways.

Great winds have a path; —
They come from the large empty valleys.
Here is a good man,
Whose doings will be good.
There is a man unobservant of the right,
Whose goings will be according to his inward filthiness.

Great winds have a path; —
The covetous men try to subvert their peers.
I would speak, if he would hear my words,
But I can [only] croon them over as if I were drunk.
He will not employ the good,
And on the contrary causes me [such] distress.

Ah! my friends,
Is it in ignorance that I make [this ode]?
[But it may happen] as in the case of a bird on the wing,
Which sometimes is hit and caught.
I go to do you good,
But you become the more incensed against me.

The unlimited disorder of the people,
Is owing to those hypocrites, skilful to prevaricate.
They work out the injury of the people,

As if their efforts were not equal to it.
The depravity of the people,
Is brought about by their strenuous endeavours.

That the people are unsettled,
Is owing to the robbers that prey on them.
Hypocritical, they say ‘These men will not do;’
But when their backs are turned, they show their skill in reviling [the good].
Although you say, ‘We did not do this,’
I have made this song about you.

258. YUN HAN

Bright was that milky way,
Shining and revolving in the sky.
The king said, ‘Oh!
What crime is chargeable on us now,
That Heaven [thus] sends down death and disorder?
Famine comes again and again.
There is no victim I have grudged;
Our maces and other tokens are exhausted: —
How is it that I am not heard?

‘The drought is excessive;
Its fervours become more and more tormenting.
I have not ceased offering pure sacrifices;
From the border altars I have gone to the ancestral temple.
To the [Powers] above and below I have presented my offerings and then buried them: —
There is no Spirit whom I have not honoured.
Hou-ji is not equal to the occasion;
God does not come to us.
This wasting and ruin of our country, —
Would that it fell [only] on me!

‘The drought is excessive;
And I may not try to excuse myself.
I am full of terror and feel the peril,
Like the clap of thunder or the roll.
Of the remnant of Zhou, among the black-haired people,
There will not be half a man left;
Nor will God from His great heaven,
Exempt [even] me.
Shall we not mingle our fears together?
[The sacrifices to] my ancestors will be extinguished.

‘The drought is excessive;
And it cannot be stopped.
More fierce and fiery,
It is leaving me no place

It is leaving me no place.
My end is near; —
I have none to look up to, none to look around to.
The many dukes and their ministers of the past,
Give me no help.
O ye parents and [nearer] ancestors,
How can ye bear to see us thus?

‘The drought is excessive; —
Parched are the hills, and the streams are dried.
The demon of drought exercises his oppression.
As if scattering flames and fire.
My heart is terrified with the heat; —
My sorrowing heart is as if on fire.
The many dukes and their ministers of the past,
Do not hear me,
O God, from Thy great heaven,
Grant me the liberty to withdraw [into retirement]!

‘The drought is excessive; —
I struggle, and fear to go away.
How is it I am afflicted with this drought?
I cannot ascertain the cause of it.
In praying for a good year I was abundantly early;
I was not late [in sacrificing] to [the Spirits] of the four quarters and of the land.
God in the great heaven,
Does not consider me.
Reverent to the intelligent Spirits,
I ought not to be thus the object of their anger.

‘The drought is excessive; —
All is dispersion, and the bonds of government are relaxed.
Reduced to extremities are the Heads of departments;
Full of distress are my chief minister,
The master of the horse, the commander of the guards,
The chief cook, and my attendants.
There is no one who has not [tried to] help [the people];
They have not refrained on the ground of being unable.
I look up to the great heaven; —
Why am I plunged in this sorrow?

‘I look up to the great heaven,
But its stars sparkle bright.
My great officers and excellent men,
Ye have drawn near [to Heaven] with reverence with all your powers.
Death is approaching,
But do not cast away what you have done.
You are seeking not for me only,
But to give rest to all our departments.
I look up to the great heaven; —
When shall I be favoured with repose?

259. SONG GAO

Grandly lofty are the mountains,
With their large masses reaching to the heavens.
From these mountains was sent down a Spirit,
Who gave birth to [the princes of] Fu and shen.
Fu and Shen,
Are the support of Zhou,
Screens to all the States,
Diffusing [their influence] over the four quarters of the kingdom.

Full of activity is the chief of Shen,
And the king would employ him to continue the services [of his fathers],
With his capital in Xie,
Where he should be a pattern to the States of the south.
The king gave charge to the earl of Zhou,
To arrange all about the residence of the chief of Shen,
Where he should do what was necessary for the regions of the south,
And where his posterity might maintain his merit.

The king gave charge to the chief of Shen,
'Be a pattern to the regions of the south,
And by means of those people of Xie,
Proceed to display your merit.'
The king gave charge to the earl of Zhou,
To make the statutory definition of the territory and fields of the chief of Shen.
The king gave charge to the chief 's steward,
To remove the members of his family to the spot.

Of the services of the chief of Shen,
The foundation was laid by the earl of Zhou,
Who built first the walls [of this city],
And then completed his ancestral temple.
When the temple was completed, wide and grand,
The king conferred on the chief of Shen,
Four noble steeds,
With their hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, glittering bright.

The king sent away the chief of Shen,

With its carriage of state and its team of horses.
‘I have consulted about your residence,
That it had best be fixed in the South.
I confer on you a great sceptre,
As the symbol of your dignity.
Go, my uncle,
And protect the country of the South.’

The chief of Shen took his departure,
And the king gave him a parting feast in Mei.
Then the chief of Shen returned, [and proceeded] to the south,
And found himself at last in Xie.
The king had given charge to the earl of Zhou,
To make the statutory division of the lands,
And to lay up stores of provisions,
That the progress of the chief might be accelerated.

Martial-like, the chief of Shen,
Entered into Xie.
His footmen and charioteers were numerous,
And throughout the regions of Zhou all rejoiced.
‘You have got a good support: —
Very distinguished is the chief of Shen,
The great uncle of the king,
The pattern of the officers, both civil and military.’

The virtue of the chief of Shen,
Is mild, and regulated, and upright.
He will keep all these countries in order,
And be famed throughout the kingdom.
[I], Ji-fu, made this song,
An ode of great excellence,
Of influence good,
To present to the chief of Shen.

260. ZHENG MIN

Heaven, in giving birth to the multitudes of the people,
To every faculty and relationship annexed its law.
The people possess this normal nature,
And they [consequently] love its normal virtue.
Heaven beheld the ruler of Zhou,
Brilliantly affecting it by his conduct below;
And to maintain him, its Son,
Gave birth to Zhong Shan-fu.

The virtue of Zhong Shan-fu,
Is mild and admirable, according as it ought to be.
Good is his deportment; good his looks;
The lessons of antiquity are his law;
He is strenuously attentive to his deportment.
In full accord with the Son of Heaven,
He is employed to spread abroad his bright decrees.

The king gave charge to Zhong Shan-fu: —
'Be a pattern to all the princes;
Continue [the services of] your ancestors.
You have to protect the royal person;
Give out the royal decrees, and report on them.
Be the king's throat and tongue;
Spread his government abroad,
So that in all quarters it shall be responded to.'

Most dignified was the king's charge,
And Zhong Shan-fu carries it into execution.
In the States, the princes, be they good or bad,
Are clearly distinguished by Zhong Shan-fu.
Intelligent is he and wise,
Protecting his own person;
Never idle, day or night,
In the service of the One man.

The people have a saying: —
'The soft is devoured.

And the hard is ejected from the mouth.'
But Zhong Shan-fu,
Does not devour the soft,
Nor eject the powerful.
He does not insult the poor or the widow;
He does not fear the strong or the oppressive.

The people have a saying: —
'Virtue is light as a hair,
But few are able to lift it.'
When I think of the matter,
It is only Zhong Shan-fu that can lift it.
I love him, but can do nothing to help him.
Any defects in the king's duties,
Are supplied by Zhong Shan-fu.

Zhong Shan-fu went forth, having sacrificed to the Spirit of the road.
His four steeds were strong;
His men were alert;
He was always anxious lest he should not be equal to his commission;
His steeds went on without stopping,
To the tinkling of their eight bells.
The king had given charge to Zhong Shan-fu,
To fortify the city there in the east.

With his four steeds so strong,
And their eight bells, all tinkling,
Zhong Shan-fu proceeded to Qi; —
And he will soon return.
I, Yin Ji-fu, have made this song: —
May it enter like a quiet wind,
Among the constant anxieties of Zhong Shan-fu,
To soothe his mind!

261. HAN YI

Very grand is the mountain of Liang,
Which was made cultivable by Yu.
Bright it is the way from it,
[Along which came] the marquis of Han to receive investiture.
The king himself gave the charge: —
‘Continue the services of your ancestors;
Let not my charge to you come to nought.
Be diligent, early and late,
And reverently discharge your duties; —
So shall my appointment of you not change.
Be a support against those princes who do not come to court,
Thus assisting your sovereign.’

With his four steeds, all noble,
Very long, and large,
The marquis of Han came to court,
With the large sceptre of his rank; —
He entered and appeared before the king.
The king gave him,
A fine dragon-flag, with its feathery ornaments;
A chequered bamboo-screen, and an ornamented yoke;
A dark-coloured robe with the dragons on it, and the redslippers;
The hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, and the carved frontlets;
The leaning-board bound with leather, and a tiger’s skin to cover it,
The ends of the reins, with their metal rings.

When the marquis of Han left the court, he sacrificed to the Spirit of the road;
He went forth, and lodged for the night in Tu.
There Xian-fu gave him the parting feast; —
With a hundred vases of clear spirits.
And what were the viands?
Roast turtle and fresh fish.
And what were the vegetables?
Bamboo sprouts and pu.
And what were the gifts?
A carriage of state with its team.
Many were the vessels of sauces and fruits;

Many were the vessels of sauces and fruits,
And the other princes [at court] joined in the feast.

The marquis of Han took to himself a wife, —
A niece of king Fen,
The daughter of Jue-fu.
The marquis of Han went to receive her.
To the residence of Jue.
His hundred chariots were in grand array,
The eight bells of each emitting their tinkling; —
Illustrious was the glory [of the occasion].
The virgins, her companions, followed the lady,
Leisurely like a beautiful cloud.
The marquis of Han looked round at them,
Filling the gate with their splendour.

Jue-fu is very martial,
And there is no State which he had not visited.
When he would select a home for Han-ji,
There seemed none so pleasant as Han,
Very pleasant is the territory of Han,
With its large streams and meres,
Full of big bream and tench;
With its multitudes of deer,
With its bears and grisly bears;
With its wild-cats and tigers.
Glad was he of so admirable a situation,
And here Han-ji found rest and joy.

Large is the wall of [the city of] Han,
Built by the multitudes of Yan.
As his ancestor had received charge,
To preside over all the wild tribes [of that quarter],
The king [now] gave to the marquis of Han,
The Qi and the Mo,
Forthwith to hold the States of the north,
And to preside over them as their chief;
Making strong his walls, and deep his moats,
Laying out his fields, regulating his revenues,
Presenting his skins of the white fox,

With those of the red panther and the yellow grisly bear.

262. JIANG HAN

Large was the volume of the Jiang and the Han,
And the troops advanced like a flowing current.
There was no resting, no idle wandering; —
We were seeking for the tribes of the Huai.
We had sent forth our chariots;
We had displayed our falcon-banners.
There was no resting, no remissness; —
Against the tribes of the Huai were we marshalled.

Large flowed the Jiang and the Han,
And grandly martial looked the troops.
The whole country had been reduced to order,
And an announcement of our success had been made to be king.
When the whole country was pacified,
The king's State began to feel settled.
There was then an end of strife,
And the king's heart was composed.

On the banks of the Jiang and the Han,
The king had given charge to Hu of Zhou: —
'Open up the whole of the country;
Make the statutory division of my lands there;
Not to distress the people, nor with urgency,
But making them conform to the royal state.
Make the larger and the smaller divisions of the ground,
As far as the southern sea.'

The king gave charge to Hu of Zhou: —
'You have everywhere diffused [and carried out my orders].
When Wen and Wu received their appointment,
The duke of Zhou was their strong support.
You do not [only] have a regard to me the little child,
But you try to resemble that duke of Zhou.
You have commenced and earnestly displayed your merit;
And I will make you happy.

'I give you a large libation-cup of jade,

And a jar of herb-flavoured spirits from the black millet.
I have made announcement to the accomplished one,
And confer on you hills, lands, and fields.
In Yu-zhou shall you receive investiture,
According as your ancestor received his.'
Hu bowed with his head to the ground, [and said],
'May the Son of Heaven live for ever!'

Hu bowed with his head to the ground,
And in response displayed the goodness of the king,
And roused himself to maintain the fame of his ancestor.
'May the Son of Heaven live for ever!
Very intelligent is the Son of Heaven;
His good fame shall be without end.
Let him display his civil virtues,
Till they permeate all quarters of the kingdom.

263. CHANG WU

Grandly and clearly,
The king gave charge to his minister,
A descendant of Nan Zhong,
The Grand-master Huang-fu: —
‘Put my six armies in order,
And get ready all my apparatus of war.
Be reverent, be cautious,
That we may give comfort to the States of the south.’

The king said to the Head of the Yin clan,
‘Give a charge to Xiu-fu, earl of Cheng,
To undertake the arrangement of the ranks,
And to warn all my troops.
Along the bank of the Huai,
[We go] to see the land of Xu,
Not delaying [our march], not occupying [the territory],
That the threefold labours [of husbandry] may proceed in order.’

Full of grandeur and strength,
The Son of Heaven looked majestic.
Leisurely and calmly the king advanced,
Not with his troops in masses, nor in broken lines.
The region of Xu from stage to stage was moved;
It shook and was terrified, — the region of Xu.
As by the roll of thunder or its sudden crash,
The region of Xu shook and was terrified.

The king aroused his warlike energy,
As if he were moved with anger.
He advanced his tiger-like officers.
Looking fierce like raging tigers.
He displayed his masses along the bank of the Huai,
And forthwith seized a crowd of captives.
Securely kept was the country about the bank of the Huai,
Occupied by the royal armies.

The royal legions were numerous:

[Swift] as if they flew on wings,
[Imposing] as the current of the Jiang and the Han;
Firm as a mountain;
Rolling on like a stream;
Continuous and orderly;
Inscrutable, invincible;
Grandly proceeding to set in order the States of Xu.

The king's plans were directed in truth and sincerity,
And the region of Xu came [at once to terms];
Its [chiefs] were all collected together; —
Through the merit of the Son of Heaven.
The country was all reduced to order;
Its [chiefs] appeared before the king.
They would not again change their minds,
And the kings said, 'Let us return.'

264. ZHAN YANG

I look up to great Heaven,
But it shows us no kindness.
Very long have we been disquieted,
And these great calamities are sent down [upon us].
There is nothing settled in the country;
Officers and people are in distress.
Through the insects from without and from within,
There is no peace or limit [to our misery].
The net of crime is not taken up,
And there is no peace nor cure [for our state].

Men had their ground and fields,
But you have them [now].
Men had their people and followers,
But you have violently taken them from them.
Here is one who ought to be held guiltless,
But you snare him [in the net of crime].
There is one who ought to be held guilty,
But you let him escape [from it].

A wise man builds up the wall [of a city],
But a wise woman overthrows it.
Admirable may be the wise woman,
But she is [no batter than] an owl.
A woman with a long tongue,
Is [like] a stepping-stone to disorder.
[Disorder] does not come down from heaven; —
It is produced by the woman.
Those from whom come no lessons, no instruction,
Are women and eunuchs.

They beat men down, hurtful, deceitful.
Their slanders in the beginning may be falsified in the end,
But they do not say [that their words were] very wrong; —
[They say], ‘What evil was there in them?
As if in the three times cent per cent of traffic,
A superior man should have any knowledge of it;

A superior man should have any knowledge of it;
So a woman who has nothing to do with public affairs,
Leaves her silk-worms and weaving.

Why is it that Heaven is [thus] reproving [you]?
Why is it that the Spirits are not blessing [you]?
You neglect your great barbarian [foes],
And regard me with hatred.
You are regardless of the evil omens [that abound],
And your demeanour is all-unseemly;
[Good] men are going away,
And the country is sure to go to ruin.

Heaven is letting down its net,
And many [are the calamities in it].
[Good] men are going away,
And my heart is sorrowful.
Heaven is letting down its net,
And soon [will all be caught in it].
Good men are going away.
And my heart is sad.

Right from the spring comes the water bubbling,
Revealing its depth.
The sorrow of my heart, —
Is it [only] of to-day?
Why were these things not before me?
Or why were they not after me?
But mysteriously Great Heaven,
Is able to strengthen anything;
Do not disgrace your great ancestors,
And it will save your posterity.

265. ZHOU WEN

Compassionate Heaven is arrayed in angry terrors;
Heaven is indeed sending down ruin,
Afflicting us with famine,
So that the people are all wandering fugitives; —
In the settled regions and on the borders all is desolation.

Heaven sends down its net of crime; —
Devouring insects, who weary and confuse men's minds,
Ignorant, oppressive, negligent,
Breeders of confusion, utterly perverse: —
These are the men employed to tranquilize our country.

Insolent and slanderous, —
[The king] does not know a flaw in them.
We, careful and feeling in peril,
For long in unrest,
Are constantly subjected to degradation.

As in a year of drought,
The grass not attaining to luxuriance;
As water plants attached to a tree;
So do I see in this country,
All going to confusion.

The wealth of former days,,
Was not like our present condition.
The distress of the present,
Did not previously reach this degree.
Those are [like] coarse rice, these are [like] fine; —
Why do you not retire of yourselves,
But prolong my anxious sorrow?

A pool becomes dry, —
Is it not because no water comes to it from its banks?
A spring becomes dry, —
Is it not because no water rises in it from itself?
Great is the injury [all about].

So that my anxious sorrow is increased.
Will not calamity light on my person?

Formerly when the former kings received their appointment,
There were such ministers as the duke of Zhou,
Who would in a day enlarge the kingdom a hundred Li;
Now it is contracted in a day a hundred Li.
Oh! Alas!
Among the men of the present day,
Are there not still some with the old virtue?

PART IV. ODES OF THE TEMPLE AND THE ALTAR

SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU, DECADE OF QING MIAO

266. QING MIAO

Ah! solemn is the ancestral temple in its pure stillness.
Reverent and harmonious were the distinguished assistants;
Great was the number of the officers: —
[All] assiduous followers of the virtue of [king] Wen.
In response to him in heaven,
Grandly they hurried about in the temple.
Distinguished is he and honoured,
And will never be wearied of among men.

267. WEI TIAN ZHI MING

The ordinances of Heaven, —
How deep are they and unintermitting!
And oh! how illustrious,
Was the singleness of the virtue of king Wen!
How does he [now] show his kindness?
We will receive [his favour],
Striving to be in accord with him, our king Wen;
And may his remotest descendant be abundantly the same!

268. WEI QING

Clear, and to be preserved bright,
Are the statutes of king Wen.
From the first sacrifice [to him],
Till now when they have issued in our complete State,
They have been the happy omen of [the fortunes of] Zhou.

269. LIE WEN

Ye, brilliant and accomplished princes,
Have conferred on me this happiness.
Your favours to me are without limit,
And my descendants will preserve [the fruits of] them.
Be not mercenary nor extravagant in your States,
And the king will honour you.
Thinking of this great service,
He will enlarge the dignity of your successors.
What is most powerful is the being the man; —
Its influence will be felt throughout your States.
What is most distinguished is being virtuous; —
It will secure the imitation of all the princes.
Ah! the former kings are not forgotten!

270. TIAN ZUO

Heaven made the lofty hill,
And king Da brought [the country about] it under cultivation.
He made the commencement with it,
And king Wen tranquilly [carried on the work],
[Till] that rugged [mount] Qi,
Had level roads leading to it.
May their descendants ever preserve it!

271. HAO TIAN YOU CHENG MING

Heaven made its determinate appointment,
Which [our] two sovereigns received.
King Cheng did not dare to rest idly in it.
But night and day enlarged its foundations by his deep and silent virtue.
How did he continue and glorify [his heritage],
Exerting all his heart,
And so securing its tranquillity!

272. WO JIANG

I have brought my offerings,
A ram and a bull.
May Heaven accept them!
I imitate and follow and observe the statutes of king Wen,
Seeking daily to secure the tranquillity of the kingdom.
King Wen, the Blesser,
Has descended on the right and accepted [the offerings].
Do not I, night and day,
Revere the majesty of Heaven.
Thus to preserve [their favour]?

273. SHI MAI

Now is he making a progress through the States,
May Heaven accept him as its Son!
Truly are the honour and succession come from it to the House of Zhou.
To his movements,
All respond with tremulous awe.
He has attracted and given rest to all spiritual Beings,
Even to [the Spirits of] the He, and the highest hills.
Truly is the king the sovereign Lord.
Brilliant and illustrious is the House of Zhou.
He has regulated the positions of the princes;
He has called in shields and spears;
He has returned to their cases bows and arrows.
I will cultivate admirable virtue,
And display it throughout these great regions: —
Truly will the king preserve the appointment.

274. ZHI JING

The arm of king Wu was full of strength;
Irresistible was his ardour.
Greatly illustrious were Cheng and Kang,
Kinged by God.
When we consider how Cheng and Kang,
Grandly held all within the four quarters [of the kingdom],
How penetrating was their intelligence!
The bells and drums sound in harmony;
The sounding stones and flutes blend their notes;
Abundant blessing is sent down.
Blessing is sent down in large measure;
Careful and exact is all our deportment;
We have drunk, and we have eaten, to the full;
Our happiness and dignity will be prolonged.

275. SI WEN

O accomplished Hou-ji,
Thou didst prove thyself the correlate of Heaven;
Thou didst give grain-food to our multitudes; —
The immense gift of thy goodness.
Thou didst confer on us the wheat and the barley,
Which God appointed for the nourishment of all;
And without distinction of territory or boundary,
The rules of social duty were diffused throughout these great regions.

SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU, DECADE OF CHEN GONG

276. CHEN GONG

Ah! Ah! ministers and officers,
Reverently attend to your public duties.
The king has given you perfect rules; —
Consult about them and consider them.
Ah! Ah! ye assistants,
It is now the end of spring;
And what have ye to seek for?
[Only] how to manage the new fields and those of the third year.
How beautiful are the wheat and the barley,
Whose bright produce we shall receive!
The bright and glorious God.
Will in them give us a good year.
Order all our men,
To be provided with their spuds and hoes: —
Anon we shall see the sickles at work.

277. YI XI

Oh! yes, king Cheng,
Brightly brought himself near.
Lead your husbandmen,
To sow their various kinds of grain,
Going vigorously to work on your private fields,
All over the thirty Li.
Attend to your ploughing,
With your ten thousand men all in pairs.

278. ZHEN LU

A flock of egrets is flying,
About the marsh there in the west.
My visitors came,
With an [elegant] carriage like those birds.
There, [in their States], not disliked;
Here, [in Zhou], never tired of; —
They are sure, day and night,
To penetrate their fame.

279. FENG NIAN

Abundant is the year, with much millet and much rice;
And we have our high granaries,
With myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions [of measures in them];
For spirits and sweet spirits,
To present to our ancestors, male and female,
And to supply all out ceremonies.
The blessings sent down on us are of every kind.

280. YOU GU

There are the bird musicians; there are the blind musicians;
In the court of [the temple of] Zhou.
There are [the music frames] with their face-boards and posts,
The high toothed-edge [of the former], and the feathers stuck [in the latter];
With the drums, large and small, suspended from them;
And the hand-drums and sounding-stones, the instrument to give the signal for commencing, and the stopper.

281. QIAN

Oh! in the Qi and the Ju,
There are many fish in the warrens; —
Sturgeons, large and snouted,
Zhan, yellow-jaws, mudfish, and carp: —
For offerings, for sacrifice,
That our bright happiness may be increased.

282. YONG

They come full of harmony;
They are here, in all gravity; —
The princess assisting,
While the Son of Heaven looks profound.
‘While I present [this] noble bull,
And they assist me in setting forth the sacrifice,
O great and august Father,
Comfort me, your filial Son!
‘With penetrating wisdom thou did’st play the man,
A sovereign with the gifts both of peace and war,
Giving rest even to great Heaven,
And ensuring prosperity to thy descendants.
‘Thou comfortest me with the eyebrows of longevity;
Thou makest me great with manifold blessings.
I offer this sacrifice to my meritorious father,
And to my accomplished mother.’

283. ZAI JIAN

They appeared before their sovereign king,
To seek from him the rules [they were to observe].
With their dragon-emblazoned banners, flying bright,
The bells on them and their front-boards tinkling,
And with the rings on the ends of the reins glittering,
Admirable was their majesty, and splendour.
He led them to appear before his father shrined on the left,
Where he discharged his filial duty, and presented his offerings; —
That he might have granted to him long life,
And ever preserve [his dignity].
Great and many are his blessings.
They are the brilliant and accomplished princes.
Who cheer him with his many sources of happiness,
Enabling him to perpetuate them in their brightness as pure blessing.

284. YOU KE

The noble visitor! The noble visitor!
Drawn like his ancestors by white horses!
The revered and dignified,
Polished members of his suite!
The noble guest will stop [but] a night or two!
The noble guest will stop [but] two nights or four!
Give him ropes,
To blind his horses.
I will convoy him [with a parting feast];
I will comfort him in every possible way.
Adorned with such great dignity,
It is very natural that he should be blessed.

285. WU

Oh! great wast thou, O king Wu,
Displaying the utmost strength in thy work.
Truly accomplished was king Wen,
Opening the path for his successors.
Thou did’st receive the inheritance from him;
Thou did’st vanquish Yin, and put a stop to its cruelties; —
Effecting the firm establishment of thy merit.

SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU, DECADE OF MIN YOU XIAO ZI

286. MIN YU XIAO ZI

Alas for me, who am [as] a little child,
On whom has devolved the unsettled State!
Solitary am I and full of distress.
Oh! my great Father,
All thy life long, thou wast filial.
Thou didst think of my great grandfather,
[Seeing him, as it were,] ascending and descending in the court.
I, the little child,
Day and night will be so reverent.
Oh! ye great kings,
As your successor, I will strive not to forget you.

287. FANG LUO

I take counsel at the beginning of my [rule],
How I can follow [the example] of my shrined father.
Ah! far-reaching [were his plans],
And I am not yet able to carry them out.
However I endeavour to reach to them,
My continuation of them will still be all-deflected.
I am [but as] a little child,
Unequal to the many difficulties of the State.
In his room, [I will look for him] to go up and come down in the court,
To ascend and descend in the house.
Admirable art thou, O great Father,
[Condescend] to preserve and enlighten me.

288. JING ZHI

Let me be reverent, let me be reverent, [in attending to my duties];
[The way of] Heaven is evident,
And its appointment is not easily [preserved].
Let me not say that It is high aloft above me.
It ascends and descends about our doings;
It daily inspects us wherever we are.
I am [but as] a little child,
Without intelligence to be reverently [attractive to my duties];
But by daily progress and monthly advance,
I will learn to hold fast the gleams [of knowledge], till I arrive at bright intelligence.
Assist me to bear the burden [of my position],
And show me how to display a virtuous conduct.

289. XIAO BI

I condemn myself [for the past], and will be on my guard against future calamity.
I will have nothing to do with a wasp,
To seek for myself its painful sting.
At first, indeed, the thing seemed but a wren,
But it took wing and became a [large] bird.
I am unequal to the many difficulties of the kingdom;
And I am placed in the midst of bitter experiences.

290. ZAI SHAN

They clear away the grass and the bushes;
And the ground is laid open by their ploughs.
In thousands of pairs they remove the roots,
Some in the low wet lands, some along the dykes.
There are the master and his eldest son;
His younger sons, and all their children;
Their strong helpers, and their hired servants.
How the noise of their eating the viands brought to them resounds!
[The husbands] think lovingly of their wives;
[The wives] keep close to their husbands.
[Then] with their sharp plough-shares,
They set to work on the south-lying acres.
They sow their different kinds of grain,
Each seed containing in it a germ of life.
In unbroken lines rises the blade,
And well-nourished the stalks grow long.
Luxuriant looks the young grain,
And the weeders go among it in multitudes.
Then come the reapers in crowds,
And the grain is piled up the fields,
Myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions [of stacks];
For spirits and for sweet spirits,
To offer to our ancestors, male and female,
And to provide for all ceremonies.
Fragrant is their aroma,
Enhancing the glory of the State.
Like pepper is their smell,
To give comfort to the aged.
It is not here only that there is this [abundance];
It is not now only that there is such a time: —
From of old it has been thus.

291. LIANG SI

Very sharp are the excellent shares,
With which they set to work on the south-lying acres.
They sow their different kinds of grain,
Each seed containing a germ of life.
There are those who come to see them,
With their baskets round and square,
Containing the provision of millet.
With their light splint hats on their heads,
They ply their hoes on the ground,
Clearing away the smart-weed on the dry land and wet.
These weeds being decayed,
The millets grow luxuriantly.
They fall rustling before the reapers.
And [the sheaves] are set up solidly,
High as a wall,
United together like the teeth of a comb;
And the hundred houses are opened [to receive the grain].
Those hundred houses being full,
The wives and children have a feeling of repose.
[Now] we kill this black-muzzled tawny bull,
With his crooked horns,
To imitate and hand down,
To land down [the observances of] our ancestors.

292. SI YI

In his silken robes, clear and bright,
With his cap on his head, looking so respectful,
From the hall he goes to the foot of the stairs,
And from the sheep to the oxen.
[He inspects] the tripods, large and small.
The good spirits are mild;
There is no noise, no insolence: —
An auspice, [all this], of great longevity.

293. ZHUO

Oh! powerful was the king's army;
But he nursed it in obedience to circumstances while the time was yet dark.
When the time was clearly bright,
He thereupon donned his grand armour.
We have been favoured to receive,
What the martial king accomplished.
To deal aright with what we have inherited,
We have to be sincere imitators of thy course, [O king].

294. HUAN

There is peace throughout our myriad regions;
There has been a succession of plentiful years: —
Heaven does not weary in its favour.
The martial king Wu,
Maintained [the confidence of] his officers,
And employed them all over the kingdom,
So securing the establishment of his Family.
Oh! glorious was he in the sight of Heaven,
Which kinged him in the room [of Shang].

295. LAI

King Wen laboured earnestly; —
Right is it we should have received [the kingdom].
We will diffuse [his virtue], ever cherishing the thought of him;
Henceforth we will seek only the settlement [of the kingdom].
It was he through whom came the appointment of Zhou;
Oh! let us ever cherish the thought of him.

296. BAN

Oh! great now is Zhou.
We ascend the high hills,
Both those that are long and narrow, and the lofty mountains;
Yes, and [we travel] along the regulated He,
All under the sky,
Assembling those who now respond to me.
Thus it is that the appointment belongs to Zhou.

PRAISE-SONGS OF LU

297. JIONG

Fat and large are the stallions,
On the plains of the far-distant borders.
Of those stallions, fat and large,
Some are black and white-breeched; some light yellow;
Some, pure black; some, bay;
[All], splendid carriage horses.
His thoughts are without limit; —
He thinks of his horses, and they are thus good.

Fat and large are the stallions,
On the plains of the far-distant borders.
Of those stallions, fat and large,
Some are piebald, green and white; others, yellow and white;
Some, yellowish red; some, dapple grey;
[All], strong carriage horses.
His thoughts are without end; —
He thinks of his horses, and they are thus strong.

Fat and large are the stallions,
On the plains of the far-distant borders.
Of those stallions, fat and large,
Some are flecked as with scales; some, white and black-maned;
Some, red and black-maned; some, black and white-maned;
[All], docile in the carriage,
His thoughts never weary; —
He thinks of his horses, and such they become.

Fat and large are the stallions,
On the plains of the far-distant borders.
Of those stallions, fat and large,
Some are cream-coloured; some, red and white;
Some, with white hairy legs; some, with fishes' eyes;
[All], stout carriage horses.
His thoughts are without depravity; — ;
He thinks of his horses, and thus serviceable are they.

298. YOU BI

Fat and strong, fat and strong,
Fat and strong, are the chestnut teams.
Early and late are the [officers] in the court,
In the court, discriminating and intelligent.
[They are as] a flock of egrets on the wing,
Of egrets anon lighting on the ground.
The drums emit their deep sound;
They drink to the full and then dance; —
Thus rejoicing together.

Fat and strong, fat and strong,
Fat and strong are the teams of stallions.
Early and late are the [officers] with the prince,
With the prince drinking.
[They are as] a flock of egrets on the wing,
Of egrets flying about.
The drums emit their deep sound;
They drink to the full and then return home; —
Thus rejoicing together.

Fat and strong, fat and strong,
Fat and strong are the teams of iron-greys.
Early and late are the [officers] with the prince,
With the prince feasting.
‘From this time forth,
May the years be abundant.
May our prince maintain his goodness,
And transmit it to his descendants! ‘ —
Thus they rejoice together.

299. PAN SHUI

Pleasant is the semi-circular water,
And we will gather the cress about it.
The marquis of Lu is coming to it,
And we see his dragon-figured banner.
His banner waves in the wind,
And the bells of his horses tinkle harmoniously.
Small and great,
All follow the prince in his progress to it.

Pleasant is the semi-circular water,
And we will gather the pondweed in it.
The marquis of Lu has come to it,
With his horses looking so grand.
His horses are grand.
His fame is brilliant.
Blandly he looks and smiles;
Without any impatience he delivers his instructions.

Pleasant is the semi-circular water,
And we will gather the mallows about it.
The marquis of Lu has come to it,
And in the college he is drinking.
He is drinking the good spirits;
And may there be given him the old age that is seldom enjoyed!
May he accord with the grand ways,
So subduing to himself all the people!

Very admirable is the marquis of Lu,
Reverently displaying his virtue,
And reverently watching over his deportment,
The pattern of the people.
With great qualities truly civil and martial,
Brilliantly he affects his meritorious ancestors.
In everything entirely filial,
He seeks the blessing for himself.

Very intelligent is the marquis of Lu,

Making his virtue illustrious.
He has made this college with its semicircle of water,
And the tribes of the Huai will submit in consequence.
His martial-looking, tiger leaders,
Will here present the left ears [of their foes].
His examiners, wise as Gao-tao,
Will here present their prisoners.

His numerous officers,
Men who have enlarged their virtuous minds,
With martial energy conducting their expedition,
Will drive far away those tribes of the east and south.
Vigorous and grand,
Without noise or display,
Without having appealed to the judges,
They will here present [the proofs of] their merit.

How they draw their bows adorned with bone!
How their arrows whizz forth!
Their war chariots are very large!
Their footmen and charioteers never weary!
They have subdued the tribes of the Huai,
And brought them to an unrebellious submission!
Only lay your plans securely,
And all the tribes of the Huai will be got!

They come flying on the wing, those owls,
And settle on the trees about the college;
They eat the fruit of our mulberry trees,
And salute us with fine notes.
So awakened shall be those tribes of the Huai;
They will come presenting their precious things,
Their large tortoises and their elephants' teeth,
And great contributions of the southern metals.

300. BI GONG

How pure and still are the solemn temples,
In their strong solidity and minute completeness!
Highly distinguished was Jiang Yuan,
Of virtue undeflected.
God regarded her with favour;
And without injury or hurt,
Immediately, when her months were fulfilled,
She gave birth to Hou-ji.
On him were conferred all blessings, —
[To know] how the millet ripened early, and the sacrificial millet late,
How first to sow pulse, and then wheat.
Anon he was invested with an inferior State,
And taught the people how to sow and to reap,
The millet and the sacrificial millet,
Rice and the black millet;
Ere long all over the whole country; —
[Thus] continuing the work of Yu.

Among the descendants of Hou-ji,
There was king Da,
Dwelling on the south of [mount] Qi,
Where the clipping of Shang began.
In process of time Wen and Wu,
Continued the work of king Da,
And [the purpose of] Heaven was carried out in its time,
In the plain of Mu.
'Have no doubts, no anxieties,' [it was said];
'God is with you.'
[Wu] disposed of the troops of Shang;
He and his men shared equally in the achievement.
[Then] king [Qing] said, 'My uncle,
I will set up your eldest son,
And make him marquis of Lu.
I will greatly enlarge your territory there,
To be a help and support to the House of Zhou.'

Accordingly he appointed [our first] duke of Lu

Accordingly he appointed [our first] duke of Lu,
And make him marquis in the east,
Giving him the hills and rivers,
The lands and fields, and the attached States.
The [present] descendant of the duke of Zhou,
The son of duke Zhuang,
With dragon-emblazoned banner attends the sacrifices,
His six reins soft and pliant.
In spring and autumn he does not neglect [the sacrifices];
His offerings are all without error.
To the great and sovereign God,
And to his great ancestor Hou-ji,
He offers the victims, red and pure.
Then enjoy, they approve,
And bestow blessings in large number.
The duke of Zhou, and [your other] great ancestors,
Also bless you.

In autumn comes the sacrifices of the season,
But in summer the bulls for it have had their horns capped.
They are the white bull and the red one;
[There are] the bull-figured goblet in its dignity;
Roast pig, minced meat, and soups;
The dishes of bamboo and wood, and the large stand;
And the dancers all-complete.
The filial descendant will be blessed.
[Your ancestors]will make you gloriously prosperous!
They will make you long-lived and good, —
To preserve this eastern region,
Long possessing the State of Lu,
Unwaning, unfallen,
Unshaken, undisturbed!
They will make your friendship with your three aged [ministers],
Like the hills, like the mountains!

Our prince's chariots are a thousand,
[And in each] are the vermilion tassels and the green bands of the two spears and two bows.
His footmen are thirty thousand,
With shells no vermillion-strings adorning their helmets.

So numerous are his ardent followers,
To deal with the tribes of the west and north,
And to punish [those of] King and Shu,
So that none of them will dare to withstand us.
May [the Spirits] make you grandly prosperous!
May they make you long-lived and wealthy!
May the hoary hair and wrinkled back,
Marking the aged men, be always in your employment!
May they make you prosperous and great!
May they grant you old age, ever vigorous,
For myriads and thousands of years,
With the eyebrows of longevity, and ever unharmed!

The mountain of Da is lofty,
Looked up to by the State of Lu.
We grandly possess also Gui and Mong;
And we shall extend to the limits of the east,
Even the States along the sea.
The tribes of the Huai will seek our alliance; —
All will proffer their allegiance: —
Such shall be the achievements of the marquis of Lu.

He shall maintain the possession of Hu and Yi,
And extend his sway to the regions of Xu,
Even to the States along the sea.
The tribes of the Huai, the Man, and the Mi,
And those tribes [still more] to the south,
All will proffer their allegiance: —
Not one will dare not to answer to his call,
Thus showing their obedience to the marquis of Lu.

Heaven will give great blessing to our prince,
So that with the eyebrows of longevity he shall maintain Lu.
He shall possess Chang and Xu,
And recover all the territory of the duke of Zhou.
Then shall the marquis of Lu feast and be glad,
With his admirable wife and aged mother;
With his excellent ministers and all his [other] officers.
Our region and State shall be hold,
Thus receiving many blessings

Thus receiving many blessings,
To hoary hair, with a child's teeth.

The pines of Cu-lei,
And the cypresses of Xin-fu,
Were cut down and measured,
With the cubit line and the eight cubits line.
The projecting beams of pine were large;
The large inner apartments rose vast.
Splendid look the new temples,
The work of Xi-si,
Very wide and large,
Answering to the expectations of all the people.

SACRIFICIAL ODES OF SHANG

301. NA

How admirable! how complete!
Here are set our hand-drums and drums.
The drums resound harmonious and loud,
To delight our meritorious ancestor.
The descendant of Tang invites him with this music,
That he may soothe us with the realization of our thoughts.
Deep is the sound of the hand-drums and drums;
Shrilly sound the flutes;
All harmonious and blending together,
According to the notes of the sonorous gem.
Oh! majestic is the descendant of Tang;
Very admirable is his music.
The large bells and drums fill the ear;
The various dances are grandly performed.
We have admirable visitors,
Who are pleased and delighted.
From the old, before our time,
The former men set us the example; —
How to be mild and humble from morning to night,
And to be reverent in discharging the service.
May he regard our sacrifices in summer and autumn,
[Thus] offered by the descendant of Tang!

302. LIE ZU

Ah! ah! our meritorious ancestor!
Permanent are the blessings coming from him,
Repeatedly conferred without end: —
They have come to you in this place.
The clear spirits are in our vessels,
And there is granted to us the realization of our thoughts.
There are also the well-tempered soups,
Prepared beforehand, the ingredients rightly proportioned.
By these offerings we invite his presence, without a word,
Nor is there now any contention [in any part of the service].
He will bless us with the eyebrows of longevity,
With the grey hair and wrinkled face, in unlimited degree.
With the naves of their wheels bound with leather, and their ornamented yokes,
With the eight bells at their horses' bits all tinkling,
[The princess] come and assist at the offerings.
We have received the appointment in all its greatness,
And from Heaven is our prosperity sent down,
Fruitful years of great abundance.
[Our ancestor] will come and enjoy [our offerings],
And confer [on us] happiness without limit.
May he regard our sacrifices in summer and winter,
[Thus] offered by the descendant of Tang!

303. XUAN NIAO

Heaven commissioned the swallow,
To descend and give birth to [the father of our] Shang.
[His descendants] dwelt in the land of Yin, and became great.
[Then] long ago God appointed the martial Tang,
To regulate the boundaries throughout the four quarters.
[In those] quarters he appointed the princes,
And grandly possessed the nine regions [of the kingdom].
The first sovereign of Shang,
Received the appointment without any element of instability in it,
And it is [now] held by the descendant of Wu-ding.
The descendant of Wu-ding,
Is a martial king, equal to every emergency.
Ten princes, [who came] with their dragon-emblazoned banners,
Bear the large dishes of millet.
The royal domain of a thousand Li,
Is where the people rest;
But there commence the boundaries that reach to the four seas.
From the four seas they come [to out sacrifices];
They come in multitudes; —
King has the He for its outer border.
That Yin should have received the appointment [of Heaven] was entirely right;
—
[Its sovereign] sustains all its dignities.

304. CHANG FA

Profoundly wise were [the lords of] Shang,
And long had there appeared the omens [of their dignity].
When the waters of the deluge spread vast abroad,
Yu arranged and divided the regions of the land,
And assigned to the exterior great States their boundaries,
With their borders extending all over [the kingdom].
Then the State of Song began to be great,
And God raised up the son [of its daughter], and founded [the Family of] Shang.

The dark king exercised an effective sway.
Charged with a small State, he commanded success;
Charged with a large State, he commanded success.
He followed his rules of conduct without error;
Wherever he inspected [the people], they responded [to his instructions].
[Then came] Xiang-tu, all-ardent,
And all [within] the seas, beyond [the middle region], acknowledged his restraints.

The favour of God did not leave [Shang],
And in Tang was found the subject for its display.
Tang was not born too late,
And his wisdom and virtue daily advanced.
Brilliant was the influence of his character [on Heaven] for long,
And God appointed him to be model to the nine regions.

He received the rank-tokens [of the States], small and large,
Which depended on him, like the pendants of a banner; —
So did he receive the blessing of Heaven.
He was neither violent nor remiss,
Neither hard nor soft.
Gently he spread his instructions abroad,
And all dignities and riches were concentrated in him.

He received the tribute [of the States], large and small,
And he supported them as a strong steed [does its burden]; —
So did he receive the favour of Heaven.
He displayed everywhere his valour.

Unshaken, unmoved,
Unterrified, unscared: —
All dignities were united in him.

The martial king displayed his banner,
And with reverence grasped his axe.
It was like [the case of] a blazing fire,
Which no one can repress.
The root, with its three shoots,
Could make no progress, no growth.
The nine regions were effectually secured by him.
Having smitten [the princes of] Wei and Gu,
He dealt with [the prince of] Kun-wu, and with Jie of Xia.

Formerly in the middle of the period [before Tang],
There was a time of shaking and peril,
But truly did Heaven [then] deal with him as its son,
And sent him down a minister,
Namely A-heng,
Who gave his assistance to the king of Shang.

305. YIN WU

Rapid was the warlike energy of [our king of] Yin,
And vigorously did he attack Jing-Chu.
Boldly he entered its dangerous passes,
And brought the multitudes of King together,
Till the country was reduced under complete restraint: —
Such was the fitting achievement of the descendant of Tang.

'Ye people,' [he said], 'of Jing-chu,
Dwell in the southern part of my kingdom.
Formerly, in the time of Tang the Successful,
Even from the Jiang of Di,
They dared not but come with their offerings;
[Their chiefs] dared not but come to seek acknowledgment: —
Such is the regular rule of Shang.'

Heaven has given their appointments [to the princes],
But where their capitals had been assigned within the sphere of the labours of Yu,
For the business of every year, they appeared before our king,
[Saying], 'Do not punish nor reprove us;
We have not been remiss in our husbandry.'

When Heaven by its will is inspecting [the kingdom],
The lower people are to be feared.
[Our king] showed no partiality [in rewarding], no excess [in punishing];
He dared not to allow himself in indolence: —
So was his appointment [established] over the States,
And he made his happiness grandly secure.

The capital of Shang was full of order,
The model for all parts of the kingdom,
Glorious was his fame;
Brilliant, his energy.
Long lived he and enjoyed tranquillity,
And so he preserves us, his descendants.

We ascended the hill of King,

Where the pines and cypresses grew symmetrical.
We cut them down, and conveyed them here;
We reverently hewed them square.
Long are the projecting beams of pine;
Large are the many pillars.
The temple was completed, — the tranquil abode [of his tablet].

BOOK OF DOCUMENTS — 尚書

Translated by James Legge

The *Book of Documents*, also known as the ‘Classic of History’ and ‘Shu-king’, is one of the Five Classics of ancient Chinese literature. It is a collection of rhetorical prose attributed to figures of ancient China, serving as the foundation of Chinese political philosophy for over 2,000 years. The book was the subject of one of China’s oldest literary controversies, between proponents of different versions of the text. The “New Text” version was preserved from Qin Shi Huang’s burning of books and burying of scholars by scholar Fu Sheng. The longer “Old Text” version was supposedly discovered in the wall of Confucius’ family estate in Qufu by his descendant Kong Anguo in the late 2nd century BC, lost at the end of the Han dynasty and rediscovered in the 4th century AD. Over time, the “Old Text” version became more widely accepted, until it was established as the imperially sanctioned edition during the early Tang dynasty. This continued until the late seventeenth century, when the Qing dynasty scholar Yan Ruoqu demonstrated that the additional “Old Text” chapters not contained in the “New Text” version were actually fabrications “reconstructed” in the third or fourth centuries AD.

The chapters are grouped into four sections representing different eras: the semi-mythical reign of Yu the Great, and the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties. The Zhou section accounts for over half the text. Some of the New Text chapters are among the earliest examples of Chinese prose, recording speeches from the early years of the Zhou dynasty in the late 11th century BC. Although the other three sections purport to record earlier material, most scholars believe that even the New Text chapters in these sections were composed later than those in the Zhou section, with chapters relating to the earliest periods being as recent as the 4th or 3rd centuries BC.

In the orthodox arrangement, the *Book of Documents* consists of 58 chapters, each with a brief preface traditionally attributed to Confucius, as well as a preface and commentary, both purportedly by Kong Anguo. With the exception of a few chapters of more recent dating, the chapters are represented as records of formal speeches by kings or other important figures. Most of these speeches are of one of five types, indicated by their titles:

- Consultations between the king and his ministers (2 chapters)
- Instructions to the king from his ministers (1 chapter)
- Announcements by the king to his people (8 chapters)
- Declarations by a ruler on the occasion of a battle (6 chapters)
- Commands by the king to a specific vassal (7 chapters)

In many cases a speech is introduced with the phrase "The king seemingly said", which also appears on commemorative bronze inscriptions from the Western Zhou period, but not in other received texts. Scholars interpret this as meaning that the original documents were prepared scripts of speeches, to be read out by an official on behalf of the king.

The chapters are grouped into four sections representing different eras: the semi-mythical reign of Yu the Great, and the three ancient dynasties of the Xia, Shang and Zhou. The first two sections – on Yu the Great and the Xia dynasty – contain two chapters each in the New Text version, and though they purport to record the earliest material in the Documents, from the second millennium BC, most scholars believe they were written during the Warring States period. The Shang dynasty section contains five chapters, of which the first two – the "Speech of King Tang" and "Pan Geng" – recount the conquest of the Xia by the Shang and their leadership's migration to a new capital (now identified as Anyang). The bulk of the Zhou dynasty section concerns the reign of King Cheng of Zhou (r. c. 1040–1006 BC) and the king's uncles, the Duke of Zhou and Duke of Shao. The last four New Text chapters relate to the later Western Zhou and early Spring and Autumn periods.

尚書

Title page of annotated Shujing edition printed in 1279, held by Taiwan's National Central Library

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Portrait of Fu Sheng by Tang painter Wang Wei

PREFACE.

While submitting here some prefatory observations on the version of the Shû King presented in this volume, I think it well to prefix also a brief account of what are regarded as the Sacred Books of the Religions of China. Those religions are three: — Confucianism, Tâoism, and Buddhism.

I begin with a few words about the last. To translate any of its books does not belong to my province, and more than a few words from me are unnecessary. It has been said that Buddhism was introduced into China in the third century bc; but it certainly did not obtain an authoritative recognition in the empire till the third quarter of our first century. Its Texts were translated into Chinese, one portion after another, as they were gradually obtained from India; but it was not till very long afterwards that the Chinese possessed, in their own language, a complete copy of the Buddhist canon. Translations from the Sanskrit constitute the principal part of the Buddhistic literature of China, though there are also many original works in Chinese belonging to it.

Confucianism is the religion of China par excellence, and is named from the great sage who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries bc Confucius indeed did not originate the system, nor was he the first to inculcate its principles or enjoin its forms of worship. He said of himself (Analects, VII, i) that he was a transmitter and not a maker, one who believed in and loved the ancients; and hence it is said in the thirtieth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, ascribed to his grandson, that 'he handed down the doctrines of Yâo and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wăn and Wû, taking them as his models.'

In fulfilling what he considered to be his mission, Confucius did little towards committing to writing the views of antiquity according to his own conception of them. He discoursed about them freely with the disciples of his school, from whom we have received a good deal of what he said; and it is possible that his accounts of the ancient views and practices took, unconsciously to himself, some colour from the peculiar character of his mind. But his favourite method was to direct the attention of his disciples to the ancient literature of the nation. He would neither affirm nor relate anything for which he could not adduce some document of acknowledged authority. He said on one occasion (Analects, III, ix) that he could describe the ceremonies of the dynasties of Hsiâ (bc 2205-1767) and Yin (bc 1766-1123), but did not do so, because the records and scholars in the two states of Kâu, that had been assigned to the descendants of their sovereigns, could not sufficiently attest his words. It is an error even to suppose

that he compiled the historical documents, poems, and other ancient books from various works existing in his time. Portions of the oldest works had already perished. His study of those that remained, and his exhortations to his disciples also to study them, contributed to their preservation. What he wrote or said about their meaning should be received by us with reverence; but if all the works which he handled had come down to us entire, we should have been, so far as it is possible for foreigners to be, in the same position as he was for learning the ancient religion of his country. Our text-books would be the same as his. Unfortunately most of the ancient books suffered loss and injury after Confucius had passed from the stage of life. We have reason, however, to be thankful that we possess so many and so much of them. No other literature, comparable to them for antiquity, has come down to us in such a state of preservation.

But the reader must bear in mind that the ancient books of China do not profess to have been inspired, or to contain what we should call a Revelation. Historians, poets, and others wrote them as they were moved in their own minds. An old poem may occasionally contain what it says was spoken by God, but we can only understand that language as calling attention emphatically to the statements to which it is prefixed. We also read of Heaven's raising up the great ancient sovèreigns and teachers, and variously assisting them to accomplish their undertakings; but all this need not be more than what a religious man of any country might affirm at the present day of direction, help, and guidance given to himself and others from above. But while the old Chinese books do not profess to contain any divine revelation, the references in them to religious views and practices are numerous; and it is from these that the student has to fashion for himself an outline of the early religion of the people. I will now state what the books are.

First, and of greatest importance, there is the Book of Historical Documents, called the Shû and, since the period of the Han dynasty (began bc 202), the Shû King. Its documents commence with the reign of Yâo in the twenty-fourth century bc, and come down to that of king Hsiang of the Kâu dynasty, bc 651-619. The earliest chapters were not contemporaneous with the events which they describe, but the others begin to be so in the twenty-second century bc The reader will find a translation of the whole of this work without abridgment.

Second, and nearly as important as the Shû, there is the Shih, or the Book of Poetry. It contains in all 305 pieces, five of which are of the time of the Shang dynasty (called also the Yin), bc 1766-1123. The others belong to the dynasty of Kâu, from the time of its founder, king Wăn, born bc 1231, to the reign of king Ting, bc 606-586. The whole is divided into four Parts, the last of which is occupied with 'Odes of the Temple and the Altar.' Many pieces in the other

Parts also partake of a religious character, but the greater number are simply descriptive of the manners, customs, and events of the times to which they belong, and have no claim to be included in the roll of Sacred Texts. In this volume will be found all the pieces that illustrate the religious views of their authors, and the religious practices of their times.

The third work is the Yî, commonly called the Book of Changes. Confucius himself set a high value on it, as being fitted to correct and perfect the character of the learner (Analects, VII, xvi); and it is often spoken of by foreigners as the most ancient of all the Chinese classics. But it is not so. As it existed in the time of the sage, and as it exists now, no portion of the text is older than the time of king Wăn, mentioned above. There were and are, indeed, in it eight trigrams ascribed to Fû-hsî, who is generally considered as the founder of the Chinese nation, and whose place in chronology should, probably, be assigned in the thirty-fourth century bc The eight trigrams are again increased to sixty-four hexagrams. To form these figures, two lines, one of them whole (——) and the other divided (——), are assumed as bases. Those lines are then placed, each over itself, and each over the other; and four binograms are formed. From these, by the same process with the base lines, are obtained eight figures, — the famous trigrams. Three other repetitions of the same process give us successively sixteen, thirty-two, and sixty-four figures. The lines in the figures thus increase in an arithmetical progression, whose common difference is one, and the number of the figures increases in a geometrical progression, whose common ratio is two. But what ideas Fû-hsî attached to his primary lines, — the whole and the divided; what significance he gave to his trigrams; what to the sixty-four hexagrams, — if indeed he himself formed so many figures; and why the multiplication of the figures was stayed at sixty-four: — of none of these points have we any knowledge from him. There is some reason to believe that there were texts to the hexagrams under the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang, but none of them have been preserved. It may be that king Wăn and his equally famous son, the duke of Kâu, adopted much of what they found already existing, and incorporated it with their own interpretations of the figures; but they, and they alone, are accepted as the authors of the text of the Yî. King Wăn, we are told, at a time when he was imprisoned by the tyrannical sovereign with whom the dynasty of Shang or Yin ended, took in hand the ever-changing hexagrams, and appended to each a brief explanation of the meaning which the trigrams composing it suggested by their union to his mind; and in some cases the practical course in affairs to which that meaning should direct. His son did for the separate lines of each hexagram what Wăn had done for the whole figure. Confucius is said to have entered into their labours about 600 years afterwards.

Several appendixes are ascribed to him, in which there is an attempt to explain the origin of the Fû-hsî figures, and many of the interpretations of Wăn and his son. The early linear figures; the notes of Wăn and the duke of Kâu; and the Confucian appendixes: — these constitute the Yî.

The work was from the first intimately connected with the practice of divination, which, we know from the Shû, entered largely into the religion of the ancient Chinese. This goes far to account for its obscure and enigmatical character; but at the same time there occur in it, though in a fragmentary manner, so many metaphysical, physical, moral, and religious utterances, that the student of it is gradually brought under a powerful fascination. In consequence, moreover, of its use in divination, it was exempted by the superstitious tyrant of Khin from the flames to which he condemned all the other Confucian literature in bc 213. It has thus come down to us entire, and a translation of the whole of it will be given.

An additional interest belongs to the Yî as the fountain-head from which the comparatively modern philosophers of the Sung dynasty (began ad 960) professed to draw what has been called their ‘atheo-political’ system. As an appendix to the translation of the Yî, there will be given an outline of that system, and an attempt will be made to test the correctness of the interpretation of this classic by its authors.

The fourth of the great classics is the Lî Kî, or the Record of Rites; but it is only one of a class that we may denominate the Constitutional and Ritual Books of ancient China, especially under the Kâu dynasty. They are often mentioned together as ‘the Three Rituals.’ The first of them is called Kâu Lî, the Rites of Kâu, and also Kâu Kwan, the Officers of Kâu, which latter is the better name for it. It is the official book of the Kâu dynasty. The prevailing opinion is that it was the production of the duke of Kâu; and if it were not composed in its present form by him, it contains, no doubt, the substance of the regulations which he made for the administration of the government, after the dynasty of Shang had passed, through the achievements of his father and brother, into that of Kâu. Under the various departments in which that administration was arranged, it enumerates the principal and subordinate officers belonging to each, and describes their duties. After the fires of Khin, the work was recovered nearly complete in the first century bc A good translation of the whole work was published in 1851, at Paris, by M. Edouard Biot.

The second Ritual Collection bears the name of Î Lî, which has been translated ‘the Decorum Ritual,’ and ‘the Rules of Demeanour.’ It was recovered earlier than the former, and is as voluminous. It consists of the rules by which a

scholar or officer should regulate his behaviour on social and state occasions. It has not yet, so far as I know, been translated into any European language.

The third Collection, more voluminous than either of the others, was made also under the Han dynasty. In the first century bc, it was an immense compilation of 214 books arranged in five divisions. The 214 were reduced to eighty-five by Tâi Teh, a scholar of the time, and his eighty-five again to forty-six by a cousin, called Tâi Khăng. Three other books were added to these towards the end of the Han period, forming forty-nine in all, which have come down to us under the title of Lî Kî, or 'the Record of Rites,' and have long constituted by imperial authority one of the five King. An abridgment of this work was translated by M. J. M. Callery, at Turin, in 1853, with the title,— 'Lî Kî, ou Memorial des Rites, traduit pour la première fois du Chinois, et accompagné de notes, de commentaires, et du texte original.' Callery's work, however, contains only thirty-six of the forty-nine books of the Lî Kî, and most of those thirty-six in a condensed form. Whether it will be possible to give in these Sacred Books of the East translations of the whole of these Rituals; and if that be not possible, by what principles to be guided in the selection of portions of them: — these are questions to be determined after further deliberation. Many passages contain more of the mind of Confucius himself on the sacrificial worship of his country, and the ideas underlying it, than we find elsewhere.

But it must not be forgotten that these ritual books do not throw so valuable a light on the ancient religion of China as the older Shû and Shih. They belong to the period of the Kâu dynasty, and do not go back as contemporaneous records to the dynasties beyond it and the still remoter age of Yâo and Shun. The views of Confucius, moreover, as given in them, do not come to us at first hand. They were gathered up by the Han scholars five and six centuries after his death, nor can we be sure that these did not sometimes put ideas of their own into the mouth of the sage, and make additions to the writings which were supposed, correctly or incorrectly, to have come from his immediate disciples.

We owe the fifth and last of the Kings of China to Confucius himself. It is what he called Khun Khiû, or 'the Spring and Autumn,' a very brief chronicle compiled by him of the annals of his native state of Lû for 242 years, from bc 722 to 481. But there is not much to be gleaned from it for the Sacred Texts; and if we were to launch out into the three supplements to it of Ꝛo Khiû-ming, Kung-yang, and Kû-liang, the result would not repay the labour. A translation of the whole of Ꝛo's supplement, much the most important, is given in my work on the Khun Khiû, published at Hong Kong in 1872.

There is another short treatise attributed to Confucius, — the Hsiâo King, or 'Classic of Filial Piety.' Though not like one of the five great works that have

been described, it was the first to receive the denomination of a King, — and that from the lips of the sage himself, — if the account which we have received of the matter is to be relied on. This little work does not come to us, like the Khun Khiû, as directly from the pencil of Confucius, but in the shape of conversations between him and his disciple Ʒăng-ʒze, put on record in the first place, probably, by some members of Ʒăng's school. No portion of the ancient literature has more exercised the minds and engaged the attention of many of the emperors of successive dynasties. The Hsiâo seems to me an attempt to construct a religion on the basis of the cardinal virtue of Filial Piety, and is open to criticism in many respects. A translation of it is given in the present volume.

The classical books are often spoken of as being 'the five King' and 'the four Shû.' The King have all been separately referred to above; the four Shû is an abbreviation for the Shû or Books of the four Philosophers. The first is the Lun Yü, or 'Discourses and Conversations,' occupied chiefly with sayings of Confucius and conversations between him and many of his disciples. The second is the Works of Mencius, perhaps the greatest thinker and writer of the Confucian school after the Master. I hope to be able to give both these works. The third of the Shû is the Tâ Hsio, or 'Great Learning,' ascribed, like the Hsiâo, to Ʒăng-ʒze. The fourth is the Kung Yung, or 'Doctrine of the Mean,' the production of Ʒze-sze, the sage's grandson. Both of these treatises, however, are taken from the Lî Kî. The whole of the Four Books were translated and published by me in 1861.

The third Religion in China is what is called Tâoism. It was, like Confucianism, of native origin, and its acknowledged founder was Lî R, called also Lî Po-yang, and, after his death, Lî Tan. More commonly he is designated Lâo-ʒze, translated by some 'the Old Philosopher,' and by others 'the Old Boy' from a fabulous story that his mother carried him in her womb for seventy-two years, so that when he was at length cut out of it, his hair was already white. His birth is referred to the year 604 bc, so that he was between fifty and sixty years older than Confucius. There are accounts, hardly reliable, of interviews and discussions between the two men.

Lâo-ʒze's system often goes with English writers by the name of Rationalism; but if that name be retained, the term must be taken in quite a peculiar sense. His doctrine was that of the Tâo, but it is not easy to determine what English term will best express the meaning of the Chinese character. The only record which we have of Lâo-ʒze's views is the Tâo-teh King, or 'Classic of Tâo and Virtue,' a treatise of no great length. It was published at Paris in 1842, with a translation in French, by the late Stanislas Julien, under the title of 'Le Livre de la Voie et

de la Vertu.' Appealing to the views of Kwang-ʒze and other writers of the Tâoist school, M. Julien says that 'Le Tâo est dépourvu d'action, de pensée, de jugement, d'intelligence,' and adds that 'it appears impossible therefore to take it for the primordial reason, the Sublime Intelligence, which created and rules the world.'

A translation in English was published, in 1868, by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of Canton, under the title of 'the Speculations in Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality, of "the Old Philosopher." ' Dr. Chalmers retains the term Tâo in his English Text, and says, 'I have thought it better to leave the word Tâo untranslated, both because it has given the name to the sect, — the Tâoists, — and because no English word is its exact equivalent. Three terms suggest themselves, — the Way, Reason, and the Word; but they are all liable to objection. Were we guided by etymology, "the Way" would come nearest to the original, and in one or two passages the idea of a Way seems to be in the term; but this is too materialistic to serve the purpose of a translation. Reason again seems to be more like a quality or attribute of some conscious Being than Tâo is. I would translate it by the Word in the sense of the Logos, but this would be like settling the question which I wish to leave open, *viz.* what amount of resemblance there is between the Logos of the New Testament and this Tâo, which is its nearest representative in Chinese.'

Two other translations of the Tâo-teh King have appeared, both in German:— 'Lao-tsze's Tao Te King, aus dem Chinesischen ins Deutsche übersetzt, eingeleitet, und commentirt, von Victor von Strauss (Leipzig, 1870),' and 'Lao-tse, Tao-te-king, "Der Weg zur Tugend," aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt und erklärt von Reinhold von Planckner,' also published at Leipzig. Strauss closely follows Julien, while Planckner allows himself great freedom in dealing with his original. Notwithstanding these four attempts to give the meaning of 'the Old Philosopher' in three European languages, there is room for a new version, which will be submitted to the reader in due course. It is only by an intense and long-continued study of the original that we can come to an agreement as to the meaning of the Tâo. I propose not only to give a translation of the Tâo-teh King, but also of the works of Kwang-ʒze, the most remarkable of the early writers of the Tâoist school.

Whatever Lâo-ʒze intended by the Tâo, Tâoism has, in the course of time, borrowed largely, both from Confucianism and Buddhism. It inculcates a morality of a high order in some respects, and has developed a system of grotesque beliefs and practices, ministering to superstition, and intended to refine and preserve the breath of life. Its practical teachings will be exhibited in the most popular of all the Tâoist writings, — the treatise on 'Actions and their

Recompenses,' and perhaps in one or more, besides, of the characteristic productions of the system.

The version of the Shû that appears in this volume is substantially the same as that in the third volume of my large edition of the Chinese Classics, and which was published in 1865. I wrote out the whole afresh, however, having before me not only my own version, but the earlier translations of P. Gaubil in French and Dr. Medhurst in English. Frequent reference was made likewise to a larger apparatus of native commentaries than I had formerly used. Going to the text anew, after more than twelve years devoted mainly to the continuous study of the Chinese classics, I yet hardly discovered any errors which it was necessary to correct. A few verbal alterations were made to make the meaning clearer. Only in one case will a reader, familiar with the former version, be struck with any alteration in this. The Chinese character (Tî), applied repeatedly to the ancient Yâo and Shun in the commencing books of the classic, and once in the 27th Book of the fifth Part, was there translated by 'emperor,' while it is left untranslated in the present volume, and its name transferred to the English text.

Before adopting this change, I had considered whether I ought to translate Tî in all other instances of its occurrence in the Shû (and invariably in the Shih), and its intensified form Shang Tî (), by our term 'God.' Gaubil rendered Tî for the most part by 'le Seigneur,' and Shang Tî by 'le Souverain Maître,' adding sometimes to these names Tî and Shang Tî in brackets. Medhurst translated Tî by 'the Supreme,' and 'the Supreme Ruler,' and Shang Tî by 'the Supreme Ruler.' More than twenty-five years ago I came to the conclusion that Tî was the term corresponding in Chinese to our 'God,' and that Shang Tî was the same, with the addition of Shang, equal to 'Supreme.' In this view I have never wavered, and I have rendered both the names by 'God' in all the volumes of the Chinese Classics thus far translated and published.

What made me pause before doing so in the present volume, was the consideration that the object of 'the Sacred Texts of the Religions of the East,' as I understand it, is to give translations of those texts without any colouring in the first place from the views of the translators. Could it be that my own view of Tî, as meaning God, had grown up in the heat of our controversies in China as to the proper characters to be used for the words God and Spirit, in translating the Sacred Scriptures? A reader, confronted everywhere by the word God, might be led to think more highly of the primitive religion of China than he ought to think. Should I leave the names Tî and Shang Tî untranslated? Or should I give for them, instead of God, the terms Ruler and Supreme Ruler? I could not see my way to adopt either of these courses.

The term Heaven (, pronounced Thien) is used everywhere in the Chinese Classics for the Supreme Power, ruling and governing all the affairs of men with an omnipotent and omniscient righteousness and goodness; and this vague term is constantly interchanged in the same paragraph, not to say the same sentence, with the personal names Tî and Shang Tî. Thien and Tî in their written forms are perfectly distinct. Both of them were among the earliest characters, and enter, though not largely, as the phonetical element into other characters of later formation. According to the oldest Chinese dictionary, the Shwo Wăn (ad 100), Thien is formed, 'by association of ideas,' from yî (), 'one,' and tâ (), 'great,' meaning — what is one and undivided, and great. Tâi Thung, of our thirteenth century, in his remarkable dictionary, the Liû Shû Kû, explains the top line of it as indicating 'what is above,' so that the significance of the character is 'what is above and great.' In both these dictionaries Tî () is derived from or (shang), 'above,' or 'what is above:' and they say that the whole character is of phonetical formation, in which I am not able to follow them; but Tâi Thung gives the following account of its meaning:— 'Tî is the honourable designation of lordship and rule,' adding, 'Therefore Heaven is called Shang Tî; the five Elementary Powers are called the five Tî; and the Son of Heaven — that is, the Sovereign — is called Tî.' Here then is the name Heaven, by which the idea of Supreme Power in the absolute is vaguely expressed; and when the Chinese would speak of it by a personal name, they use the terms Tî and Shang Tî; — saying, I believe, what our early fathers did, when they began to use the word God. Tî is the name which has been employed in China for this concept for fully 5000 years. Our word God fits naturally into every passage where the character occurs in the old Chinese Classics, save those to which I referred above on p. xxiii. It never became with the people a proper name like the Zeus of the Greeks. I can no more translate Tî or Shang Tî by any other word but God than I can translate zăn () by anything else but man.

The preceding is a brief abstract of the reasoning by which I was determined to retain the term God for Tî and Shang Tî in this volume, excepting in the cases that have called for these observations. But in the account of Tî which I have adduced from Tâi Thung, it is said that 'the sovereign is also called Tî;' and most of my readers know that Hwang Tî () is the title of the emperor of China. How did this application of the name arise? Was it in the first place a designation of the ruler or emperor; and was it then given to the Supreme Power, when the vague Heaven failed to satisfy the thinker and worshipper, and he wished to express his recognition of a personal Being who was to himself his almighty ruler? If these questions be answered in the affirmative, Tî would be a name applied to the Supreme Being, just as we rise from the paternal relation

among ourselves and call him Father. Or, on the other hand, was Tî the designation of the Supreme Lord and Ruler, corresponding to our God, and was it subsequently applied to the earthly ruler, thereby deifying him, just as the title Divus was given to a Roman emperor? I believe that it was in this latter way that Tî came to be used of the sovereigns of China; and therefore in again publishing a translation of the Shû, I resolved, that where the appellation is given in it to Yâo and Shun, and it is only to them that it is given, I would retain the Chinese term instead of rendering it, as formerly, by 'emperor.'

The following are the reasons which weighed with me in coming to this resolution:

First, the first really historical sovereign of China who used the title of Hwang Tî was the founder of the Khin dynasty; and he assumed it in bc 221, when he had subjugated all the sovereignties into which the feudal kingdom of Kâu had become divided, and was instituting the despotic empire that has since subsisted.

The Kâu dynasty had continued for 867 years, from bc 1122 to 256, and its rulers had been styled Wang or kings.

Kâu superseded the dynasty of Shang or Yin, that had endured for 644 years, from bc 1766 to 1123; and its rulers had similarly been styled Wang or kings.

Shang superseded the dynasty of Hsiâ, which had lasted for 439 years, from bc 2205 to 1767, and its rulers had been styled Wang, or kings, and Hâu, or sovereigns.

Thus, from the great Yü, bc 2205 to bc 221, that is, for nearly 2000 years, there was no Tî or emperor in China. During all that time the people had on the whole been increasing in numbers, and the nation growing in territory; — how did it come to pass, that the higher title, if it had previously existed, gave place to an inferior one?

Prior to the dynasty of Hsiâ, with the exception of the period of Yâo and Shun, the accounts which we have of the history of China have been, and ought to be, pronounced 'fabulous' and 'legendary.' The oldest documents that purport to be historical are the books in the Shû about Yâo and Shun, and even they do not profess to be contemporaneous with those personages. The earlier accounts open with a Phan-kû, in whose time 'heaven and earth were first separated.' To him succeeded the period of the San Hwang, or Three August Lines, consisting of twelve Celestial, eleven Terrestrial, and nine Human Sovereigns, who ruled together about 50,000 years. After them come a host of different Lines, till we arrive at the Wû Tî, or Five Emperors. The first of these is commonly said to be

Fûhsî, while he and two others are sometimes put down as the San Hwang, in order to bring in Yâo and Shun as the last two of the Tîs.

I have entered into these details because of the account which we have of the king of Khin's assuming the title of Hwang Tî. We are told:— 'As soon as the king had brought the whole country into subjection, thinking that he united in himself the virtues of the three Hwangs, and that his merits exceeded those of the five Tîs, he changed his title into Hwang Tî.' The three Hwangs are entirely fabulous, and the five Tîs are, to say the least, legendary. That there were either Hwangs or Tîs ruling in China before the age of the Hsiâ dynasty cannot be admitted.

Second, it has been stated above, and is shown in the Introduction to the Shû, p-19, that the books in the Shû, previous to the Hsiâ dynasty, are not historical in the sense of their being contemporaneous documents of the times about which they speak. They profess to be compilations merely from older documents; and when they speak of Yâo and Shun as Tîs, the title Tî precedes the name or designation, instead of following it, as it ought to do, according to Chinese usage, if Tî is to be taken in the sense of emperor. Yâo Tî would be 'the emperor Yâo,' but we have Tî Yâo, where Tî performs the part of an adjective. King Wăn, the founder of the Kâu dynasty, is invariably mentioned as Wăn Wang, 'Wăn the king.' To say Wang Wăn would be felt at once by every Chinese scholar to be inadmissible; and not less so is Tî Yâo for 'the emperor Yâo.' It was the perception of this violation of usage in Chinese composition, five years ago, that first showed me the error of translating Tî Yâo and Tî Shun by 'the emperor Yâo' and 'the emperor Shun.' It is true that in the early books of the Shû, we have Tî used alone, without the adjunct of Yâo or Shun, and referring to those personages. In those cases it does perform the part of a substantive, but its meaning depends on that which belonged to it as an adjective in the phrases Tî Yâo and Tî Shun. If it be ascertained that in these it means 'the Deified,' then when used singly as a noun, it will mean Divus, or the Divine One.

Third, the sovereigns of the Hsiâ, the Shang, and the Kâu dynasties, it has been seen, were styled Wang and not Tî. Confucius speaks repeatedly in the Analects of Yâo and Shun, but he never calls either of them by the title of Tî. Mencius, however, uses it both of the one and the other, when he is quoting in substance from the accounts of them in the Shû. This confirms the view that the early books of the Shû were current after the middle of the Kâu dynasty, very much in the form in which we now have them; and the question arises whether we can show how the application of the title Tî as given in them to Yâo and Shun arose. We can.

The fourth Book of the Lî Kî is called Yüeh Ling, ‘the Monthly Record of the Proceedings of Government.’ In it certain sacrificial observances paid to the five Tîs are distributed through the four seasons. The Tîs are Fû-hsî, Shăn-năng, Yû-hsiung or Hsien-yüan, Kin-thien, and Kâo-yang, who are styled Thâi Hâo (the Greatly Resplendent), Yen Tî (the Blazing Tî), Hwang Tî (the Yellow Tî), Shâo Hâo (the Less Resplendent), and Kwan Hsü (the Solely Correct); with each Tî there is associated in the ceremony a personage of inferior rank, who is styled Shăn (= a Spirit). The language descriptive of the ceremony is the same in all the cases, with the exception of the names and months. Thus the first entry is:— ‘In the first month of spring, on such and such days, the Tî is Thâi Hâo, and the Shân is Kâu-mang.’ Now this Kâu-mang was a son of Shâo Hâo, several hundreds of years later than Thâi Hâo, so that the associating them together in this ceremony could only have arisen in later times.

However we explain the ceremony thus curtly described; whether we see in it the growing prevalence of nature-worship, or an illustration of the practice of worshipping ancient heroes and worthies: — Tî appears in the account of it plainly used in the sense of God. In each of the five instances, we have a Tî and a Shăn, not an emperor and a spirit, but a God and a Spirit, — a Spirit standing in the same relation to the God, that Khăn (= a subject or minister) stands in to a ruler. Thus it was that, by a process of deification, the title of Tî came to be given, in the time of the Kâu dynasty, to the great names, fabulous and legendary, of antiquity; and thus it was that it was applied to the heroes Yâo and Shun. It may well be that the title Hwang Tî, used by a Chinese of the present emperor or of any emperor of the past, does not call up to his mind any other idea than that of a human sovereign; but being satisfied as to the proper signification of Tî as God, and as to the process by which the title came to be applied to the ancient Yâo and Shun, I could no longer render it, when used of them in the Shû, by emperor, and elected to leave it untranslated in the present volume.

To any unimportant changes of translation it is unnecessary to refer. The dates bc in the introductions and notes are all one year more than in the translations formerly published. They are thus brought into accordance with those of P. Gaubil and the useful Chinese Chronological Tables of the late Mr. Mayers.

The changes in the transliteration of Chinese names are very considerable. As foreigners are now resident in Peking, it seemed proper to adopt the pronunciation of the capital as given by Sir T. F. Wade in his Hsin Ching Lu and Tzŭ Erh Chî. At the same time, in order to secure as near an approach as possible to uniformity in all the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East, the letters

employed were made to conform to those in Professor Max Müller's Scheme for the Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets. It was not easy at first to do this, for Chinese, having no alphabet, reluctated against being made to appear as if it had; but use has more than reconciled me to the method now employed. It was not possible to introduce into the table all the diphthongs in which Chinese speech is rich. The reader has to be informed that i before another vowel or a diphthong approximates to the sound of y, so that the whole utterance is still monosyllabic. The powers of r and ze must be heard before they can be appreciated.

To call the attention of the reader to passages in the Shû, embodying, more or less distinctly, religious ideas, an asterisk (*) will be found appended to them.

J. L.
Oxford
18th April, 1879

INTRODUCTION.

Chapter I. The Nature and History of the Shû.

The Shû is the most ancient of the Chinese classical books, and contains historical documents of various kinds, relating to the period from about bc 2357-627.Meaning of the name Shû King. The character Shû shows us by its composition that it denotes ‘the pencil speaking,’ and hence it is often used as a designation of the written characters of the language. This, indeed, was the earliest meaning of it, but from this the transition was easy to its employment in the sense of writings or books, applicable to any consecutive compositions; and we find it further specially employed by Confucius and others to designate the historical remains of antiquity, in distinction from the poems, the accounts of rites, and other monuments of former times. Not that those other monuments might not also be called by the general name of Shû. The peculiar significancy of the term, however, was well established, and is retained to the present day.

The book has come down to us in a mutilated condition; but even as it is said to have existed in the time of Confucius, it did not profess to contain a history of China, and much less, to give the annals of that history. It was simply a collection of historical memorials, extending over a space of about 1700 years, but on no connected method, and with frequent and great gaps between them.

The name King (now in Pekinese King) was not added to Shû till the time of the Han dynasty (began bc 202). If Confucius applied it to any of the classical works, it was to the classic of Filial Piety, as will be seen in the Introduction to the translation of that work. The Han scholars, however, when engaged in collecting and digesting the ancient literary monuments of their country, found it convenient to distinguish the most valuable of them, that had been acknowledged by Confucius, as King, meaning what was canonical and of unchallengeable authority.

In the Confucian Analects, the sage and one of his disciples quote from the Shû by the simple formula— ‘The Shû says.’The Shû was an existing collection of documents before Confucius. In the Great Learning, four different books or chapters of the classic, all in it as we have it now, are mentioned, each by its proper name. Mencius sometimes uses the same formula as Confucius, and at other times designates particular books. It is most natural for us to suppose that Confucius, when he spoke of the Shû, had in his mind’s eye a collection of documents bearing that title.

One passage in Mencius seems to put it beyond a doubt that the Shû existed as such a collection in his time. Having said that ‘it would be better to be without

the Shû than to give entire credit to it,' he makes immediate reference to one of the books of our classic by name, and adds, 'In the Completion of the War I select two or three passages only, and believe them.' In Mo-ʒze, Hsün-ʒze, and other writers of the last two centuries of the Kâu dynasty, the Shû is quoted in the same way, and also frequently with the specification of its parts or larger divisions,— 'The Books of Yü,' 'of Hsiâ,' 'of Shang,' 'of Kâu.' And, in fine, in many of the narratives of Ꝛo Khiû-ming's commentary on the Spring and Autumn, the Shû is quoted in the same way, even when the narratives are about men and events long anterior to the sage. All these considerations establish the thesis of this paragraph, that the Shû was an existing collection of historical documents before Confucius.

Confucius did not compile the Shû. The number of documents in it in his time. The Preface ascribed to him.3. From the above paragraph it follows that Confucius did not compile the collection of documents that form the Shû. The earliest assertion that he did so we have from Khung An-kwo, his descendant in the eleventh generation, in the second century, bc Recounting the labours of his ancestor, An-kwo says, in the Preface to his edition of the Shû, that 'he examined and arranged the old literary monuments and records, deciding to commence with Yâo and Shun, and to come down to the times of Kâu. Of those deserving to be handed down to other ages and to supply permanent lessons, he made in all one hundred books, consisting of canons, counsels, instructions, announcements, speeches, and charges.' The same thing is stated by Sze-mâ Khien in his Historical Records, completed about bc 100, but Khien's information was derived from An-kwo. Such a compilation would have been in harmony with the character which Confucius gave of himself, as 'a transmitter and not a maker, believing and loving the ancients,' and with what his grandson says of him in the Doctrine of the Mean, that 'he handed down (the lessons of) Yâo and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed those of Wăn and Wû, whom he took for his model.'

We have seen, however, that the collection existed in his time and before it. Did it then, as An-kwo says, consist of a hundred books? His authority for saying so was a Preface, which was found along with the old tablets of the Shû that were discovered in his time and deciphered by him, as will be related farther on. He does not say, however, that it was the work of Confucius, though Khien does. It still exists, — a list of eighty-one documents in a hundred books. The prevailing opinion of scholars in China is now, that it was not written by the sage. I entirely agree myself with the judgment of Ꝛhâi Khăn, the disciple of Kû Hsî, whose Collected Comments, first published ad 1210, are now the standard of orthodoxy in the interpretation of the Shû. He says of the document: 'It sheds

light on nothing, and there are things in it at variance with the text of the classic. On the books that are lost it is specially servile and brief, affording us not the slightest help. That it is not the work of Confucius is exceedingly plain.'

The eighty-one documents mentioned in it, and more, may have been in the Shû of the time of Confucius. I think, however, that several of them must have been lost subsequently, before the rise of the tyrant of Khin, who doomed the whole collection to the flames. Mencius complains that in his days the feudal princes destroyed many of the records of antiquity that they might the better perpetrate their own usurpations and innovations. Other considerations, on the exhibition of which I need not enter, confirm me in this conclusion.

The sources of the Shû.4. It will be well here to devote a paragraph to the sources of the Shû. Have we sufficient proofs of the composition in ancient times of such documents as it contains, and of their preservation, so that they could be collected in a sort of historical canon?

We have. Under the dynasty of Kâu (bc 1122-256), at the royal court, and at the courts of the feudal princes on a smaller scale, there were officers styled Sze, which has been translated 'Recorders,' 'Annalists,' 'Historiographers,' and simply 'Clerks.' There were the Grand Recorder, the Assistant Recorder, the Recorder of the Interior, the Recorder of the Exterior, and the Recorder in Attendance on the Sovereign. Among the duties of the Recorder of the Interior were the following:— 'In case of any charge given by the king to the prince of a state, or to any other dignitary, he writes it on tablets;' 'In case of any memorials on business coming in from the different quarters of the kingdom, he reads them (to the king);' 'It is his business to write all charges of the king, and to do so in duplicate.' Of the duties of the Recorder of the Exterior it is said:— 'He has charge of the histories of the states in all parts of the kingdom;' 'He has charge of the most ancient books;' 'It is his business to publish in all parts of the kingdom the books and the characters in them.'

These entries show that under the Kâu dynasty there was provision made for the recording and preservation of royal charges and ordinances, of the operations of the general government, and of the histories of the different states; and, moreover, for the preservation and interpretation of documents come down from more ancient times. Confucius himself tells us that in his early days a recorder would leave a blank in his text, rather than enter anything of which he had not sufficient evidence. Mencius also mentions three works, the Shăng of Kin, the Thâo-wû of Khû, and the Khun Khiû of Lû, which must have come from the recorders of those states.

Of the existence of a similar class of officers under the previous dynasties of Shang or Yin (bc 1766-1123) and Hsiâ (bc 2205-1765), we have not such

abundant evidence. Chapter 2 in the 10th Book of the 5th Part of our classic, however, seems to speak of them in the time of the former. Wû-ting (bc 1324-1264), the twentieth sovereign of it, is described as communicating, in writing, a dream which he had had, to his ministers; and fully four hundred years earlier, Î Yin, the chief minister, remonstrates, in writing, with his young and careless sovereign Thâi Kiâ. Going back to the dynasty of Hsiâ, we find the prince of Yin, during the reign of Kung Khang (bc 2159-2145), in addressing his troops, quotes the Statutes of Government in a manner which makes us conceive of him as referring to a well-known written compilation. The grandsons of the great Yü, its founder (bc 2205-2196), likewise, make mention, in the Songs of the Five Sons, of his Lessons, in a style that suggests to us the formula that Mencius was wont to employ when referring to the documents acknowledged to be of authority in his day.

Mâ Twan-lin, the encyclopedist, in his General Examination of Records and Scholars, first published ad 1321, says that ‘the pencil of the recorders was busy from the time of Hwang Tî (bc 2697).’ The compilers of the records of the Sui dynasty (ad 589-617) say that ‘historical documents began immediately with the invention of written characters.’ That invention I must place myself at an earlier date than the time assigned to Hwang Tî. When once the characters were invented, they would come in time to be employed in the writing of history. The early dates alleged for many of the documents in the Shû are no valid reason for rejecting them without further examination. We may rather be surprised that, when the compilation was made, it did not contain many more than a hundred documents.

Destruction of the classical literature by the emperor of Khin.5. The dynasty of Kâu came to an end in bc 256, and after an anarchic interval of thirty-five years, the king of Khin succeeded in uniting all the feudal states under his own sway, and proclaimed himself emperor. Up to this time the Shû had sustained no other damage than all human works are liable to in the course of time; but now it narrowly escaped an entire destruction. An edict went forth from the tyrant in bc 213, commanding that all the old classical books should be consigned to the flames, excepting those belonging to the great scholars in the service of the court, and the Yî. His rage was hottest against the Shû and the Shih (the Book of Poetry). Death was the doom of scholars who should be known to meet together and speak of these works, and all who should be discovered having copies of them in their possession, when thirty days had elapsed after the publication of the edict, were to be branded, and sent to labour for four years on the Great Wall, which was then building.

This is not the place to explain the reasons that led to this insane attempt to extinguish, with the exception of one work, the ancient literary monuments of China. The edict was ruthlessly enforced, and hundreds of scholars who refused obedience to the imperial command were buried alive. The Shû had nearly perished from off the earth.

Recovery of the Shû.6. The tyrant, however, died in bc 210, within four years from the issuing of his edict. The dynasty which he had sought to establish passed away in bc 206. That of Han dates from the year bc 202, and in 191 the edict against the ancient books was formally repealed. They had been under the ban for less than a quarter of a century. There would probably have been no difficulty in recovering copies of them, but for the sack of the capital in bc 206 by the most formidable opponent of the founder of the House of Han. Then the fires blazed, we are told, for three months among the palaces and public buildings, and proved as destructive to the copies that might have been preserved about the court as the edict of Khin had been to those among the people.

Among the scholars of Khin, however, there had been one, of the surname Fû, who, when the edict was issued, hid his tablets of the Shû in a wall. Returning for them, after the rule of Han was established, he found that many were perished or gone. He recovered only twenty-nine of the documents, containing, according to the division of them that has long been followed, thirty-five books in all. About one of them there is some difficulty, on the discussion of which I need not enter. Fû commenced teaching them, and from all parts scholars resorted to him, and sat at his feet. The emperor Wăn (bc 179-155) heard of him, and sent one of the recorders of the court to visit him, and bring the recovered tablets themselves, or a copy of them, to the capital. They were in the form of the character that was prevalent at that time, different from that which had been used in previous centuries, and are known as ‘the Shû of the modern text.’ The Catalogue of the Imperial Library, prepared by Liû Hin for the emperor Âi (bc 6-1), contains an entry of ‘the text of the Shû in twenty-nine portions,’ — the same, no doubt, which was received from Fû. Fû himself commented on his Shû. The text was engraved on the stone tablets of the emperor Ling (ad 168-189). Very many scholars of the Han times laboured on this text, taught it to their disciples, and published their views on it. Not one of their writings, however, survived, in a complete form, the troubles which desolated the empire during the reign of the emperor Hwâi (ad 307-312) of the western dynasty of Kin.

In the reign of the Han emperor Wû (bc 140-85) a discovery was made in the wall of the house of the Khung or Confucian family of the tablets of the Shû, the Spring and Autumn, the classic of Filial Piety, and the Lun-yü or Confucian Analects. How long they had lain there we do not know. It is commonly said that

they had been hidden by some one of the Khung family to save them from the fires of Khin. But they were in a form of the character that had long gone into disuse, and which hardly any one could decipher, and must have been deposited towards the beginning of the fifth century bc They were committed to the care of Khung An-kwo, who was then one of the ‘great scholars’ of the empire, and the chief of the Khung family. By means of the current text of Fû and other resources he made out all the tablets of the Shû that were in good preservation, and in addition to Fû’s twenty-nine documents several others. He found also that Fû had in three cases incorporated two different documents under one name, and taken no note of the division of one other into three books or sections. Altogether there were now forty-six documents or different portions of the old Shû brought anew to light. They appear in Liû Hin’s Catalogue as ‘the text of the Shû in old characters in forty-six portions.’

When An-kwo had made out the tablets, he presented them to the emperor in bc 97, with a transcript of them in the current characters of the time, keeping a second transcript of them for himself; and he received an order to make a commentary on the whole. He did so, but when he was about to lay the result of his labours before the court, troubles had arisen which prevented for several years the paying attention to literary matters. It was owing to these that his commentary was neglected for a time, and the enlarged text which he had deciphered was not officially put in charge of the Board of ‘Great Scholars,’ to which the care of the five King, so far as they had been recovered, had been committed in bc 136.

An-kwo’s commentary, however, was not lost; but before speaking of it, I must refer to a third recovery of a large portion of the Shû early in our first century. A scholar and officer, named Tû Lin, had been a fugitive, having many wonderful escapes, during the usurpation of Mang (ad 9-22). During his wanderings he discovered a portion of the Shû on ‘lacquered’ tablets, or perhaps on lacquered cloth, which he thenceforth guarded as his richest treasure, and kept near his person. When the empire was again settled by the first emperor of the eastern Han, he communicated his text to other scholars. Wei Hung published a commentary on it, and subsequently Kiâ Khwei, Mâ Yung, and Kăng Khang-khăng (all, great names in Chinese literature) did the same. Tû Lin’s ‘lacquered’ books were the same in number as An-kwo’s, but they contained five documents in thirteen books, which were not in the text of the other, and wanted nine documents, also in thirteen books, which An-kwo’s text had. The commentary of Kăng Khang-khăng continued till the Sui dynasty, after which we lose sight of it.

I return to the commentary of An-kwo, which, of course, contained his text. Its transmission from hand to hand down to the close of the western Han dynasty is clearly traced. Less distinctly, but surely, we can discover evidence of its preservation, till we come to the commencement of the eastern dynasty of Kin, when Mei Ʒeh, a recorder of the Interior, having come into possession of a copy, presented it to the emperor Yuan (ad 317-322). The Canon of Shun was wanting in it, and was supplied from the commentary of Mâ Yung, based on the text of Tû Lin. From this time the text and commentary of An-kwo had their place assigned them in the Imperial College. They are mentioned in the Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Sui. The second emperor of the Thang dynasty gave orders for a grand edition of the Shû, under the superintendence of Khung Ying-tâ, assisted by others. They adopted the commentary of An-kwo, and enriched it with profuse annotations. In ad 654 their work was ordered to be printed, and happily remains to the present day. The text of the Shû, that is, of all of it that had been recovered by An-kwo, was still further secured, being engraved with that of all the other classics on the Thang tablets of stone which were completed in the year 837, and are still preserved at Khang-an, in Shen-hsî.

It is not necessary to trace the history of the Shû further on. The titles of more than 500 works, on the whole of it or on portions, from the dynasty of Thang to the present day, could easily be adduced. Under the Sung dynasty, indeed, there began the sceptical criticism, which, setting comparatively little store on external evidence, decides on the genuineness of documents principally from their style. The results of such criticism always vary according to the knowledge and the subjective character of the mind of its author. Many maintain that the commentary said to be that of An-kwo was not really from him, but was made by Mei Ʒeh, and palmed on the world under the name of the great Han scholar. Even if it were so, the work would remain, produced nearly 1600 years ago. And to the annotations of the Thang scholars upon it we are indebted for most of what we know of the earlier views of Mâ Yung, Kăng Khang-khăng, and other writers of the Han period. Whether its author were the true Khung or a false Khung, its value cannot be over-estimated. But I do not believe that it was a forgery. That An-kwo did write a commentary on his ‘Shû in the ancient characters’ is admitted by all. When did it perish? There is no evidence that it ever did so. On the contrary, its existence rises as a fact, here and there, at no great intervals of time, on the surface of the literary history of the empire, till we arrive at Mei Ʒeh, who received it, as Khung Ying-tâ proves, from a scholar named Ʒang Ʒhâo.

Then as to the text of the Shû, there is no controversy about the documents which were recovered in the first place by Fû; but the additional ones found by

Khung An-kwo are so much more easily understood, that I do not wonder that the charge of not being genuine has been raised against them. But even they are not easy. They only appear to be so, when we come to one of them, after toiling through some of the more contorted portions common to both texts. And, moreover, the style of the different books differs according to their subjects. The 'Announcements' are the hardest to understand of all. The 'Charges,' 'Speeches,' and 'Instructions' are much simpler in their construction; and the portions which we owe to An-kwo consist principally of these. In making out his obsolete characters he had, in the first place, to make use of the Books of Fû. That he did not servilely follow his text we conclude from the readings of Fû's followers, different from his in many passages which the industry of critics has gathered up. When he came, however, to new books, which were not in Fû's copy, he had to make out his tablets as he best could. His most valuable aid had ceased. We can conceive that, when he had managed to read the greater portion of a paragraph, and yet there were some stubborn characters that defied him, he completed it according to his understanding of the sense with characters of his own. That he was faithful and successful in the main we find by the many passages of his peculiar books that are found quoted in writings of the Kâu dynasty. This is a fact worthy of the most attentive consideration. I do not think there is an important statement in his chapters that is not thus vouched for. The characteristics of his books which have exposed them to suspicion are not sufficient to overthrow their claims to be regarded as genuine transcripts of the tablets discovered in the wall of the house of the Khung family.

The conclusion to which I come, at the close of this chapter, is, that there is nothing seriously to shake our confidence in the portions of the Shû that we now possess, as being substantially the same as those which were in the collection of the Kâu dynasty both before and after Confucius.

Chapter II. The Credibility of the Records in the Shû.

Whether the records in the Shû are reliable or not.1. Accepting the conclusion which I have stated immediately above, I now go on to enquire whether the documents in the Shû can be relied on as genuine narratives of the transactions which they profess to relate. And it may be said at once, in reference to the greater number of them, that there is no reasonable ground to call their credibility in question. Allowance must be made, indeed, for the colouring with which the founders of one dynasty set forth the misdeeds of the closing reigns of that which they were superseding, and for the way in which the failures of a favourite hero may be glossed over. But the documents of the Shû are quite as much entitled to credit as the memorials and edicts which are published at the present day in the Peking Gazette.

The more recent the documents are, the more, of course, are they to be relied on. And provision was made, we have seen, by the statutes of Kâu, for the preservation of the records of previous dynasties. But it was not to be expected that many of those should not perish in the lapse of time, and others suffer mutilations and corruptions. And this, we find, was the case. Of the eighty-one documents that the Shû at one time contained, only one belonged to the period of Yâo; seven to the period of Shun; four to the dynasty of Hsiâ, much the larger one of which narrates what was done in the time of Yâo; thirty-one to the dynasty of Shang; and thirty-eight to the first 500 years of that of Kâu. All this seems to bear on the surface of it the stamp of verisimilitude.

The Books of Kâu.2. The Books of Kâu were contemporaneous with the events which they describe, and became public property not long after their composition. They are to be received without hesitation.

The Books of Shang.Nor are those of the previous dynasty of Shang open to suspicion. We ascend by means of them to Thang the Successful, its founder, with a confident step. The beginning of his rule is placed chronologically in bc 1766.

Of the still earlier dynasty of Hsiâ, there are only four documents, and we have no evidence that there were any more when the collection of the Shû was made in the times of Kâu.The Books of Hsiâ. The first and longest of the four, though occupied with the great achievement of Yü, the founder of Hsiâ, whose chronological place is bc 2205-2196, really belongs to the reign of Yâo, and is out of place among the records of Hsiâ. The other three documents bring us down only to the reign of Kung Khang (bc 2159-2145), and I see no grounds for

doubting their genuineness. In the last of them a celestial phenomenon is mentioned, which has always been understood to have been an eclipse of the sun in Fang, a space of about 5½° from π to σ of Scorpio, on the first day of the last month of autumn. P. Gaubil thought he had determined by calculation that such an eclipse really took place in the fifth year of Kung Khang, bc 2155. Doubts, however, have been cast, as will be seen in the next chapter, on the accuracy of his calculation, and therefore I do not avail myself of it here as a confirmation of the truth of the document.

The Books of Thang and Yü.3. We come to the earlier records, — those of the reigns of Yâo and Shun, with which must be classed the Tribute of Yü, the first of the documents of Hsiâ; and it must be admitted that there is not the same evidence that they existed originally in their present form.

The Canon of Yâo and three of the four still existing books of the time of Yü, all commence with the words, 'Examining into antiquity, we find.'They are professedly later compilations. They are therefore, on their own showing, the compilations of a later age. The writer separates himself from the date of the events which he narrates, and while professing to draw from the records of 'antiquity,' yet writes himself from a modern standpoint. The Yî and Kî, the last of the documents of the Shun period, formed one book with the preceding in the Shû of Fû, and came under the opening words of that, as being a result of 'the examination of antiquity.' I will draw separate attention farther on to the Tribute of Yü.

Much of what is related in the Canons of Yâo and Shun, as well as in the other documents, has more the air of legend than of history.They are legendary. When Yâo has been on the throne for seventy years, he proposes to resign in favour of his principal minister, who is styled the Four Mountains. That worthy declares himself unequal to the office. Yâo then asks him whom he can recommend for it; be the worthiest individual a noble or a poor man, he will appoint him to the dignity. This brings Shun upon the stage. All the officers about the court can recommend him, — Shun of Yü, an unmarried man among the lower people. His father, a blind man, was obstinately unprincipled; his mother, or stepmother, was insincere; his brother was arrogant; and yet Shun had been able by his filial piety to live harmoniously with them, and to bring them to a considerable measure of self-government and good conduct. Yâo is delighted. He had himself heard something of Shun. He resolved to give him a preliminary trial. And a strange trial it was. He gave him his own two daughters in marriage, and declared that he would test his fitness for the throne by seeing his behaviour with his two wives.

Shun must have stood the test. Yâo continued to employ him as General Regulator for three years, and then called him to ascend the throne. Shun refused to do so, but discharged the royal duties till the death of Yâo in 2257, becoming himself sole ruler in bc 2255. These and other marvellous notices of Yâo and Shun are largely added to by Mencius and Sze-mâ Khien, but their accounts are of the same extraordinary character. I must believe that the oldest portions of the Shû do not give us the history of Yâo and Shun, but legendary tales about them.

At the same time it must be allowed that the compiler of these books in their present form had in his possession some documents as old as the time of Yâo.Their compiler had ancient documents on which to base his representations. To my mind three things render this admission necessary. First, the titles of the high officers of Yâo and Shun are different from those of the corresponding dignitaries at a later age. The principal personage was called the Four Mountains; next to him was the General Regulator; and the Minister of Religion was the Arranger of the Ancestral Temple. It is more probable that the compiler received these and other peculiar designations from old documents than that he invented them himself. Second, the style of these early books is distinguished in several particulars from the style of those of Hsiâ, Shang, and Kâu. I need only specify the exclamations, ‘Alas!’ ‘Ah!’ and ‘Oh!’ which are expressed by characters that we do not elsewhere find used in the same way. Third, the directions of Yâo to his astronomers, telling them how to determine the equinoxes and solstices, by means of the stars culminating at dusk in those seasons, could not be the inventions of a later age. The reader will find this subject discussed in the next chapter, where it is shown how those culminating stars may be employed to ascertain the era of Yâo. No compiler, ignorant of the precession of the equinoxes, which was not known in China till about the middle of our fourth century, could have framed Yâo’s directions with such an adjustment to the time assigned to him in chronology.

When the Books of Thang and Yu received their present form, we cannot tell. Probably it was in the early period of the Kâu dynasty, though I am not without a suspicion that some verbal changes were made in them under the short-lived dynasty of Khin, which intervened between the dynasties of Kâu and Han, and possibly some also when they were recovered under the latter.

The Tribute of Yü.4. It remains for us to consider the case of the Tribute of Yü, the first, as the books are now arranged, of those of Hsiâ, but belonging, as has been already said, to the period of Yâo, or at least to the period when Yâo and Shun were together on the throne. It thus appears out of its chronological order, and must share in the general uncertainty which attaches to the documents of the first two parts of our classic.

Yâo, in what year of his reign we are not told, appears suddenly startled by the ravages of a terrible inundation. The waters were overtopping the hills, and threatening the heavens in their surging fury. The people everywhere were groaning and murmuring. Was there a capable man to whom he could assign the correction of the calamity? All the nobles recommend one Khwăn, to whom Yâo, against his own better judgment, delegates the difficult task, on which Khwăn labours without success for nine years. His son Yü then entered on the work. From beyond the western bounds of the present China proper he is represented as tracking the great rivers, here burning the woods, hewing the rocks, and cutting through the mountains that obstructed their progress, and there deepening their channels until their waters flow peacefully into the eastern sea. He forms lakes, and raises mighty embankments, till at length 'the grounds along the rivers were everywhere made habitable; the hills cleared of their superfluous wood; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas. A great order was effected in the six magazines (of material wealth); the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The fields were all classified according to the three characters of the soil, and the revenues of the Middle Kingdom were established.' Of the devotion with which Yü pursued his work, he says himself in the Yî and Kî:— 'I mounted my four conveyances,' — carriages on the land, boats on the water, sledges in icy places, and shoes with spikes in them in ascending the hills,— 'and all along the hills hewed down the woods, at the same time, along with Yî, showing the people how to get flesh to eat,' — that is, by capturing fish and birds and beasts. 'I opened passages for the streams throughout the nine provinces, and conducted them to the sea. I deepened the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, at the same time, along with Kî, sowing grain, and showing the people how to procure the food of toil in addition to flesh meat. I urged them to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. In this way all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule.' And again:— 'When I married in Tû-shan, I remained with my wife only four days.' Mencius says that while engaged on his task, he thrice passed the door of his house, but did not enter it. His own words are:— 'When Khî (my son) was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land.'

Along with his operations to assuage the wide-spread inundation, Yü thus carried on other most important labours proper to an incipient civilization. We gather from the Shû that it did not take him many years to accomplish his mighty undertaking. It was successfully finished before the death of Yâo. All this is

incredible. The younger Biot, in an article on the Tribute of Yü, published in the Journal Asiatique, in 1842, says:— 'If we are to believe the commentators, Yü will become a supernatural being, who could lead the immense rivers of China as if he had been engaged in regulating the course of feeble streamlets.' There is no occasion to say, 'If we are to believe the commentators;' — if we are to believe the Shû, this is the judgment that we must form about Yü.

The general conclusion to which Biot came about the document under our notice was that we are to find in it only the progress of a great colony. Yü was the first explorer of the Chinese world. He established posts of colonists or planters in different parts of the territory. He caused the wood around those posts to be cut down, and commenced the cultivation of the soil. After Yü, the labours of draining the country and clearing the forests continued during some ages, and the result of all was attributed by Chinese tradition to the first chief. I have no doubt there is an inkling of the truth in this view of the French sinologue, but the idea of Yü's being the leader of a Chinese colony had better be abandoned. We recognise the primitive seat of the Chinese people, in the southern parts of the present Shan-hsî, with the Ho on the west and south of it. His son fought a battle with the Chief of Hû at a place in the present department of Hsî-an, in Shen-hsî, across the Ho, and his grandson was kept a sort of prisoner at large in the present province of Ho-nan, south of the river. The people or tribe extended itself westward, eastward, and southward, and still later northward, as it increased in numbers, and was able to subdue the earth.

The flood of Yâo was probably an inundation of the Ho, similar to many in subsequent times which have procured for that river the name of 'China's Sorrow,' and Yü distinguished himself in the assuaging of it, and the regulation of its course to the sea. The extent of the country came to be ascertained under the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang, and its different parts were gradually occupied by the increasing numbers of the people, and contributed their various proportions of revenue to the central government. There were memorials of the toils which Yü had undergone, and of allotments of territory which he had made to the most distinguished among his followers. It occurred to some historiographer to form a theory as to the way in which the whole country might have been brought to order by the founder of the Hsiâ dynasty, and he proceeded to glorify Yü by ascribing so grand an achievement to him. About the same time, probably, the popular stories of Yü's self-denial had found their expression in the Yî and Kî, prompting at once the conception of the Tribute of Yü, and obtaining for it a favourable reception. Yü entered well into association with Yâo and Shun, and formed a triad with them at the beginning of the Chinese monarchy. Their wisdom and benevolence appeared in him, combined with a

practical devotion to the duties of his position, in which all sovereigns would have a model, to win them from indolence and self-indulgence, and stimulate them to a painstaking discharge of their responsibilities.

In the nineteenth of the Books of Part V, the duke of Kâu counsels his young sovereign, king Khăng (bc 1115-1077), to have his armies in a good state of preparation, so that he might go forth 'beyond the footsteps of Yü,' and travel over all beneath the sky, everywhere meeting with submission. The duke's reference to 'the footsteps of Yü' does not prove that Yü really travelled and toiled as the Tribute of Yü reports, but only that such was the current belief at the commencement of the Kâu dynasty, while it affords at the same time a presumption that our document was then among the archives of the kingdom. It may have been compiled before the end of the Hsiâ dynasty, or under that of Shang. From Shang it passed to Kâu, and came under the care of the recorders of the Exterior. Then subsequently it was very properly incorporated in the collection of the Shû.

Yâo, Shun, and Yu are all historical personages.5. While we are thus unable to receive the six earliest documents in our classic as contemporaneous in their present form with the events which they relate, it is not meant to throw doubt on the existence of Yâo, Shun, and Yü as historical personages. More especially does Yü stand forth as the first sovereign of the dynasty of Hsiâ, the man who laid the foundation of the hereditary monarchy in China, its feudal sovereign who 'conferred surnames and lands.' The documents which follow the Tribute of Yü, commencing with the Speech at Kan, delivered in bc 2197 by Yü's son and successor, may all be received as veritable monuments of antiquity.

Chapter III. On the Chronology of China, and the Principal Eras in the Shû.

I do not enter here on the subject of the chronology of China further than is necessary to show that there is no chronological difficulty in the way of our accepting the documents of the Shû, which I have just specified, as being possessed of the antiquity ascribed to them.

The Shû itself does not supply the means of laying down any scheme of chronology for the long period of time which it covers.No detailed chronological system can be made out from the Shû. We learn from it that the dynasty of Kâu succeeded to that of Shang (another name for which was Yin), and the dynasty of Shang to that of Hsiâ, and that prior to Yü, the founder of the Hsiâ, there were the reigns of Shun and Yâo. As P. Gaubil has observed, 'If we had only the Shû King, we should have but confused ideas of the time comprised in the different parts of the book.' There is nothing in this to awaken our surprise. The chronology of a nation comes to be cultivated as a science only when a necessity is felt to arrange the events of its history in regular series on the course of time.

It was under the Han dynasty that it was first attempted to construct a chronological scheme of the history of the nation.Attempts at systematic chronology began in the Han period. For this purpose its scholars employed the well-known cycle of sixty years, in the fifteenth year of the seventy-sixth revolution of which I am now writing. It was assumed that this cycle was first devised by Tâ-nâo, an officer of Hwang Tî, in bc 2637, which is the first year of the first cycle. But all scholars in China, whether they call in question this origin of the cycle or not, now agree in saying that the use of the cyclic characters to chronicle years was not the ancient method, and did not begin earlier than the time of the usurper Mang (ad 9-22).

In the Shû itself the current cycle is used to chronicle days, and days only. Years are specified according to their order in the reign of the sovereign to whom they are referred. Such specification of years in it, however, is rare.

Before the Han dynasty a list of sovereigns, and of the length of their several reigns, was the only method which the Chinese had of determining the duration of their national history.Ancient method of determining the length of Chinese history. And it would still be a satisfactory method, if we had a list of sovereigns, and of the years that each reigned, that was complete and reliable. But we do not have this. Even in the early part of the Han dynasty, Sze-mâ Khien's father and himself, in their Historical Records, completed about bc 100, were obliged to content themselves with giving simply the names and order of

most of the rulers of Shang and Hsiâ. It is right to state also that in ad 279, when the grave of king Hsiang of Wei (died in bc 295) was opened, there were found a number of bamboo tablets in it, written in the ancient seal characters, among which the most valuable portion was a book of annals, beginning with the reign of Hwang Tî, and coming down to the sixteenth year of the last king of Kâu, bc 299. This work is still current under the name of the Annals of the Bamboo Books. The chronology derived from it is shorter than the received system by rather more than 200 years.

If in any of the classical books of the Kâu dynasty we had a statement of the length of the national history from any given era to the time of the writer, the notice would be exceedingly valuable; or, if the length of the reigns of the sovereigns of Shang and Hsiâ, cursorily mentioned in it, were correctly given, we should be in a position to make an approximate computation for ourselves. But there are only two passages in all those books which are helpful to us in this point. The former of them is in a narrative in Ꝛo Khiû-ming's supplement to the Spring and Autumn, under the third year of duke Hsüan, where it is said that the dynasty of Shang possessed the throne for 600 years. The other passage is the last chapter of the works of Mencius, where that philosopher says that 'from Yâo and Shun to Thang' — a period including all the dynasty of Hsiâ— 'there were 500 years and more; from Thang to king Wăn' — the period of the Shang dynasty—'500 years and more; and from king Wăn to Confucius, 500 years and more.' We know that Confucius was born in bc 551. Adding 551 to the 1500 years 'and more,' given by Mencius, we have the era of Yâo and Shun at 2100 years 'and more' before our Christian era. And the received chronology places Yü's accession to the throne, as the successor of Shun, in bc 2205. Vague as the language of Mencius is, I do not think that with the most painstaking research, apart from conclusions based on astronomical considerations, we can determine anything more precise and definite concerning the length of Chinese history than it conveys.

The period of the Kâu dynasty.3. The Charge to the Marquis Wăn, which now forms the 28th Book of the 5th Part of the Shû, is understood to have been delivered by king Phing, the thirteenth of his line. His place in historical time is well ascertained. Confucius' chronicle of the Spring and Autumn commences in bc 722. The first of the thirty-six solar eclipses mentioned in it took place three years after, on the 14th February (n.s.) 719, and it is recorded that in the month after king Phing died. Here therefore is a point of time about which there can be no dispute. An earlier date in the Kâu dynasty is known with the same certainty. The Book of Poetry mentions an eclipse of the sun which took place on the 29th August, bc 776, in the sixth year of king Yû, who preceded Phing. Yû reigned

eleven years, and his predecessor, Hsuan, forty-six, whose reign consequently commenced bc 827. Up to this date Chinese chronologers agree. To the ten reigns before king Hsüan, the received chronology assigns 295 years, making the dynasty begin in bc 1122, which cannot be far from the truth.

The period of the Shang dynasty.4. In the period of the Shang dynasty we cannot fix a single reign by means of astronomical facts. The received chronology assigns to it twenty-eight reigns, extending over 644 years, so that its commencement was in bc 1766. The scheme derived from the bamboo books makes the sovereigns to be thirty, but the aggregate of their reigns is only 508. Mencius says that between Thang, the founder of the dynasty, and Wû-ting, the twentieth sovereign (in the common scheme), 'there had been six or seven worthy and sage rulers,' — leading to the conclusion that the number of twenty-eight sovereigns in all is not beyond the truth. In the fifteenth of the Books of Kâu the names of three of the Shang rulers are given, and the duration of their reigns, — to show how Heaven is likely to crown a good king with length of sway. They are Thâi Mâu, who reigned seventy-five years; Wû-ting, who reigned fifty-nine; and Ʒû-kiâ, who reigned thirty-three. The two schemes agree in the length of those reigns and of five others. From the statement in the Ʒo-kwan, to which I have referred above, that the Shang dynasty possessed the throne for 600 years, and Mencius' language that it lasted 'for 500 years and more,' we may believe that the 644 years of the common scheme are more likely to be correct than the 508 of the shorter.

The period of Hsiâ.5. The dynasty of Hsiâ lasted, according to the received chronology, 439 years, and according to the bamboo books, 431; so that the difference here between the two schemes is small. The former estimate carries us up to bc 2205, as the first year of Yu's reign.

I referred on page 13 to an eclipse of the sun, mentioned in the fourth of the Books of Hsiâ, as having occurred in the reign of Kung Khang, a grandson of Yu, and stated that P. Gaubil had found by calculation that on the day and month stated in the document, and in the quarter of the heavens given, an eclipse did occur in the fifth year of Kung Khang, that is, in bc 2156, and was visible at his capital at 6h 49′, a.m. In 1840, J. B. Biot submitted a copy of Gaubil's calculations to the younger Largeteau, a member, like himself, of the Institute of France, who went over them with the lunar tables of Damoiseau and the solar tables of Delambre, and brought out the result that there was indeed an eclipse on the day stated, but before the rising of the sun at the then capital of China. My friend, the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of Canton, not knowing anything of the examination made by Largeteau, undertook to verify the eclipse in 1861, and found that while the year, the month, and the day, as given by Gaubil, were

correct, the eclipse had taken place during the night, and could not have been seen by the Chinese astronomers. The eclipse mentioned in the document of the Shû cannot therefore be used at present to confirm the received chronology of China; but I am unwilling to give it up entirely. M. Biot says that, 'Notwithstanding the failure of the attempt of Largeteau to verify the eclipse, the hope of yet finding it in some one of the years of the twenty-second century before our era is not entirely lost. We ought to wait till the further perfecting of the lunar tables brings us new lights, by means of which we can form a surer judgment.'

The period of Yâo and Shun.6. We come to the earliest period of Chinese history of which the Shû makes more than a cursory mention, — that of Yâo and Shun. It says that Shun was thirty years on the throne with Yâo, and that, fifty years after, he died and went on high. We learn from it also that it was in the seventieth year of his reign that Yâo sought for another to relieve him of the toils of government. The period covered by the two therefore is 150 years, which both the schemes of chronology accept. Adding two years of mourning between Shun's death and Yü's accession to the throne, we have bc 2357 as the first year of Yâo.

In the Canon of Yâo, when that personage is giving directions to his astronomers how to determine the equinoxes and solstices, he tells them that at the vernal equinox they would find the star in Niâo, and at the autumnal in Hsü; at the summer solstice, the star in Hwo, and at the winter in Mâo. It has always been assumed by Chinese scholars that when Yâo said, 'The star of mid-spring is in Niâo,' he meant the star culminating at dusk at that season, at the point of observation. And so of the other stars and seasons. A Chinese astronomer at the present day would similarly express himself.

Further, the most common, and what was the earliest division of the ecliptic in China, is that of the twenty-eight lunar mansions, forming what we may call the Chinese zodiac. These mansions are grouped together in four classes of seven each, assigned to the four quarters of the heavens. Of the celestial spaces which Yâo specified, Niâo is the general name for the seven mansions or constellations belonging to the southern quarter; Hwo is an old name of what is now called Fang, the central constellation of the eastern quarter; Hsü and Mâo are the central constellations of the northern and southern quarters respectively. What Yâo meant therefore was, that his astronomers could determine the solstices and the autumnal equinox by the culmination of the stars in the mansions which he specified for those seasons. And we may assume that he directed them, for the star of the vernal equinox, to Hsing, the central mansion in the southern space Niâo. Now, Hsing corresponds to α (Alphard) Hydræ, and

small stars near it, in our stellar nomenclature; Hwo, to β, δ in Scorpio; Hsü, to β Aquarii; and Mâo, to Pleiades. When we wish to make the directions of Yâo available for the purpose of chronological enquiry, the question that arises is this: — When did the above-named stars culminate at dusk in China at the equinoctial and solstitial seasons?

Bunsen tells us that Ideler, computing the places of the constellations backwards, fixed the accession of Yâo at bc 2163, and that Freret was of opinion that the observations left an uncertainty of 3°, leaving a margin of 210 years. On the other hand, J. B. Biot found in the directions a sufficient confirmation of the received date for Yâo's accession, — bc 2357. Appended to this Introduction is a chart of the stars as they were visible in China in bc 2300, which the Rev. C. Pritchard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford, kindly prepared for me. An inspection of it, in the manner directed by him, will show that the phenomena indicated by Yâo to his astronomers were all apparent at that date. This fact must be accepted as a strong proof of the approximate correctness of the chronology, which places Yâo in the twenty-fourth century bc The precession of the equinoxes, it has already been observed, was not known in China till more than 2500 years after the time assigned to Yâo, so that the culminating stars at the equinoxes and solstices of his remote period could not have been computed back scientifically in the time of the Kâu dynasty, during which the collection of the Shû existed. The form in which the directions are given, and other things in the Canon, savour, indeed, of legend, and I have not claimed for it that in its present form it be received as a document contemporaneous with the reign of Yâo. I have argued, however, that the compiler of it had before him ancient documents, and one of them must have contained the facts about the culminating of the stars, which I have now endeavoured to set in a clear light.

The mention of these culminating stars does seem to fix Yâo's place in chronology in the twenty-fourth century bc, and to show that at that remote era it was the custom to make and to record astronomical observations of the heavenly bodies. Having respect to these things, my claim to have the documents of the Shû from the Speech at Kan, nearly two centuries later than Yâo, downwards, regarded as contemporaneous with the events which they describe, cannot be considered extravagant.

7. In the 27th Book of the 5th Part, the Marquis of Lü on Punishments, there is a historical reference which would carry us back four centuries beyond the time of Yâo. It is said that, 'According to the teachings of antiquity, Khih Yû was the first to create disorder.' There is no intimation, however, of the time when this rebel disturbed the happy order and innocence which had previously

prevailed; and the very same sentence brings the review of antiquity down to the time of Shun. But the chronologers place him in the reign of Hwang Tî, towards the end of the twenty-seventh century bc Other writers describe the struggle between him and Hwang Tî, in which dragons, mists, and the invention of the compass play conspicuous parts. It is to the credit of the Shû, and an evidence of its being a genuine collection of historical memorials, that this cursory reference to Khih Yû is the only mention in it of any name older than that of Yâo.

The Use of the Chart.

This chart is intended to represent approximately the aspect of the principal zodiacal stars as seen above the horizon of any place in central China, at any hour of any day, about the year bc 2300.

In order to apply the chart to a practical purpose, the reader is advised to cut out a sheet of paper (cardboard is preferable) with its upper edge exactly fitting the curved line A B O C D, and to draw, near to the bottom of the paper, a line coinciding with ‘the hour-line’ on the chart.

This being done, if it be asked what will be the aspect of the heavens when the Sun sets at the Vernal Equinox, the reader is to move the line at the bottom of the cardboard along the horizontal ‘hour-line’ of the chart until the place of the Sun in the Ecliptic at the Vernal Equinox O just touches the curved top of the paper; then all the stars not covered over are above the horizon at the time of that sunset, *viz.* in this case Aldebaran, Sirius, Spica, &c.; the Pleiades are just setting, Regulus and α Hydræ are very near the meridian, β Centauri is on the point of rising, and α Serpentis is well up above the horizon. This exactly corresponds with that state of the heavens which Yâo, (alleged in the Chinese records to have flourished about bc 2300,) indicated to his astronomers (Hsî and Ho) would be the case, *viz.* that he would find the star (or the stellar division) Shun Hwo (corresponding, it is said, to α Hydræ) culminating at the time of sunset at the Vernal Equinox.

Again, if it be required to find what constellation is culminating at the time of sunset at the Summer Solstice, the cardboard must be moved, as before, towards the right hand until the position of the Sun at the Summer Solstice, *viz.* G, just touches the horizon curve, when it will be seen that α Serpentis and Antares are then culminating, Regulus and β Centauri are just setting, while the constellations of Aquila and Aquarius are rising; Vega is a conspicuous object above the eastern horizon. This again corresponds to the indications given by Yâo to his astronomers, *viz.* that they would find the constellation Scorpio culminating at the time.

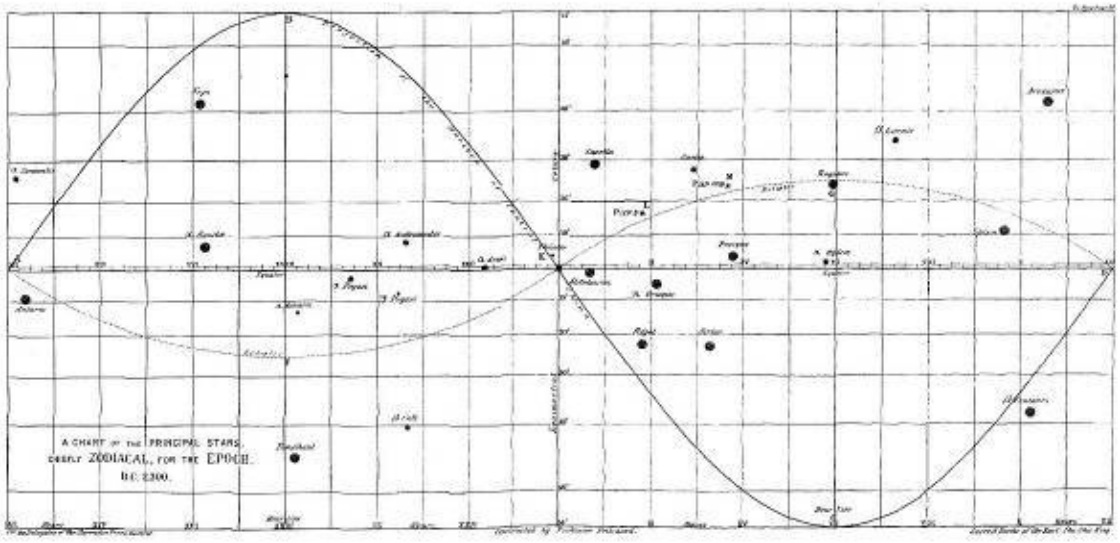
Thirdly, to find what constellation is culminating at sunset at the Winter Solstice, the cardboard horizon is to be moved, as before, until the Sun at F falls upon it, when the constellations Aries and Taurus with the Pleiades will be seen near to their culmination. This is a third correspondence with the indications of the astronomical sovereign.

Lastly, at sunset of the Autumnal Equinox the movable horizon is to be shifted to the left until the point A falls upon it, where it will be seen in this position that the stars in Aquarius are culminating at the time. It is scarcely possible that all these indications of the positions of the stars at these several times of the year could be simultaneously correct at any other epoch than somewhere about bc 2300 or a very small number of centuries before or after.

The reader may easily make for himself many other interesting applications of the chart. A general notion of the effects of precession on the positions of the stars may be seen at once by observing the three positions of the Pleiades, at the three epochs bc 2300, ad 1, and ad 1878, marked in the chart by the letters K, L, M; and as the approximate effect of precession is to cause all stars to move parallel to the Ecliptic and through the same arc, if the reader will imagine every star to be shifted parallel to the Ecliptic through spaces equal respectively to K L, L M, he will get the aspect of the heavens at the epochs ad 1 and ad 1878.

The following table has been calculated for the apparent positions of the principal stars in the years B.C. 2300, B.C. 1500, A.D. 1, and A.D. 1000; except in one instance it will be found to confirm a similar calculation made by Biot for the earliest of these dates.

Name of Star.	For the year B.C. 2300.					For the year B.C. 1500.					For the year A.D. 1.					For the year A.D. 1000.					For the year A.D. 1872.				
	R.A.			N.P.D		R.A.			N.P.D		R.A.			N.P.D		R.A.			N.P.D		R.A.			N.P.D	
	h.	m.	s.	°	′	h.	m.	s.	°	′	h.	m.	s.	°	′	h.	m.	s.	°	′	h.	m.	s.	°	′
α Andromedæ	20	33	18	82	1.7	21	13	18	79	1.3	22	27	33	71	49.4	23	18	4	66	28.4	0	2	5	61	35.0
γ Pegasi	20	28	50	96	1.1	21	12	0	92	58.9	22	30	26	85	45.9	23	22	23	80	23.8	0	6	57	75	29.7
β Ceti	20	40	23	129	55.3	21	32	5	126	40.1	22	59	27	119	2.8	23	53	7	113	33.4	0	37	28	108	39.4
α Arietis	22	18	8	89	27.4	22	59	59	85	16.6	0	18	20	76	57.2	1	12	25	71	36.3	2	0	18	67	6.9
η Tauri	23	49	0	86	8.3	0	31	15	81	42.1	1	52	20	73	52.4	2	49	7	69	31.6	3	40	14	66	16.4
Aldebaran	0	40	10	90	54.6	1	22	25	86	38.2	2	43	20	79	37.0	3	39	17	76	7.5	4	28	55	73	44.3
Capella	0	43	7	60	13.1	1	22	14	55	56.4	2	55	15	49	3.0	4	4	9	45	54.0	5	7	41	44	7.7
Rigel	1	47	31	111	43.8	2	26	12	107	58.3	3	38	7	102	21.2	4	26	41	99	52.2	5	8	40	98	20.7
α Orionis	2	5	7	93	37.4	2	46	56	90	4.8	4	6	40	85	9.1	5	1	10	83	22.1	5	48	34	82	37.1
Sirius	3	16	27	112	9.0	4	2	2	108	57.4	5	14	27	106	24.3	6	0	31	106	6.5	6	39	46	106	33.0
Castor	2	54	18	62	4.9	3	44	10	59	14.8	5	22	33	56	27.0	6	29	36	56	35.9	7	26	49	57	50.7
Procyon	3	44	27	85	4.8	4	28	20	83	50.0	5	50	36	82	18.3	6	45	52	82	59.1	7	32	55	84	27.8
α Hydræ	5	45	32	88	32.7	6	28	6	88	43.5	7	46	41	91	25.9	8	38	14	94	39.4	9	21	35	98	7.8
Regulus	5	55	10	65	40.6	6	45	15	66	6.8	8	16	11	69	36.6	9	14	2	74	25.8	10	1	52	77	26.2
β Leonis	7	39	12	55	54.2	8	31	25	58	6.5	10	1	9	64	43.8	10	56	54	69	54.5	11	42	50	74	44.8
Spica	9	37	49	78	15.6	10	37	29	82	7.8	11	40	35	90	15.5	12	33	13	95	45.2	13	18	46	100	31.4
β Centauri	10	16	8	127	25.2	10	46	42	131	31.7	12	1	16	139	48.1	12	59	23	145	11.8	13	55	14	149	47.0
Arcturus	10	36	18	47	58.1	11	22	12	52	16.1	12	39	47	60	40.3	13	28	52	65	48.7	14	10	6	70	10.9
α Serpentis	12	10	58	63	47.2	12	51	58	68	11.0	14	6	6	75	46.5	14	55	30	79	58.8	15	38	16	83	11.4
Antares	12	24	0	98	16.5	13	6	50	102	37.4	14	30	11	109	53.9	15	29	8	113	36.6	16	21	56	116	9.6
α Lyræ	16	8	29	48	3.6	16	36	28	49	51.2	17	28	24	51	38.0	18	3	18	51	43.1	18	32	48	51	19.7
α Aquilæ	16	17	0	82	12.2	16	57	6	83	44.0	18	12	14	84	21.1	19	2	19	83	12.7	19	44	50	81	27.2
α Aquarii	18	19	16	103	8.6	18	55	26	102	28.3	20	19	41	98	45.1	21	14	2	94	53.9	21	59	31	90	54.7
Fomalhaut	18	16	30	134	54.0	19	15	43	133	57.8	20	58	57	129	17.4	22	1	5	124	46.9	22	50	34	120	16.1
α Pegasi	19	24	1	92	34.4	20	6	35	90	33.5	21	24	14	84	49.4	22	15	19	80	2.6	22	58	41	75	27.0



PART I. THE BOOK OF THANG.

The Canon of Yâo.

Shû King, the name of the whole work, has been sufficiently explained in the Introduction. The name of this Part, the first of the five into which the whole is divided, is the Book of Thang, Thang being taken as the dynastic designation of Yâo, who before his elevation to the throne had been marquis of the small state of Thang, the name of which is supposed to be still retained in Thang, one of the districts of the department Pâo-ting, in Kih-lî. It is said that after his elevation he established his capital in Phing-yang, lat. 36° 06′, long. 111° 33′, in Shan-hsî. But all this is very uncertain. See on Part III, Book iii, ch. 2. The one Book, forming this Part, is called the Canon of Yâo. The character which we translate 'Canon' means a document of the most exalted nature, the contents of which are entitled to the greatest regard. The name is given expressly only to one other Book in the Shû. The Canons are the first of the six classes of documents which the Shû contains.

Yâo is the subject of the Book: — In ch. 1, in his personal character and the general results of his government; in ch. 2, in his special care for the regulation of the calendar and the labours of agriculture; in ch. 3, in his anxiety to find one who could cope with the ravages of a terrible inundation, and take his place on the throne. The third chapter introduces to our notice Shun, the successor of Yâo.

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Tî Yâo was styled Fang-hsün. He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful, — naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of (all) complaisance. The bright (influence of these qualities) was felt through the four quarters (of the land), and reached to (heaven) above and (earth) beneath.

He made the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of (all in) the nine classes of his kindred, who (thus) became harmonious. He (also) regulated and polished the people (of his domain), who all became brightly intelligent. (Finally), he united and harmonized the myriad states; and so the black-haired people were transformed. The result was (universal) concord.

He commanded the Hsîs and Hos, in reverent accordance with (their observation of) the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate (the movements and appearances of) the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces, and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to be observed by the people.

He separately commanded the second brother Hsî to reside at Yü-î, in what was called the Bright Valley, and (there) respectfully to receive as a guest the

rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labours of the spring. ‘The day,’ (said he), ‘is of the medium length, and the star is in Niâo; — you may thus exactly determine mid-spring. The people are dispersed (in the fields), and birds and beasts breed and copulate.’

He further commanded the third brother Hsî to reside at Nan-kiâo, (in what was called the Brilliant Capital), to adjust and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully to observe the exact limit (of the shadow). ‘The day,’ (said he), ‘is at its longest, and the star is in Hwo; — you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats.’

He separately commanded the second brother Ho to reside at the west, in what was called the Dark Valley, and (there) respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labours of the autumn. ‘The night,’ (said he), ‘is of the medium length, and the star is in Hsü; — you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people feel at ease, and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition.’

He further commanded the third brother Ho to reside in the northern region, in what was called the Sombre Capital, and (there) to adjust and examine the changes of the winter. ‘The day,’ (said he), ‘is at its shortest, and the star is in Mâo; — you may thus exactly determine mid-winter. The people keep in their houses, and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick.’

The Tî said, ‘Ah! you, Hsîs and Hos, a round year consists of three hundred, sixty, and six days. Do you, by means of the intercalary month, fix the four seasons, and complete (the period of) the year. (Thereafter), the various officers being regulated in accordance with this, all the works (of the year) will be fully performed.’

The Tî said, ‘Who will search out (for me) a man according to the times, whom I can raise and employ?’ Fang-khî said, ‘(Your) heir-son Kû is highly intelligent.’ The Tî said, ‘Alas! he is insincere and quarrelsome: — can he do?’

The Tî said, ‘Who will search out (for me) a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?’ Hwan-tâu said, ‘Oh! the merits of the Minister of Works have just been displayed on a wide scale.’ The Tî said, ‘Alas! when all is quiet, he talks; but when employed, his actions turn out differently. He is respectful (only) in appearance. See! the floods assail the heavens!’

The Tî said, ‘Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the hills and overtop the great heights, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the lower people groan and murmur! Is there a capable man to whom I can assign the correction (of this calamity)?’ All (in the court) said, ‘Ah! is there not

Khwăn?' The Tî said, 'Alas! how perverse is he! He is disobedient to orders, and tries to injure his peers.' (The President of) the Mountains said, 'Well but — . Try if he can (accomplish the work).' (Khwăn) was employed accordingly. The Tî said (to him), 'Go; and be reverent!' For nine years he laboured, but the work was unaccomplished.

The Tî said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years. You can carry out my commands; — I will resign my place to you.' The Chief said, 'I have not the virtue; — I should disgrace your place.' (The Tî) said, 'Show me some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean.' All (then) said to the Tî, 'There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yü.' The Tî said, 'Yes, I have heard of him. What have you to say about him?' The Chief said, 'He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his (step-)mother was insincere; his (half-) brother Hsiang was arrogant. He has been able, (however), by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they (no longer) proceed to great wickedness.' The Tî said, 'I will try him; I will wive him, and thereby see his behaviour with my two daughters.' (Accordingly) he arranged and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Kwei, to be wives in (the family of) Yü. The Tî said to them, 'Be reverent!'

PART II. THE BOOKS OF YÜ.

Book I. The Canon of Shun.

The Books of Yü is the name of this Part of the Shû, Yü being the dynastic designation of Shun, as Thang was that of Yâo. It does not appear so clearly, however, how it came to be so. Yü must be the name of a state, and is commonly identified with the present district of An-yî, in Kieh Kâu, Shan-hsî. Some think that Yâo, after marrying his two daughters to Shun, appointed him lord of this state; but in the first mention of him to Yâo in the last Book, he is called Shun of Yü. It is generally said that Shun's ancestors had been lords of the principality of Yü up to the time of his father, who lost his patrimony and was reduced to the rank of a private man. But after what has been said, in the Introduction, on the Books in the first two Parts of the Shû, it will not be thought surprising that much in the accounts about Yâo and Shun should be open to suspicion. According to Mencius, IV, Part ii, ch. 1, Shun was from the country of the wild tribes on the east. Sze-mâ Khien makes him to have been descended from Hwang-Tî, in which case he and his wives, the daughters of Yâo, would have had the same ancestor. Nothing more injurious to the fame of Yâo and Shun, according to Chinese notions of propriety, could be alleged against them.

Shun is the subject of this Canon, as Yâo was of the former. As it now stands, we may divide it into six chapters: — the first, describing Shun's virtues and gradual advancement; the second, Yâo's satisfaction with his administration of affairs, and associating of Shun with himself on the throne; the third, the acts of Shun in that position; the fourth, the demise of Yâo, and Shun's accession as sole monarch; the fifth, his choice of ministers and complete organization of his government; and the sixth, his death.

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Tî Shun was styled Khung-hwâ. His character was entirely conformed to (that of) the (former) Tî; he was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and courteous, and truly sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to office.

(Shun) carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be (universally) observed. Being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of every (official) department were arranged in their proper seasons. (Being charged) to receive (the princes) from the four quarters of the land, they were all docilely submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, notwithstanding the tempests of wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray.

The Tî said, ‘Come, you Shun. I have consulted you on (all) affairs, and examined your words, and found that they can be carried into practice; — (now) for three years. Do you ascend the seat of the Tî.’ Shun wished to decline in favour of some one more virtuous, and not to consent to be (Yâo’s) successor. On the first day of the first month, (however), he received (Yâo’s) retirement (from his duties) in the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor.*

He examined the pearl-adorned turning sphere, with its transverse tube of jade, and reduced to a harmonious system (the movements of) the Seven Directors.

Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honoured Ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits.*

He called in (all) the five jade-symbols of rank; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to (the President of) the Four Mountains, and all the Pastors, (finally) returning their symbols to the various princes.

In the second month of the year he made a tour of inspection eastwards, as far as Thâi-ʒung, where he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers.* Thereafter he gave audience to the princes of the east. He set in accord their seasons and months, and regulated the days; he made uniform the standard-tubes, with the measures of length and of capacity, and the steel-yards; he regulated the five (classes of) ceremonies, with (the various) articles of introduction, — the five symbols of jade, the three kinds of silk, the two living (animals) and the one dead one. As to the five instruments of rank, when all was over, he returned them. In the fifth month he made a similar tour southwards, as far as the mountain of the south, where he observed the same ceremonies as at Thâi. In the eighth month he made a tour westwards, as far as the mountain of the west, where he did as before. In the eleventh month he made a tour northwards, as far as the mountain of the north, where he observed the same ceremonies as in the west. He (then) returned (to the capital), went to (the temple of) the Cultivated Ancestor, and sacrificed a single bull.*

In five years there was one tour of inspection, and there were four appearances of the princes at court. They gave a report (of their government) in words, which was clearly tested by their works. They received chariots and robes according to their merits.

He instituted the division (of the land) into twelve provinces, raising altars upon twelve hills in them.* He (also) deepened the rivers.

He exhibited (to the people) the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five (great) inflictions; with the whip to be employed in the

magistrates' courts, the stick to be employed in schools, and money to be received for redeemable offences. Inadvertent offences and those which could be ascribed to misfortune were to be pardoned, but those who transgressed presumptuously and repeatedly were to be punished with death. 'Let me be reverent! Let me be reverent!' (he said to himself.) 'Let compassion rule in punishment!'

He banished the Minister of Works to Yû island; confined Hwan-tâu on mount Khung; drove (the chief of) San-miâo (and his people) into San-wei, and kept them there; and held Khwăn a prisoner till death on mount Yü. These four criminals being thus dealt with, all under heaven acknowledged the justice (of Shun's administration).

After twenty-eight years the Tî deceased, when the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. Within the four seas all the eight kinds of instruments of music were stopped and hushed. On the first day of the first month (of the) next year, Shun went to (the temple of) the Accomplished Ancestor.*

He deliberated with (the President of) the Four Mountains how to throw open the doors (of communication between himself and the) four (quarters of the land), and how he could see with the eyes, and hear with the ears of all.

He consulted with the twelve Pastors, and said to them, 'The food! — it depends on observing the seasons. Be kind to the distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honour to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful; — so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission.'

Shun said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, is there any one who can with vigorous service attend to all the affairs of the Tî, whom I may appoint to be General Regulator, to assist me in (all) affairs, managing each department according to its nature?' All (in the court) replied, 'There is Po-yü, the Minister of Works.' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Yü, you have regulated the water and the land. In this (new office) exert yourself.' Yü did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of the Minister of Agriculture, or Hsieh, or Kâo-yâo. The Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties).'

The Tî said, 'Khî, the black-haired people are (still) suffering from famine. Do you, O prince, as Minister of Agriculture, (continue to) sow (for them) the various kinds of grain.'

The Tî said, 'Hsieh, the people are (still) wanting in affection for one another, and do not docilely observe the five orders of relationship. It is yours, as the

Minister of Instruction, reverently, to set forth the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness.'

The Tî said, 'Kâo-yâo, the barbarous tribes trouble our great land. There are (also) robbers, murderers, insurgents, and traitors. It is yours, as the Minister of Crime, to use the five punishments to deal with their offences. For the infliction of these there are the three appointed places. There are the five cases in which banishment in the appropriate places is to be resorted to, to which places, though five, three localities are assigned. Perform your duties with intelligence, and you will secure a sincere (submission).'

The Tî said, 'Who can superintend my works, as they severally require?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Zui?' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Zui, you must be Minister of Works.' Zui did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Shû, Khiang, or Po-yü. The Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Effect a harmony (in all the departments).'

The Tî said, 'Who can superintend, as the nature of the charge requires, the grass and trees, with the birds and beasts on my hills and in my marshes?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Yî?' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Yî, do you be my Forester.' Yî did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Kû, Hû, Hsiung, or Pî. The Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). You must manage them harmoniously.'

The Tî said, 'Ho! (President of the) Four Mountains, is there any one able to direct my three (religious) ceremonies?' All (in the court) answered, 'Is there not Po-î?' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Po, you must be the Arranger in the Ancestral Temple. Morning and night be reverent. Be upright, be pure.' Po did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Khwei or Lung. The Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Be reverential!'*

The Tî said, 'Khwei, I appoint you to be Director of Music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward shall yet be mild; the gentle, dignified; the strong, not tyrannical; and the impetuous, not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression; the notes accompany that utterance, and they are harmonized themselves by the standard-tubes. (In this way) the eight different kinds of musical instruments can be adjusted so that one shall not take from or interfere with another; and spirits and men are brought into harmony.' Khwei said, 'I smite the (sounding-) stone, I gently strike it, and the various animals lead on one another to dance.'

The Tî said, 'Lung, I abominate slanderous speakers and destroyers of the (right) ways, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you to be the Minister of Communication. Early and late give forth my orders and report to me, seeing that everything is true.'

The Tî said, ‘Ho! you, twenty and two men, be reverent; so shall you be helpful to the business (entrusted to me by) Heaven.’*

Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving advanced. (By this arrangement) the duties of all the departments were fully discharged; the (people of) San-miâo (also) were discriminated and separated.

In the thirtieth year of his age, Shun was called to employment. Thirty years he was on the throne (with Yâo). Fifty years afterwards he went on high and died.*

Book II. The Counsels of the Great Yü.

Of the six classes of documents in the Shû, ‘Counsels’ are the second, containing the wise remarks and suggestions of high officers on the subject of government.

This Book may be divided into three chapters: — the first, containing counsels of Yü and Yî on principles and methods of government; the second, occupied with Shun’s resignation of the administration to Yü, and containing also many sage observations and maxims; and the third, describing Yü’s operations against the people of Miâo, and counsels addressed to him by Yî. The style differs from that of the Canons; being more sententious, and falling occasionally into rhyme.

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Great Yü was styled Wăn-ming. Having arranged and divided (the land), all to the four seas, in reverent response to the Tî, he said, ‘If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignship, and the minister the difficulty of his ministry, the government will be well ordered, and the black-haired people will sedulously seek to be virtuous.’

The Tî said, ‘Yes; let this really be the case, and good words will nowhere lie hidden; no men of virtue and talents will be left neglected, away from court, and the myriad states will all enjoy repose. (But) to obtain the views of all; to give up one’s opinion and follow that of others; to keep from oppressing the helpless, and not to neglect the straitened and poor; — it was only the (former) Tî who could attain to this.’

Yî said, ‘Oh! your virtue, O Tî, is vast and incessant. It is sagely, spirit-like, awe-inspiring, and adorned with all accomplishments. Great Heaven regarded you with its favour, and bestowed on you its appointment. Suddenly you possessed all within the four seas, and became ruler of all under heaven.’*

Yü said, ‘Accordance with the right leads to good fortune; following what is opposed to it, to bad; — the shadow and the echo.’ Yî said, ‘Alas! be cautious! Admonish yourself to caution, when there seems to be no occasion for anxiety. Do not fail to observe the laws and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in idleness. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not carry out plans, of (the wisdom of) which you have doubts. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right, to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people’s (wishes), to follow your own desires. (Attend to these things) without idleness or omission, and the barbarous tribes all around will come and acknowledge your sovereignty.’

Yü said, ‘Oh! think (of these things), O Tî. The virtue (of the ruler) is seen in (his) good government, and that government in the nourishing of the people. There are water, fire, metal, wood, the earth, and grain, — these must be duly regulated; there are the rectification of (the people’s) virtue, (the tools and other things) that supply the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation, — these must be harmoniously attended to. When the nine services (thus indicated) have been orderly accomplished, that accomplishment will be hailed by (the people’s) songs. Caution them with gentle (words), correct them with the majesty (of law), stimulate them with the songs on those nine subjects, — in order that (your success) may not suffer diminution.’ The Tî said, ‘The earth has been reduced to order, and the (influences of) heaven produce their complete effect; those six magazines and three departments of (governmental) action are all truly regulated, and may be depended on for a myriad generations: — this is your merit.’

The Tî said, ‘Come, you Yü. I have occupied my place for thirty and three years. I am between ninety and a hundred years old, and the laborious duties weary me. Do you, eschewing all indolence, take the leading of my people.’ Yü replied, ‘My virtue is not equal (to the position), and the people will not repose in me. (But there is) Kâo-yâo with vigorous activity sowing abroad his virtue, which has descended on the black-haired people, till they cherish him in their hearts. O Tî, think of him! When I think of him, (my mind) rests on him (as the man fit for this place); when I would put him out of my thoughts, (my mind still) rests on him; when I name and speak of him, (my mind) rests on him (for this); the sincere outgoing of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O Tî, think of his merits.’

The Tî said, ‘Kâo-yâo, that of these my ministers and all (my people) hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of the government is owing to your being Minister of Crime, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments, thereby assisting (the inculcation of) the five cardinal duties, with a view to the perfection of my government, and that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with (the path of) the Mean. (Continue to) be strenuous.’ Kâo-yâo replied, ‘Your virtue, O Tî, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a kindly ease; you preside over the multitudes with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to (the criminal’s) heirs, while rewards reach to (succeeding) generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great, and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put an innocent person to death, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the

minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers.' The Tî said, 'That I am able to follow and obtain what I desire in my government, the people responding everywhere as if moved by the wind, — this is your excellence.'

The Tî said, 'Come Yü. The inundating waters filled me with dread, when you accomplished truly (all that you had represented), and completed your service; — thus showing your superiority to other men. Full of toilsome earnestness in the service of the country, and sparing in your expenditure on your family, and this without being full of yourself and elated, — you (again) show your superiority to other men. You are without any prideful assumption, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of ability; you make no boasting, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of merit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend (the throne) of the great sovereign.* The mind of man is restless, prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean. Do not listen to unsubstantiated words; do not follow plans about which you have not sought counsel. Of all who are to be loved, is not the ruler the chief? Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief? If the multitude were without their sovereign Head, whom should they sustain aloft? If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him. Be reverential! Carefully maintain the throne which you are to occupy, cultivating (the virtues) that are to be desired in you. If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your Heaven-conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end. It is the mouth which sends forth what is good, and raises up war. I will not alter my words.'

Yü said, 'Submit the meritorious ministers one by one to the trial of divination, and let the favouring indication be followed.' The Tî replied, '(According to the rules for) the regulation of divination, one should first make up his mind, and afterwards refer (his judgment) to the great tortoise-shell. My mind (in this matter) was determined in the first place; I consulted and deliberated with all (my ministers and people), and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, and the tortoise-shell and divining stalks concurred. Divination, when fortunate, should not be repeated.'* Yü did obeisance with his head to the ground, and firmly declined (the place). The Tî said, 'You must not do so. It is you who can suitably (occupy my place).' On the first morning of the first month, (Yü) received the appointment in the temple (dedicated by Shun) to the spirits of his ancestors, and took the leading of all the officers, as had been done by the Tî at the commencement (of his government).*

The Tî said, ‘Alas! O Yü, there is only the lord of Miâo who refuses obedience; do you go and correct him.’ Yü on this assembled all the princes, and made a speech to the host, saying, ‘Ye multitudes here arrayed, listen all of you to my orders. Stupid is this lord of Miâo, ignorant, erring, and disrespectful. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys (all the obligations of) virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill (all) the offices. The people reject him and will not protect him. Heaven is sending down calamities upon him.* I therefore, along with you, my multitude of gallant men, bear the instructions (of the Tî) to punish his crimes. Do you proceed with united heart and strength, so shall our enterprize be crowned with success.’

At the end of three decades, the people of Miâo continued rebellious against the commands (issued to them), when Yî came to the help of Yü, saying, ‘It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase; — this is the way of Heaven.* In the early time of the Tî, when he was living by mount Lî, he went into the fields, and daily cried with tears to compassionate Heaven, and to his parents, taking to himself all guilt, and charging himself with (their) wickedness.* (At the same time) with respectful service he appeared before Kû-sâu, looking grave and awe-struck, till Kû also became transformed by his example. Entire sincerity moves spiritual beings, — how much more will it move this lord of Miâo!’* Yü did homage to the excellent words, and said, ‘Yes.’ (Thereupon) he led back his army, having drawn off the troops. The Tî set about diffusing on a grand scale the virtuous influences of peace; — with shields and feathers they danced between the two staircases (in his courtyard). In seventy days, the lord of Miâo came (and made his submission).

Book III. The Counsels of Kâo-yâo.

Kâo-yâo was Minister of Crime to Shun, and is still celebrated in China as the model for all administrators of justice. There are few or no reliable details of his history. Sze-mâ Khien says that Yü, on his accession to the throne, made Kâo-yâo his chief minister, with the view of his ultimately succeeding him, but that the design was frustrated by Kâo-yâo's death. But if there had been such a tradition in the time of Mencius, he would probably have mentioned it, when defending Yü from the charge of being inferior to Yâo and Shun, who resigned the throne to the worthiest, whereas he transmitted it to his son. Kâo-yâo's surname was Yen, but an end was made of his representatives, when the principality belonging to them was extinguished in the dynasty of Kâu by the ambitious state of Khû. There is still a family in China with the surname Kâo, claiming to be descended from this ancient worthy; but Kâo and Yâo are to be taken together in the Shû as his name.

The 'Counsels' in the Book do not appear as addressed directly to Shun, but are found in a conversation between Yü and Kâo-yâo, the latter being the chief speaker. The whole may be divided into four chapters: — the first, enunciating the principle that in government the great thing is for the ruler to pursue the course of his virtue, which will be seen in his knowledge and choice of men for office, thereby securing the repose of the people; the second, illustrating how men may be known; the third, treating of the repose of the people; in the fourth, the speaker asserts the reasonableness of his sentiments, and humbly expresses his own desire to be helpful to the sovereign.

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) Kâo-yâo said, 'If (the sovereign) sincerely pursues the course of his virtue, the counsels (offered to him) will be intelligent, and the aids (of admonition that he receives) will be harmonious.' Yü said, 'Yes, but explain yourself.' Kâo-yâo said, 'Oh! let him be careful about his personal cultivation, with thoughts that are far-reaching, and thus he will produce a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine branches of his kindred. All the intelligent (also) will exert themselves in his service; and in this way from what is near he will reach to what is distant.' Yü did homage to the excellent words, and said, 'Yes.' Kâo-yâo continued, 'Oh! it lies in knowing men, and giving repose to the people.' Yü said, 'Alas! to attain to both these things might well be a difficulty even to the Tî. When (the sovereign) knows men, he is wise, and can put every one into the office for which he is fit. When he gives repose to the people, his kindness is felt, and the black-haired race cherish him in their hearts. When he can be (thus) wise and

kind, what occasion will he have for anxiety about a Hwan-tâu? what to be removing a lord of Miâo? what to fear any one of fair words, insinuating appearance, and great artfulness?'

Kâo-yâo said, 'Oh! there are in all nine virtues to be discovered in conduct, and when we say that a man possesses (any) virtue, that is as much as to say he does such and such things.' Yü asked, 'What (are the nine virtues)?' Kâo-yâo replied, 'Affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverent caution; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness combined with gentleness; an easy negligence combined with discrimination; boldness combined with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness. (When these qualities are) displayed, and that continuously, have we not the good (officer)? When there is a daily display of three (of these) virtues, their possessor could early and late regulate and brighten the clan (of which he was made chief). When there is a daily severe and reverent cultivation of six of them, their possessor could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the state (with which he was invested). When (such men) are all received and advanced, the possessors of those nine virtues will be employed in (the public) service. The men of a thousand and men of a hundred will be in their offices; the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper times, observant of the five seasons (as the several elements predominate in them), — and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished. Let not (the Son of Heaven) set to the holders of states the example of indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, (remembering that) in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have his various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's; men must act for it!'*

'From Heaven are the (social) relationships with their several duties; we are charged with (the enforcement of) those five duties; — and lo! we have the five courses of honourable conduct. From Heaven are the (social) distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us come the observances of those five ceremonies; — and lo! they appear in regular practice. When (sovereign and ministers show) a common reverence and united respect for these, lo! the moral nature (of the people) is made harmonious. Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous; — are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty; — are there not the five punishments, to be severally used for that purpose? The business of government! — ought we not to be earnest in it? ought we not to be earnest in it?*

‘Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors as our people brightly approve and would awe; — such connexion is there between the upper and lower (worlds). How reverent ought the masters of territories to be!’*

Kâo-yâo said, ‘My words are in accordance with reason, and may be put in practice.’ Yü said, ‘Yes, your words may be put in practice, and crowned with success.’ Kâo-yâo added, ‘(As to that) I do not know, but I wish daily to be helpful. May (the government) be perfected!’

Book IV. The Yî and Kî.

Yî and Kî, the names of Shun's Forester and Minister of Agriculture, both of whom receive their appointments in Book i, occur near the commencement of this Book, and occasion is thence taken to give its title to the whole. But without good reason; for these worthies do not appear at all as interlocutors in it. Yü is the principal speaker; the Book belongs to the class of 'Counsels.'

To Yî there is, of course, assigned an ancient and illustrious descent; what is of more importance, is that the lords of Khin, who finally superseded the kings of Kâu, traced their lineage to him. Khî was the name of Kî, the character for the latter term meaning 'Millet,' and Khî was so styled from his labours in teaching the people to sow and reap, so that Kî became equivalent to 'Minister of Agriculture.'

The contents of the Book have been divided into three chapters. The first gives a conversation between Shun and Yü. Yü relates his own diligence and achievements as a model to Shun, and gives him various admonitions, while Shun insists on what his ministers should be, and wherein he wished them to help him. In the second chapter, Khwei, the Minister of Music, makes his appearance; it has no apparent connexion with the former. In the third, Shun and Kâo-yâo sing to each other on the mutual relation of the sovereign and his ministers.

The Tî said, 'Come Yü, you also must have excellent words (to bring before me).' Yü did obeisance, and said, 'Oh! what can I say, O Tî, (after Kâo-yâo)? I can (only) think of maintaining a daily assiduity.' Kâo-yâo said, 'Alas! will you describe it?' Yü replied, 'The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the hills and overtopped the great mounds, so that the people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I mounted my four conveyances, and all along the hills hewed down the trees, at the same time, along with Yî, showing the multitudes how to get flesh to eat. I (also) opened passages for the streams (throughout the) nine (provinces), and conducted them to the four seas. I deepened (moreover) the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, sowing (grain), at the same time, along with Kî, and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil, (in addition to) the flesh meat. I urged them (further) to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. (In this way) all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule.' Kâo-yâo said, 'Yes, we ought to model ourselves after your excellent words.'

Yü said, ‘Oh! carefully maintain, O Tî, the throne which you occupy.’ The Tî replied, ‘Yes;’ and Yü went on, ‘Find your repose in your (proper) resting-point. Attend to the springs of things; study stability; and let your assistants be the upright: — then shall your movements be grandly responded to, (as if the people only) waited for your will. Thus you will brightly receive (the favour of) God; — will not Heaven renew its appointment of you, and give you blessing?’*

The Tî said, ‘Alas! what are ministers? — are they not (my) associates? What are associates? — are they not (my) ministers?’ Yü replied, ‘Yes;’ and the Tî went on, ‘My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people; — you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence (of my government) through the four quarters; — you act as my agents. I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients, — the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragons, and the flowery fowl (= the pheasant), which are depicted (on the upper garment); the temple cups, the pondweed, the flames, the grains of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction, which are embroidered (on the lower garment), — (I wish to see all these) fully displayed in the five colours, so as to form the (ceremonial) robes; — it is yours to see them clearly (for me). I wish to hear the six pitch-tubes, the five notes (determined by them), and the eight kinds of musical instruments (regulated again by these), examining thereby the virtues and defects of government, according as (the odes that) go forth (from the court, set to music), and come in (from the people), are ordered by those five notes; — it is yours to hear them (for me). When I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me; — do not follow me to my face, and, when you have retired, have other remarks to make. Be reverent, ye associates, who are before and behind and on each side of me! As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are found not to be doing what is right, are there not — the target to exhibit (their true character), the scourge to make them recollect, and the book of remembrance? Do we not wish them to live along with us? There are also the masters (of music) to receive their compositions, (set them to music), and continually publish them (as corrected by themselves). If they become reformed they are to be received and employed; if they do not, let the terrors (of punishment) overtake them.’

Yü said, ‘So far good! But let your light shine, O Tî, all under heaven, even to every grassy corner of the sea-shore, and throughout the myriad regions the most worthy of the people will all (wish) to be your ministers. Then, O Tî, you may advance them to office. They will set forth, and you will receive, their reports; you will make proof of them according to their merits; you will confer chariots and robes according to their services. Who will then dare not to cultivate a

humble virtue? who will dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O Tî, do not act thus, all (your ministers) together will daily proceed to a meritless character.'

'Be not haughty like Kû of Tan, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppressive course. Day and night without ceasing he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the prosperity of his house to an end. I took warning from his course. When I married in Thû-shan, (I remained with my wife only the days) hsin, zăn, kwei, and kiâ. When (my son) Khî was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land. (Then) I assisted in completing the five Tenures, extending over 5000 lî; (in appointing) in the provinces twelve Tutors, and in establishing in the regions beyond, reaching to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path, and are meritorious; but there are still (the people of) Miâo, who obstinately refuse to render their service. Think of this, O Tî.' The Tî said, 'That my virtue is followed is the result of your meritorious services so orderly displayed. And now Kâo-yâo, entering respectfully into your arrangements, is on every hand displaying the (various) punishments, as represented, with entire intelligence.'

Khwei said, 'When the sounding-stone is tapped or struck with force, and the lutes are strongly swept or gently touched, to accompany the singing, the progenitors (of the Tî) come (to the service),* the guest of Yü is in his place, and all the princes show their virtue in giving place to one another. (In the court) below (the hall) there are the flutes and hand-drums, which join in at the sound of the rattle, and cease at that of the stopper, when the organ and bells take their place. (This makes) birds and beasts fall moving. When the nine parts of the service, as arranged by the Tî, have all been performed, the male and female phœnix come with their measured gambolings (into the court).'

Khwei said, 'Oh! when I smite the (sounding-) stone, or gently strike it, the various animals lead on one another to dance, and all the chiefs of the official departments become truly harmonious.'

The Tî on this made a song, saying, 'We must deal cautiously with the favouring appointment of Heaven, at every moment and in the smallest particular.'* He then sang, 'When the members (work) joyfully,

The head rises (grandly);

And the duties of all the offices are fully discharged!'

Kâo-yâo did obeisance with his head to his hands and then to the ground, and with a loud and rapid voice said, 'Think (O Tî). It is yours to lead on and

originate things. Pay careful attention to your laws (in doing so). Be reverential! and often examine what has been accomplished (by your officers). Be reverential!' With this he continued the song, 'When the head is intelligent,

The members are good;
And all affairs will be happily performed!'

Again he continued the song,

'When the head is vexatious,
The members are idle;
And all affairs will go to ruin!'

The Tî said, 'Yes, go and be reverently (attentive to your duties).'

PART III. THE BOOKS OF HSIÂ.

Book I. The Tribute of Yü.

Hsiâ is the dynastic designation under which Yü and his descendants held the throne for 439 years (bc 2205-1767). On the conclusion of his labours, according to what was the universally accepted tradition in the Kâu period, Yü was appointed by Yâo to be earl of Hsiâ, a small principality in Ho-nan, identified with the present Yü-kâu, department Khâi-făng, which thus still retains the name of Yü.

It has been repeatedly said in the Introduction that the Tribute of Yü describes what was done before the death of Yâo. The reason why it got its place as the first of the Books of Hsiâ was, no doubt, because the merit set forth in it was the ground of Yü's advancement to the throne.

Altogether the Books of Hsiâ are properly no more than three; — a fact which shows that in so early a period the duty of the recorder was little exercised, or that the destruction of its monuments in the course of time was nearly complete. We may assume that it was in consequence of both of these things that, when the collection of the Shû was made, only three documents of Hsiâ were found, to go into it.

The word 'Tribute' in the name of this first Book is not to be understood only in the sense of a contribution paid by one nation to another in acknowledgment of subjection, but also as the contribution of revenue paid by subjects to their proper ruler. The term, moreover, gives a very inadequate idea of the contents, which describe generally the labours of Yü in remedying the disasters occasioned by the inundation with which he had to cope, and how he then defined the boundaries of the different provinces, made other important territorial divisions, and determined the quality of the soil in each province, and the proportion of revenue it should pay, with other particulars. The Book, if we could fully credit it, would be a sort of domesday book of China in the twenty-third century bc, in the compass of a few pages. In the classification of the Books of the Shû, according to their subject-matter, this is rightly considered as a Canon. The first section of it is divided into one short introductory chapter, and nine others, each containing the account of one province.

Section 1.

Yü divided the land. Following the course of the hills, he cut down the trees. He determined the highest hills and largest rivers (in the several regions).

With respect to Kî Kâu, he did his work at Hû-khâu, and took effective measures at (the mountains) Liang and Khî. Having repaired the works on Thâi-yüan, he proceeded on to the south of (mount) Yo. He was successful with his labours on Tan-hwâi, and went on to the cross-flowing stream of Kang.

The soil of this province was whitish and mellow. Its contribution of revenue was the highest of the highest class, with some proportion of the second. Its fields were the average of the middle class.

The (waters of the) Hăng and Wei were brought to their proper channels, and Tâ-lü was made capable of cultivation.

The wild people of the islands (brought) dresses of skins (i.e. fur dresses); keeping close on the right to the rocks of Kieh, they entered the Ho.

Between the Kî and the Ho was Yen Kâu.

The nine branches of the Ho were made to keep their proper channels. Lêi-hsiâ was made a marsh, in which (the waters of) the Yung and the Ʒü were united. The mulberry grounds were made fit for silkworms, and then (the people) came down from the heights, and occupied the grounds (below).

The soil of this province was blackish and rich; the grass in it was luxuriant, and the trees grew high. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its contribution of revenue was fixed at what would just be deemed the correct amount; but it was not required from it, as from the other provinces, till after it had been cultivated for thirteen years. Its articles of tribute were varnish and silk, and, in baskets, woven ornamental fabrics.

They floated along the Kî and Thâ, and so reached the Ho.

The sea and (mount) Tâi were the boundaries of Khing Kâu.

(The territory of) Yü-î was defined; and the Wei-and Ʒze were made to keep their (old) channels.

Its soil was whitish and rich. Along the shore of the sea were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second. Its articles of tribute were salt, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, productions of the sea of various kinds; with silk, hemp, lead, pine trees, and strange stones, from the valleys of Tâi. The wild people of Lâi were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry tree.

They floated along the Wăn, and so reached the Kî.

The sea, mount Tâi, and the Hwâi were (the boundaries of) Hsü Kâu.

The Hwâi and the Î (rivers) were regulated. The (hills) Măng and Yü were made fit for cultivation. (The waters of) Tâ-yeh were confined (so as to form a

marsh); and (the tract of) Tung-yüan was successfully brought under management.

The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. Its grass and trees grew more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the second. Its articles of tribute were — earth of five different colours, variegated pheasants from the valleys of mount Yü, the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yî, and the sounding-stones that (seemed to) float on the (banks of the) Sze. The wild tribes about the Hwâi brought oyster-pearls and fish, and their baskets full of deep azure and other silken fabrics, chequered and pure white.

They floated along the Hwâi and the Sze, and so reached the Ho.

The Hwâi and the sea formed (the boundaries of) Yang Kâu.

The (lake of) Phăng-lî was confined to its proper limits, and the sun-birds (= the wild geese) had places to settle on. The three Kiang were led to enter the sea, and it became possible to still the marsh of Kăn. The bamboos, small and large, then spread about; the grass grew thin and long, and the trees rose high; the soil was miry.

The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above. Its articles of tribute were gold, silver, and copper; yâo and khwăn stones; bamboos, small and large; (elephants') teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass, with silks woven in shell-patterns in their baskets. Their bundles contained small oranges and pummeloes, — rendered when specially required.

They followed the course of the Kiang and the sea, and so reached the Hwâi and the Sze.

(Mount) King and the south of (mount) Hăng formed (the boundaries of) King Kâu.

The Kiang and the Han pursued their (common) course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court. The nine Kiang were brought into complete order. The Tho and Khien (streams) were conducted by their proper channels. The land in (the marsh of) Yün (became visible), and (the marsh of) Măng was made capable of cultivation.

The soil of this province was miry. Its fields were the average of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, (elephants') teeth, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; khun trees, wood for bows, cedars, and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and cinnabar; and the khün and lû bamboos, with the hû tree, (all good for making arrows) — of which the Three

Regions were able to contribute the best specimens. The three-ribbed rush was sent in bundles, put into cases. The baskets were filled with silken fabrics, azure and deep purple, and with strings of pearls that were not quite round. From the (country of the) nine Kiang, the great tortoise was presented when specially required (and found).

They floated down the Kiang, the Tho, the Khien, and the Han, and crossed (the country) to the Lo, whence they reached the most southern part of the Ho.

The King (mountain) and the Ho were (the boundaries of) Yü Kâu.

The Î, the Lo, the Khan, and the Kien were conducted to the Ho. The (marsh of) Yung-po was confined within its proper limits. The (waters of that of) Ko were led to (the marsh of) Măng-kû.

The soil of this province was mellow; in the lower parts it was (in some places) rich, and (in others) dark and thin. Its fields were the highest of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the highest class, with a proportion of the very highest. Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and the bœhmerea. The baskets were full of chequered silks, and of fine floss silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered when required.

They floated along the Lo, and so reached the Ho.

The south of (mount) Hwâ and the Black-water were (the boundaries of) Liang Kâu.

The (hills) Min and Po were made capable of cultivation. The Tho and Khien streams were conducted by their proper channels. Sacrifices were offered to (the hills) Ʒhâi and Mâng on the regulation (of the country about them).* (The country of) the wild tribes about the Ho was successfully operated on.

The soil of this province was greenish and light. Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates immediately above and below. Its articles of tribute were — the best gold, iron, silver, steel, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and sounding-stones; with the skins of bears, foxes, and jackals, and (nets) woven of their hair.

From (the hill of) Hsî-khing they came by the course of the Hwan; floated along the Khien, and then crossed (the country) to the Mien; passed to the Wei, and (finally) ferried across the Ho.

The Black-water and western Ho were (the boundaries of) Yung Kâu.

The Weak-water was conducted westwards. The King was led to mingle its waters with those of the Wei. The Khî and the Khü were next led in a similar way (to the Wei), and the waters of the Fêng found the same receptacle.

(The mountains) King and Khî were sacrificed to.* (Those of) Kung-nan and Khun-wû (were also regulated), and (all the way) on to Niâo-shû. Successful measures could now be taken with the plains and swamps, even to (the marsh of) Kû-yeh. (The country of) San-wei was made habitable, and the (affairs of the) people of San-miâo were greatly arranged.

The soil of the province was yellow and mellow. Its fields were the highest of the highest class, and its contribution of revenue the lowest of the second. Its articles of tribute were the khiû jade and the lin, and (the stones called) lang-kan.

Past Kî-shih they floated on to Lung-măn on the western Ho. They then met on the north of the Wei (with the tribute-bearers from other quarters).

Hair-cloth and skins (were brought from) Khwănlun, Hsî-kih, and Khü-sâu; — the wild tribes of the west (all) coming to (submit to Yü's) arrangements.

Section 2.

The division of the Book into two sections is a convenient arrangement, but modern, and not always followed. The former section gives a view of Yü's labours in each particular province. This gives a general view of the mountain ranges of the country, and of the principal streams; going on to other labours, subsequently, as was seen in the Introduction, ascribed to Yü, — his conferring lands and surnames, and dividing the whole territory into five domains. The contents are divided into five chapters: — the first, describing the mountains; the second, describing the rivers; the third, containing a summary of all the labours of Yü thus far mentioned; the fourth, relating his other labours; and the fifth, celebrating Yü's fame, and the completion of his work.

(Yü) surveyed and described (the hills), beginning with Khien and Khî and proceeding to mount King; then, crossing the Ho, Hû-khâu, and Lêishâu, going on to Thâi-yo. (After these came) Tî-kû and Hsî-khăng, from which he went on to Wang-wû; (then there were) Thâi-hang and mount Hăng, from which he proceeded to the rocks of Kieh, where he reached the sea.

(South of the Ho, he surveyed) Hsî-khing, Kû-yü, and Niâo-shû, going on to Thâi-hwâ; (then) Hsiung-r, Wâi-fang, and Thung-pâi, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.

He surveyed and described Po-khung, going on to (the other) mount King; and Nêi-fang, from which he went on to Tâ-pieh.

(He did the same with) the south of mount Min, and went on to mount Hăng. Then crossing the nine Kiang, he proceeded to the plain of Fû-khien.

He traced the Weak-water as far as the Ho-lî (mountains), from which its superfluous waters went away among the moving sands.

He traced the Black-water as far as San-wei, from which it (went away to) enter the southern sea.

He traced the Ho from Kî-shih as far as Lung-măn; and thence, southwards, to the north of (mount) Hwâ; eastward then to Tî-khû; eastward (again) to the ford of Măng; eastward (still) to the junction of the Lo; and then on to Tâ-pei. (From this the course was) northwards, past the Kiang-water, on to Tâ-lü; north from which the river was divided, and became the nine Ho, which united again, and formed the Meeting Ho, when they entered the sea.

From Po-khung he traced the Yang, which, flowing eastwards, became the Han. Farther east it became the water of Ʒhang-lang; and after passing the three Dykes, it went on to Tâ-pieh, southwards from which it entered the Kiang. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of Phăng-lî; and from that its eastern flow was the northern Kiang, as which it entered the sea.

From mount Min he traced the Kiang, which, branching off to the east, formed the Tho; eastward again, it reached the Lî, passed the nine Kiang, and went on to Tung-ling; then flowing east, and winding to the north, it joined (the Han) with its eddying movements. From that its eastern flow was the middle Kiang, as which it entered the sea.

He traced the Yen water, which, flowing eastward, became the Kî, and entered the Ho. (Thereafter) it flowed out, and became the Yung (marsh). Eastward, it issued forth on the north of Thâo-khiû, and flowed farther east to (the marsh of) Ko; then it went north-east, and united with the Wăn; thence it went north, and (finally) entered the sea on the east.

He traced the Hwâi from the hill of Thung-pâi. Flowing east, it united with the Sze and the Î, and (still) with an eastward course entered the sea.

He traced the Wei from (the hill) Niâo-shû-thung-hsüeh. Flowing eastward, it united with the Fêng, and eastwards again with the King. Farther east still, it passed the Khî and the Khü, and entered the Ho.

He traced the Lo from (the hill) Hsiung-r. Flowing to the north-east, it united with the Kien and the Khan, and eastwards still with the Î. Then on the north-east it entered the Ho.

(Thus), throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effected: — the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to;* the sources of the rivers were cleared; the marshes were well banked; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas.

The six magazines (of material wealth) were fully attended to; the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. (The fields) were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle Region were established.

He conferred lands and surnames. (He said), ‘Let me set the example of a reverent attention to my virtue, and none will act contrary to my conduct.’

Five hundred lî formed the Domain of the Sovereign. From the first hundred they brought as revenue the whole plant of the grain; from the second, the ears, with a portion of the stalk; from the third, the straw, but the people had to perform various services; from the fourth, the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned.

Five hundred lî (beyond) constituted the Domain of the Nobles. The first hundred lî was occupied by the cities and lands of the (sovereign’s) high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the barons; and the (other) three hundred, by the various other princes.

Five hundred lî (still beyond) formed the Peace-securing Domain. In the first three hundred, they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other two, they showed the energies of war and defence.

Five hundred lî (remoter still) formed the Domain of Restraint. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Î; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment.

Five hundred lî (the most remote) constituted the Wild Domain. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Man; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

On the east, reaching to the sea; on the west, extending to the moving sands; to the utmost limits of the north and south: — his fame and influence filled up (all within) the four seas. Yü presented the dark-coloured symbol of his rank, and announced the completion of his work.

Book II. The Speech at Kan.

With this Book there commence the documents of the Shû that may be regarded, as I have said in the Introduction, as contemporaneous with the events which they describe. It is the first of the ‘Speeches,’ which form one class of the documents of the classic.

The text does not say who the king mentioned in it was, but the prevalent tradition has always been that he was Khî, the son and successor of Yü. Its place between the Tribute of Yü and the next Book belonging to the reign of Thâi Khang, Khî’s son, corroborates this view.

Kan is taken as the name of a place in the southern border of the principality of Hû, with the lord of which Khî fought. The name of Hû itself still remains in the district so called of the department Hsî-an, in Shen-hsî.

The king, about to engage in battle with a rebellious vassal, assembles his generals and troops, and addresses them. He declares obscurely the grounds of the expedition which he had undertaken, and concludes by stimulating the soldiers to the display of courage and observance of order by promises of reward and threats of punishment.

There was a great battle at Kan. (Previous to it), the king called together the six nobles, (the leaders of his six hosts), and said, ‘Ah! all ye who are engaged in my six hosts, I have a solemn announcement to make to you.

‘The lord of Hû wildly wastes and despises the five elements (that regulate the seasons), and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end his appointment (to Hû); and I am now reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven.*

‘If you, (the archers) on the left, do not do your work on the left, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, (the spearmen) on the right, do not do your work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers, do not observe the rules for the management of your horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders, shall be rewarded before (the spirits of) my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders, shall be put to death before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will also put to death your children.’*

Book III. The Songs of the Five Sons.

This Book ranks in that class of the documents of the Shû which goes by the name of ‘Instructions.’ Though the form of it be poetical, the subject-matter is derived from the Lessons left by Yü for the guidance of his posterity.

Thâi Khang succeeded to his father in bc 2188, and his reign continues in chronology to 2160. His character is given here in the introductory chapter. Khiung, the principality of Î who took the field against him, is identified with the sub-department of Tê-Kâu, department Kî-nan, Shan-tung. There is a tradition that Î, at an early period of his life, was lord of a state in the present Ho-nan. This would make his movement against Thâi Khang, ‘south of the Ho,’ more easy for him. The name of Thâi Khang remains in the district so called of the department Khăn-kâu, Ho-nan. There, it is said, he died, having never been able to recross the Ho.

In his song the king’s first brother deplores how he had lost the affections of the people; the second speaks of his dissolute extravagance; the third mourns his loss of the throne; the fourth deplores his departure from the principles of Yü, and its disastrous consequences; and the fifth is a wail over the miserable condition of them all.

Thâi Khang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any self-restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Lo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. (On this) Î, the prince of Khiung, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted (his return) on (the south of) the Ho. The (king’s) five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Lo; and (when they heard of Î’s movement), all full of dissatisfaction, they related the Cautions of the great Yü in the form of songs.

The first said,

‘It was the lesson of our great ancestor: — The people should be cherished,
And not looked down upon.
The people are the root of a country; The root firm, the country is tranquil.
When I look at all under heaven, Of the simple men and simple women, Any one may surpass me.
If the One man err repeatedly,
Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears?

Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.

In my dealing with the millions of the people, I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving six horses with rotten reins.

The ruler of men —

How should he be but reverent (of his duties)?'

The second said,

'It is in the Lessons: —

When the palace is a wild of lust, And the country is a wild for hunting; When spirits are liked, and music is the delight; When there are lofty roofs and carved walls; — The existence of any one of these things Has never been but the prelude to ruin.'

The third said,

'There was the lord of Thâo and Thang, Who possessed this region of Kî.

Now we have fallen from his ways, And thrown into confusion his rules and laws; — The consequence is extinction and ruin.'

The fourth said,

Brightly intelligent was our ancestor, Sovereign of the myriad regions.

He had canons, he had patterns,

Which he transmitted to his posterity.

The standard stone and the equalizing quarter Were in the royal treasury.

Wildly have we dropt the clue he gave us, Overturning our temple, and extinguishing our sacrifices.'*

The fifth said,

'Oh! whither shall we turn?

The thoughts in my breast make me sad, All the people are hostile to us; On whom can we rely?

Anxieties crowd together in our hearts; Thick as are our faces, they are covered with blushes.

We have not been careful of our virtue; And though we repent, we cannot overtake the past.'

Book IV. The Punitive Expedition of Yin.

This Book is another of the ‘Speeches’ of the Shû, belonging to the reign of Kung Khang, a brother of Thâi Khang, the fourth of the kings of Shang (bc 2159-2147).

Hsî and Ho, the principal ministers of the Board of Astronomy, descended from those of the same name in the time of Yâo, had given themselves over to licentious indulgence in their private cities, and grossly neglected their duties. Especially had they been unobservant of an eclipse of the sun in autumn. The king considered them worthy of death, and commissioned the marquis of Yin to execute on them the sentence of his justice. Where Yin was is not now known.

The principal part of the Book consists of the speech made by the marquis to his troops.

When Kung Khang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the marquis of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the (king’s) six hosts. (At this time) the Hsî and Ho had neglected the duties of their office, and were abandoned to drink in their (private) cities; and the marquis of Yin received the king’s charge to go and punish them.

He made an announcement to his hosts, saying, ‘Ah! ye, all my men, there are the well-counselled instructions of the sage (founder of our dynasty), clearly verified in their power to give stability and security:— “The former kings were carefully attentive to the warnings of Heaven,* and their ministers observed the regular laws (of their offices). All the officers (moreover) watchfully did their duty to assist (the government), and their sovereign became entirely intelligent.” Every year, in the first month of spring, the herald, with his wooden-tongued bell, goes along the roads, (proclaiming), “Ye officers able to instruct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subjects of your employments. If any of you do not attend with respect (to this requirement), the country has regular punishments for you.”

‘Now here are the Hsî and Ho. They have allowed their virtue to be subverted, and are besotted by drink. They have violated the duties of their office, and left their posts. They have been the first to let the regulating of the heavenly (bodies) get into disorder, putting far from them their proper business. On the first day of the last month of autumn, the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind musicians beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped, and the common people (employed about the public offices) ran about. The Hsî and the Ho, however, as if they were (mere) personators of the dead in their offices, heard nothing and knew nothing; — so stupidly went they astray

(from their duties) in the matter of the heavenly appearances, and rendered themselves liable to the death appointed by the former kings. The statutes of government say, “When they anticipate the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when (their reckoning) is behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy.”

‘Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven.* Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the royal House. Give me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the Son of Heaven.

‘When the fire blazes over the ridge of Khwăn, gems and stones are burned together; but if a minister of Heaven exceed in doing his duty, the consequences will be fiercer than blazing fire. While I destroy, (therefore), the chief criminals, I will not punish those who have been forced to follow them; and those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves.

‘Oh! when sternness overcomes compassion, things are surely conducted to a successful issue. When compassion overcomes sternness, no merit can be achieved. All ye, my warriors, exert yourselves, and take warning, (and obey my orders)!’

PART IV. THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

Book I. The Speech of Thang.

Shang was the name under which the dynasty that superseded Hsiâ (bc 1766) held the kingdom for fully 300 years. Yin then began to be used as well as Shang, and the dynasty was called indifferently Shang or Yin, and sometimes Yin-Shang by a combination of the two names. The ruling House traced its origin into the remote times of antiquity, through Hsieh, whose appointment by Shun to be Minister of Instruction is related in the Canon of Shun. For his services Hsieh was invested with the principality of Shang, corresponding to the present small department of the same name in Shen-hsî. From Hsieh to Thang, the founder of the dynasty, there are reckoned fourteen generations, and we find Thang, when he first becomes prominent in history, a long way from the ancestral fief, in 'the southern Po,' corresponding to the present district of Shang-khiû, department Kwei-teh, Ho-nan. The title of the dynasty, however, was derived from the original Shang.

There were in the Shû, when the collection was formed, thirty-one documents of Shang in forty Books, of which only eleven remain in seventeen Books, two of them containing each three parts or sections. The Speech of Thang, that is now the first Book in the Part, was originally only the sixth. Thang was the designation of the hero, whose surname, dating from Hsieh, was Ʒze, and name Lî. Thang may be translated, 'the Glorious One.' His common style in history is as Khăng Thang, 'Thang the Completer,' or 'Thang the Successful.'

He had summoned his people to take the field with him against Kieh, the cruel and doomed sovereign of Hsiâ, and finding them backward to the enterprise, he sets forth in this Book his reasons for attacking the tyrant, argues against their reluctance, using in the end both promises and threats to induce them to obey his orders.

The king said, 'Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to undertake a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hsiâ, Heaven has given the charge to destroy him.*

'Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, "Our prince does not compassionate us, but (is calling us) away from our husbandry to attack and punish Hsiâ." I have indeed heard (these) words of you all; (but) the sovereign of Hsiâ is guilty, and, as I fear God, I dare not but punish him.*

'Now you are saying, "What are the crimes of Hsiâ to us?" The king of Hsiâ in every way exhausts the strength of his people, and exercises oppression in the

cities of Hsiâ. His multitudes are become entirely indifferent (to his service), and feel no bond of union (to him). They are saying, “When wilt thou, O sun, expire? We will all perish with thee.” Such is the course of (the sovereign) of Hsiâ, and now I must go (and punish him).

‘Assist, I pray you, me, the One man, to carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven. I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me; — I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have thus spoken to you, I will put your children to death with you; — you shall find no forgiveness.’

Book II. The Announcement of Kung-hui.

This Book is the first of the ‘Announcements,’ which form a large class of the documents in the Shû. They are distinguished from the Speeches, as being made in a general assembly, or published, for the information of all, whereas the Speeches were made to an army.

Kung-hui, of an old family, whose surname was Zăn, with its seat in the territory of Hsieh, corresponding to the present district of Thang, department Yen-kâu, Shan-tung, was a minister of Thang. Thang has been successful against Kieh, and dethroned him, but is haunted by some feeling of remorse, and afraid that what he has done may be appealed to in future ages as an apology for rebellion. This gives occasion to the Announcement, in which Kung-hui vindicates the proceeding of the king, showing, first, that he had only obeyed the guidance of Heaven, and, then, that men consented with Heaven in the matter. He concludes with various counsels addressed to the king.

When Thang the Successful was keeping Kieh in banishment in Nan-khâo, he had a feeling of shame on account of his conduct, and said, ‘I am afraid that in future ages men will fill their mouths with me, (as an apology for their rebellious proceedings.)’

On this Kung-hui made the following announcement: ‘Oh! Heaven gives birth to the people with (such) desires, that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven again gives birth to the man of intelligence to regulate them.* The sovereign of Hsiâ had his virtue all-obscured, and the people were (as if they had fallen) amid mire and (burning) charcoal. Heaven hereupon gifted (our) king with valour and prudence, to serve as a sign and director to the myriad regions, and to continue the old ways of Yü. You are now (only) following the proper course, honouring and obeying the appointment of Heaven. The king of Hsiâ was an offender, falsely and calumniously alleging the sanction of supreme Heaven, to spread abroad his commands among the people. On this account God viewed him with disapprobation, caused our Shang to receive his appointment, and employed (you) to enlighten the multitudes (of the people).’*

‘Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful, — many such followers he had indeed; (but) from the first our country was to the sovereign of Hsiâ like weeds among the springing corn, and blasted grains among the good. (Our people), great and small, were in constant apprehension, fearful though they were guilty of no crime. How much more was this the case, when our (prince’s) virtues became a theme (eagerly) listened to! Our king did not approach to (dissolute) music and women; he did not seek to accumulate

property and wealth. To great virtue he gave great offices, and to great merit great rewards. He employed others as if (their excellences) were his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent, from the display (of such virtue), confidence was reposed in him by the millions of the people.

'When the earl of Ko showed his enmity to the provision-carriers, the work of punishment began with Ko. When it went on in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on in the south, those of the north murmured: — they said, "Why does he make us alone the last?" To whatever people he went, they congratulated one another in their families, saying, "We have waited for our prince; our prince is come, and we revive." The people's honouring our Shang is a thing of long existence.'

'Show favour to the able and right-principled (among the princes), and aid the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good have free course. Absorb the weak, and punish the wilfully blind; take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin. When you (thus) accelerate the end of what is (of itself) ready to perish, and strengthen what is itself strong to live, how will the states all flourish! When (a sovereign's) virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad regions; when his mind is full (only) of himself, he is abandoned by the nine branches of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your virtue (still more) illustrious, and set up (the standard of) the Mean before the people. Order your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety; — so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying, "He who finds instructors for himself, comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself, comes to ruin. He who likes to put questions, becomes enlarged; he who uses only his own views, becomes smaller (than he was)." Oh! he who would take care for the end must be attentive to the beginning. There is establishment for the observers of propriety, and overthrow for the blinded and wantonly indifferent. To revere and honour the path prescribed by Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favouring appointment of Heaven.'*

Book III. The Announcement of Thang.

Thang had made an end of the dynasty of Hsiâ, and returned to Po, when he issued this Announcement, which may be considered as a solemn inauguration of the new dynasty. He shows how he had taken possession of the throne in reverent submission to the will of Heaven, what appreciation he had of the duties devolving on him, and the spirit in which he would discharge them. In the end he calls on the princes and the people to sympathize and co-operate with him.

When the king returned from vanquishing Hsiâ and came to Po, he made a grand announcement to the myriad regions.

The king said, 'Ah! ye multitudes of the myriad regions, listen clearly to the announcement of me, the One man. The great God has conferred (even) on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right.* To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign.

'The king of Hsiâ extinguished his virtue, and played the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the wormwood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence to the spirits of heaven and earth.* The way of Heaven is to bless the good, and make the bad miserable. It sent down calamities on (the House of) Hsiâ, to make manifest its guilt. Therefore I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and its bright terrors, did not dare to forgive (the criminal). I presumed to use a dark-coloured victim-bull, and, making clear announcement to the Spiritual Sovereign in the high heavens, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Hsiâ as a criminal.* Then I sought for the great Sage, with whom I might unite my strength, to request the favour (of Heaven) for you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favour to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. What Heaven appoints is without error; — brilliantly (now), like the blossoming of plants and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.'*

'It is given to me, the One man, to secure the harmony and tranquillity of your states and clans; and now I know not whether I may not offend against (the Powers) above and below.* I am fearful and trembling, as if I were in danger of falling into a deep abyss. Throughout all the regions that enter on a new life under me, do not, (ye princes), follow lawless ways; make no approach to insolence and dissoluteness; let every one be careful to keep his statutes; — that so we may receive the favour of Heaven.* The good in you I will not dare to keep concealed; and for the evil in me I will not dare to forgive myself. I will

examine these things in harmony with the mind of God.* When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, let it rest on me, the One man. When guilt is found in me, the One man, it shall not attach to you who occupy the myriad regions.

'Oh! let us attain to be sincere in these things, and so we shall likewise have a (happy) consummation.'

Book IV. The Instructions of Î.

Thang died in bc 1754 or 1753, and was succeeded, so far as the evidence of the Shû goes, by his grandson, known as Thâi Kiâ. The chief minister of Thang had been Î Yin, who delivers these Instructions to his young sovereign soon after his accession. Î was a great and wise man, 'a great sage,' as Thang calls him in the last Book, and is classed by Mencius among other celebrated ministers as 'the one most inclined to take office.' He reasons thus:— 'Heaven's plan with mankind is that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are later in doing so.' He thought he was one of the former class, and a fire burned within him, impelling him to seek for office with a view to benefit the ignorant and erring. There were many legends about him in the times of Kâu. He was surnamed Î, from having been born near the river of that name, an affluent of the Ho. His name is said to have been Kih, and also Â-hăng (see the beginning of next Book). Yin was his designation. Thang had, probably, entrusted to him the guardianship of his grandson, and so he now went over the history of the kingdom from Yü, till it was transferred from the line of Hsiâ to that of Shang, celebrated the virtues of Thang and his government, and warned the young king of the fate that he must incur, if he neglected the instructions given to him.

In the twelfth month of the first year, on (the day) Yî-khâu, Î Yin sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir-king reverently before (the shrine of) his grandfather.* All the princes from the domain of the nobles and the royal domain were present; all the officers (also), each continuing to discharge his particular duties, were there to receive the orders of the chief minister. Î Yin then clearly described the complete virtue of the Meritorious Ancestor for the instruction of the (young) king.

He said, 'Oh! of old the former kings of Hsiâ cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquillity; and the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, all enjoyed their existence according to their nature.* But their descendant did not follow (their example), and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our (ruler) who was in possession of its favouring appointment.* The attack (on Hsiâ) may be traced to (the orgies in) Ming-thiâo, but our (rise) began in Po. Our king of Shang brilliantly displayed his sagely prowess; for oppression he substituted his generous gentleness; and the millions of the people

gave him their hearts. Now your Majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtue; — all depends on (how) you commence your reign. To set up love, it is for you to love (your relations); to set up respect, it is for you to respect (your elders). The commencement is in the family and the state; the consummation is in (all within) the four seas.'

'Oh! the former king began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together. He listened to expostulation, and did not seek to resist it; he conformed to (the wisdom of) the ancients; occupying the highest position, he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position, he displayed his loyalty; he allowed (the good qualities of) the men (whom he employed), and did not seek that they should have every talent; in the government of himself, he seemed to think that he could never (sufficiently) attain. It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions. — How painstaking was he in these things!

'He extensively sought out wise men, who should be helpful to you, his descendant and heir. He laid down the punishments for officers, and warned those who were in authority, saying, "If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers, — that is called the fashion of sorcerers; if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to the chase, — that is called the fashion of extravagance; if you dare to despise sage words, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to seek the company of procacious youths, — that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these three fashions with their ten evil ways, his family will surely come to ruin; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his state will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not (try to) correct (such vices in the sovereign) shall be punished with branding." These rules were minutely inculcated (also) on the sons of officers and nobles in their lessons.'

'Oh! do you, who now succeed to the throne, revere (these warnings) in your person. Think of them! — sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly set forth! (The ways) of God are not invariable: — on the good-doer he sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer he sends down all miseries.* Do you but be virtuous, be it in small things (or in large), and the myriad regions will have cause for rejoicing. If you be not virtuous, be it in large things (or in small), it will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple.'

Book V. The Thâi Kiâ.

This Book also belongs to the class of ‘Lessons or Instructions,’ and is called ‘the Thâi Kiâ,’ because the Instructions were addressed to the young monarch so named. It is divided into three sections or parts. Î Yin finds the young sovereign disobedient to his counsels, and proceeds to a high-handed measure. He removes him from his palace and companions, and keeps him in a sort of easy confinement, near the grave of his grandfather, all the period of mourning; and Thâi Kiâ becomes sincerely penitent and virtuous. This is related in the first section. In the second, Î Yin brings the king back with honour to Po, to undertake the duties of the government, and congratulates him on his reformation. The king responds suitably, and asks the minister to continue to afford him his counsels, which the other at once proceeds to do. The third section is all occupied with further and important counsels.

Section 1.

The king, on succeeding to the throne, did not follow (the advice of) Â-hăng. (Â-hăng or) Î Yin then made the following writing:— ‘The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and so he maintained the worship of the spirits of heaven and earth, of those presiding over the land and the grain, and of those of the ancestral temple; — all with a sincere reverence.* Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him, that he should soothe and tranquillize the myriad regions.* I, Yin, then gave my assistance to my sovereign in the settlement of the people; and thus it is that you, O heir-king, have received the great inheritance. I have seen it myself in Hsiâ with its western capital, that when its rulers went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same, and afterwards, when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-king. Reverently use your sovereignty. If you do not play the sovereign, as the name requires, you will disgrace your grandfather.’

The king would not think (of these words), nor listen to them. On this Î Yin said, ‘The former king, before it was light, sought to have large and clear views, and then sat waiting for the dawn (to carry them into practice). He (also) sought on every side for men of ability and virtue, to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate his charge (to me), and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive after the virtue of self-restraint, and cherish far-reaching plans. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the spring, goes to examine the

end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go; reverently determine your aim, and follow the ways of your grandfather. Thus I shall be delighted, and be able to show to all ages that I have discharged my trust.'

The king was not yet able to change (his course). Î Yin said (to himself), 'This is (real) unrighteousness, and is becoming by practice (a second) nature. I cannot bear to be near (so) disobedient (a person). I will build (a place) in the palace at Thung, where he can be in silence near (the grave of) the former king. This will be a lesson which will keep him from going astray all his life.' The king went (accordingly) to the palace at Thung, and dwelt during the period of mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous.

Section 2.

On the first day of the twelfth month of his third year, Î Yin escorted the young king in the royal cap and robes back to Po. (At the same time) he made the following writing: —

'Without the sovereign, the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to (the comfort of) their lives; without the people, the sovereign would have no sway over the four quarters (of the kingdom). Great Heaven has graciously favoured the House of Shang, and granted to you, O young king, at last to become virtuous.* This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations.'

The king did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground, saying, 'I, the little child, was without understanding of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at nought all rules of conduct, and violating by my self-indulgence all rules of propriety, and the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self there is no escape.* Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my tutor and guardian; — my beginning has been marked by incompetency. Let me still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be good!'

Î Yin did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head on the ground, and said, 'To cultivate his person, and by being sincerely virtuous, bring (all) below to harmonious concord with him; — this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former king was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his children, and the people submitted to his commands, — all with sincere delight. Even in the states of the neighbouring princes, (the people) said, "We are

waiting for our sovereign; when our sovereign comes, we shall not suffer the punishments (that we now do)."

'O king, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard (the example of) your meritorious grandfather. At no time allow yourself in pleasure and idleness. In worshipping your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety;* in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful; in looking to what is distant, try to get clear views; have your ears ever open to lessons of virtue; — then shall I acknowledge (and respond to) the excellence of your majesty with an untiring (devotion to your service).

Section 3.

Î Yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, 'Oh! Heaven has no (partial) affection; — only to those who are reverent does it show affection.* The people are not constant to those whom they cherish; — they cherish (only) him who is benevolent. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered to them; — they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere.* A place of difficulty is the Heaven-(conferred) seat. When there are (those) virtues, good government is realized; when they are not, disorder comes. To maintain the same principles as those who secured good government will surely lead to prosperity; to pursue the courses of disorder will surely lead to ruin. He who at last, as at first, is careful as to whom and what he follows is a truly intelligent sovereign. The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his virtue, so that he was the fellow of God.* Now, O king, you have entered on the inheritance of his excellent line; — fix your inspection on him.'

'(Your course must be) as when in ascending high you begin from where it is low, and when in travelling far you begin from where it is near. Do not slight the occupations of the people; — think of their difficulties. Do not yield to a feeling of repose on your throne; — think of its perils. Be careful for the end at the beginning. When you hear words that are distasteful to your mind, you must enquire whether they be not right; when you hear words that accord with your own views, you must enquire whether they be not contrary to what is right. Oh! what attainment can be made without anxious thought? what achievement can be made without earnest effort? Let the One man be greatly good, and the myriad regions will be rectified by him.'

'When the sovereign does not with disputatious words throw the old rules of government into confusion, and the minister does not, for favour and gain, continue in an office whose work is done, — then the country will lastingly and surely enjoy happiness.'

Book VI. The Common Possession of Pure Virtue.

This is the last of the 'Instructions' of Î Yin; — addressed, like those of the last two Books, to Thâi Kiâ, but at a later period when the great minister wished to retire from the toils of administration. He now disappears from the stage of history, though according to Sze-mâ Khien, and a notice in the Preface to the Shû, he lived on to bc 1713, the eighth year of Thâi Kiâ's son and successor.

In this Book, his subject is 'Pure or Single-eyed Virtue,' and the importance of it to the ruler of the kingdom. He dwells on the fall of Kieh through his want of this virtue, and the elevation of Thang through his possession of it; treats generally on its nature and results; and urges the cultivation of it on Thâi Kiâ.

Î Yin, having returned the government into the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue.

He said, 'Oh! it is difficult to rely on Heaven; — its appointments are not constant.* (But if the sovereign see to it that) his virtue be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue be not constant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Hsiâ could not maintain the virtue (of his ancestors) unchanged, but contemned the spirits and oppressed the people. Great Heaven no (longer) extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who should receive its favouring appointment, fondly seeking (a possessor of) pure virtue, whom it might make lord of all the spirits.* Then there were I, Yin, and Thang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received (in consequence) the bright favour of Heaven, so as to become possessor of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and proceeded to change Hsiâ's commencement of the year. It was not that Heaven had any private partiality for the lord of Shang; — it simply gave its favour to pure virtue.* It was not that Shang sought (the allegiance of) the lower people; — the people simply turned to pure virtue. Where (the sovereign's) virtue is pure, his enterprizes are all fortunate; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his enterprizes are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly befal men, but Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.'*

'Now, O young king, you are newly entering on your (great) appointment, — you should be seeking to make new your virtue. At last, as at first, have this as your one object, so shall you make a daily renovation. Let the officers whom you employ be men of virtue and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men. The minister, in relation to (his sovereign) above him, has to promote his

virtue, and, in relation to the (people) beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be (to find the proper man)! what careful attention must be required! (Thereafter) there must be harmony (cultivated with him), and a oneness (of confidence placed in him).

'There is no invariable model of virtue; — a supreme regard to what is good gives the model of it. There is no invariable characteristic of what is good that is to be supremely regarded; — it is found where there is a conformity to the uniform consciousness (in regard to what is good). (Such virtue) will make the people with their myriad surnames all say, "How great are the words of the king!" and also, "How single and pure is the king's heart!" It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the rich possession of the former king, and to secure for ever the (happy) life of the multitudes of the people.'

'Oh! (to retain a place) in the seven-shrined temple of ancestors is a sufficient witness of virtue.* To be acknowledged as chief by the myriad heads of families is a sufficient evidence of one's government. The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not think yourself so large as to deem others small. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity to give full development to their ability, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit.'

Book VII. The Pan-kĂng.

Pan-kĂng was the seventeenth sovereign in the line of Thang. From Thâi Kiâ to him, therefore, there was a space of 321 years, which are a gap in the history of the Shang dynasty, so far as the existing documents of the Shû are concerned. When the collection was complete, there were seven other documents between 'the Common Possession of Pure Virtue' and 'the Pan-kăng,' but the latest of them belonged to the reign of Ȝû-yî, bc 1525-1507.

The reign of Pan-kăng extended from bc 1401 to 1374, and is remarkable as that in which the dynasty began to be called Yin, instead of Shang. The Book belongs to the class of 'Announcements,' and is divided into three sections.

The contents centre round the removal of the capital from the north of the Ho to Yin on the south of it. The king saw that the removal was necessary, but had to contend with the unwillingness of the people to adopt such a step, and the opposition of the great families. The first section relates how he endeavoured to vindicate the measure, and contains two addresses, to the people and to those in high places, respectively, designed to secure their cordial co-operation. The second section brings before us the removal in progress, but there continue to be dissatisfactions, which the king endeavours to remove by a long and earnest defence of his course. The third section opens with the removal accomplished. The new city has been founded, and the plan of it laid out. The king makes a fresh appeal to the people and chiefs, to forget all their heart-burnings, and join with him in building up in the new capital a great destiny for the dynasty.

Section 1.

Pan-kăng wished to remove (the capital) to Yin, but the people would not go to dwell there. He therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations. 'Our king, (Ȝû-yî), came, and fixed on this (Kăng for his capital). He did so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would have them all die, where they cannot (now) help one another to preserve their lives. I have consulted the tortoise-shell, and obtained the reply— "This is no place for us." When the former kings had any (important) business, they gave reverent heed to the commands of Heaven.* In a case like this especially they did not indulge (the wish for) constant repose, — they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time (the capital has been) in five regions. If we do not follow (the example) of these old times, we shall be refusing to acknowledge

that Heaven is making an end of our dynasty (here); — how little can it be said of us that we are following the meritorious course of the former kings! As from the stump of a felled tree there are sprouts and shoots, Heaven will perpetuate its decree in our favour in this new city; — the great inheritance of the former kings will be continued and renewed, and tranquillity will be secured to the four quarters (of the kingdom).'*

Pan-kăng, in making the people aware of his views, began with those who were in (high) places, and took the constantly-recurring circumstances of former times to lay down the right law and measure (for the present emergency), saying, 'Let none of you dare to suppress the remonstrances of the poor people.' The king commanded all to come to him in the courtyard (of his palace).

The king spoke to this effect:— 'Come, all of you; I will announce to you my instructions. Take counsel how to put away your (selfish) thoughts. Do not with haughty (disregard of me) follow after your own ease. Of old, our former kings planned like me how to employ the men of old families to share in (the labours of) government. When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to, these did not conceal the royal views; and on this account the kings greatly respected them. They did not exceed the truth (in their communications with the people), and on this account the people became greatly changed (in their views). Now, (however), you keep clamouring, and get the confidence (of the people) by alarming and shallow speeches; — I do not know what you are wrangling about. (In this movement) I am not myself abandoning my proper virtue, but you conceal the goodness of my intentions, and do not stand in awe of me, the One man. I see you as clearly as one sees a fire; but I, likewise, by my undecided plans, have produced your error.

'When the net has its line, there is order and not confusion; and when the husbandman labours upon his fields, and reaps with all his might, there is the (abundant) harvest. If you can put away your (selfish) thoughts, and bestow real good upon the people, reaching (also) to your own relatives and friends, you may boldly venture to make your words great, and say that you have accumulated merit. But you do not fear the great evils which (through our not removing) are extending far and near; (you are like) idle husbandmen, who yield themselves to ease, and are not strong to toil and labour on their acres, so that they cannot get their crop of millets. You do not speak in a spirit of harmony and goodness to the people, and are only giving birth to bitter evils for yourselves. You play the part of destroyers and authors of calamity, of villains and traitors, to bring down misery on your own persons. You set the example of evil, and must feel its smart; — what will it avail you (then) to repent? Look at the poor

people; — they are still able to look to one another and give expression to their remonstrances, but when they begin to speak, you are ready with your extravagant talk; — how much more ought you to have me before your eyes, with whom it is to make your lives long or short! Why do you not report (their words) to me, but go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing in the flames so that it cannot be approached, can it still be beaten out? So, it will not be I who will be to blame, that you all cause dispeace in this way, (and must suffer the consequences.)

'Khih Zăn has said, "In men we seek those of old families; in vessels, we do not seek old ones, but new." Of old, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers shared together the ease and labours (of the government); — how should I dare to lay undeserved afflictions on you? For generations the toils of your (fathers) have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them.* (They all observe) the happiness I confer and the sufferings I inflict, and I cannot dare to reward virtue that does not exist.

'I have announced to you the difficulties (of the intended movement), being bent on it, like an archer (whose only thought is to hit). Do not you despise the old and experienced, and do not make little of the helpless and young. Seek every one long continuance in this (new city), which is to be your abode; exert yourselves and put out your strength (in furthering the removal), and listen to the plans of me, the One man. I will make no distinction between men as being more distantly or more nearly related to me; — the criminal (in this matter) shall die the death, and the good-doer shall have his virtue distinguished. The prosperity of the country (ought to) come from you all. If it fail of prosperity, that must arise from me, the One man, erring in the application of punishment. Be sure, all of you, to make known this announcement. From this time forward, attend respectfully to your business; have (the duties of) your offices regularly adjusted; bring your tongues under the rule of law: — lest punishment come upon you, when repentance will be of no avail.'

Section 2.

Pan-kăng arose, and (was about to) cross the Ho with the people, moving (to the new capital). Accordingly, he addressed himself to those of them who were (still) dissatisfied, and made a full announcement to their multitudes, to induce a sincere acquiescence (in the measure). They all attended, and (being charged) to

take no liberties in the royal courtyard, he called them near, and said, ‘Listen clearly to my words, and do not disregard my commands.

‘Oh! of old time my royal predecessors cherished, every one and above every other thing, a respectful care of the people, who (again) upheld their sovereign with a mutual sympathy. Seldom was it that they were not superior to any (calamitous) time sent by Heaven. When great calamities came down on Yin, the former kings did not fondly remain in their place. What they did was with a view to the people’s advantage, and therefore they moved (their capitals). Why do you not reflect that I, according to what I have heard of the ancient sovereigns, in my care of you and actings towards you, am only wishing to rejoice with you in a common repose? It is not that any guilt attaches to you, so that (this movement) should be like a punishment. If I call upon you to cherish this new city, it is simply on your account, and as an act of great accordance with your wishes. My present undertaking to remove with you, is to give repose and stability to the country. You, (however), have no sympathy with the anxieties of my mind; but you all keep a great reserve in declaring your minds, (when you might) respectfully think by your sincerity to move me, the One man. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. The case is like that of sailing in a boat; — if you do not cross the stream (at the proper time), you will destroy all the cargo. Your sincerity does not respond to mine, and we are in danger of going together to destruction. You, notwithstanding, will not examine the matter; — though you anger yourselves, what cure will that bring?

‘You do not consult for a distant day, nor think of the calamity that must befal you (from not removing). You greatly encourage one another in what must prove to your sorrow. Now you have the present, but you will not have the future; — what prolongation of life can you look for from above? My measures are forecast to prolong your (lease of) life from Heaven; — do I force you by the terrors of my power? My object is to support and nourish you all. I think of my ancestors, (who are now) the spiritual sovereigns;* when they made your forefathers toil (on similar occasions it was only for their good), and I would be enabled in the same way greatly to nourish you and cherish you.’

‘Were I to err in my government, and remain long here, my high sovereign, (the founder of our dynasty), would send down on me great punishment for my crime, and say, “Why do you oppress my people?”* If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me, the One man, in my plans, the former kings will send down on you great punishment for your crime, and say, “Why do you not agree with our young grandson, but go on to forfeit your virtue?” When they punish you from above, you will have no way of escape.* Of old, my royal predecessors made

your ancestors and fathers toil (only for their good). You are equally the people whom I (wish to) cherish. But your conduct is injurious; — it is cherished in your hearts. Whereas my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers happy, they, your ancestors and fathers, will (now) cut you off and abandon you, and not save you from death.* Here are those ministers of my government, who share with me in the offices (of the kingdom); — and yet they (only think of hoarding up) cowries and gems. Their ancestors and fathers earnestly represent (their course) to my high sovereign, saying, "Execute great punishments on our descendants." So do they advise my high sovereign to send down great calamities (on those men).'*

'Oh! I have now told you my unchangeable purpose; — do you perpetually respect (my) great anxiety; let us not get alienated and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts, and think (only) of following me; let every one of you set up the true rule of conduct in his heart. If there be bad and unprincipled men, precipitously or carelessly disrespectful (to my orders), and taking advantage of this brief season to play the part of villains or traitors, I will cut off their noses, or utterly exterminate them. I will leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this new city.

'Go! preserve and continue your lives. I will now transfer you (to the new capital), and (there) establish your families for ever.'

Section 3.

Pan-kăng having completed the removal, and settled the places of residence, proceeded to adjust the several positions (of all classes at an assembly); and then he soothed and comforted the multitudes, saying to them, 'Do not play nor be idle, but exert yourselves to build (here) a great destiny (for us).

'Now I have disclosed my heart and belly, my reins and bowels, and fully declared to you, my people, all my mind. I will not treat any of you as offenders; and do not you (any more) help one another to be angry, and form parties to defame me, the One man.

'Of old, my royal predecessor, (Thang), that his merit might exceed that of those who were before him, proceeded to the hill-site. Thereby he removed our evils, and accomplished admirable good for our country. Now you, my people, were by (your position) dissipated and separated, so that you had no abiding place. (And yet) you asked why I was troubling your myriads and requiring you to remove. But God, being about to renew the virtuous service of my high ancestor, and secure the good order of our kingdom, I, with the sincere and

respectful (of my ministers), felt a reverent care for the lives of the people, and have made a lasting settlement in (this) new city.*

‘I, a youth, did not neglect your counsels; — I (only) used the best of them. Nor did any of you presumptuously oppose the decision of the tortoise-shell; — so we are here to enlarge our great inheritance.’*

‘Oh! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye had a sympathy (with my people)! I will exert myself in the choice and guiding of you; — do ye think reverently of my multitudes. I will not employ those who are fond of enriching themselves; but will use and revere those who are vigorously, yet reverently, labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement.

‘I have now brought forward and announced to you my mind, whom I approve and whom I disallow; — let none of you but reverence (my will). Do not seek to accumulate wealth and precious things, but in fostering the life of the people, seek to find your merit. Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people. For ever maintain this one purpose in your hearts.’

Book VIII. The Charge to Yüeh.

After Pan-kăng came the reigns of Hsiâo-hsin and Hsiâo-yî, of which we have no accounts in the Shû. Hsiâo-yî was followed by Wû-ting (bc 1324-1264), to the commencement of whose reign this Book, in three sections, belongs. His name is not in it, but that he is the king intended appears from the prefatory notice, and the Confucian Analects, XIV, xliii. The Book is the first of the 'Charges' of the Shû. They relate the designation by the king of some officer to a particular charge or to some fief, with the address delivered by him on the occasion. Here the charge is to Yüeh, in the first section, on his appointment to be chief minister. In the other two sections Yüeh is the principal speaker, and not the king. They partake more of the nature of the 'Counsels.' Yüeh had been a recluse, living in obscurity. The king's attention was drawn to him in the manner related in the Book, and he was discovered in Fû-yen, or amidst 'the Crags of Fû,' from which he was afterwards called Fû Yüeh, as if Fû had been his surname.

The first section tells us how the king met with Yüeh, and appointed him to be his chief minister, and how Yüeh responded to the charge that he received. In the second section, Yüeh counsels the king on a variety of points, and the king responds admiringly. In the third, the king introduces himself as a pupil at the feet of Yüeh, and is lectured on the subject of enlarging his knowledge. In the end the king says that he looks to Yüeh as another Î Yin, to make him another Thang.

Section 1.

The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years, and when the period of mourning was over, he (still) did not speak (to give any commands). All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, 'Oh! him who is (the first) to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him. They are the king's words which form the commands (for them). If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders.' On this the king made a writing, for their information, to the following effect:— 'As it is mine to serve as the director for the four quarters (of the kingdom), I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to (that of my predecessors), and therefore have not spoken. (But) while I was reverently and silently thinking of the (right) way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant

who should speak for me.'* He then minutely recalled the appearance (of the person whom he had seen), and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yüeh, a builder in the wild country of Fû-yen, was found like to it.

On this the king raised and made (Yüeh) his prime minister, keeping him (also) at his side.

He charged him, saying, 'Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel; — I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream; — I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought; — I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. (Be you) like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. (Think of me) as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground.

'Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine; — so shall you bring your work to a (good) end.'

Yüeh replied to the king, saying, 'Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can (thus) make himself sage, his ministers, without being specially commanded, anticipate his orders; — who would dare not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your Majesty?'

Section 2.

Yüeh having received his charge, and taken the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, 'Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of states and the setting up of capitals, the appointing of sovereign kings, of dukes and other nobles, with their great officers and heads of departments, were not designed to minister to the idleness and pleasures (of one), but for the good government of the people. It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing; — let the sage (king) take it as his pattern.* Then his ministers will reverently accord with him, and the people consequently will be well governed.

'It is the mouth that gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet that give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward should not be lightly taken from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in regard to these things, and, believing this about them, attain to the intelligent use of them,

(your government) will in everything be excellent. Good government and bad depend on the various officers. Offices should not be given to men because they are favourites, but only to men of ability. Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth.

'Anxious thought about what will be best should precede your movements, which also should be taken at the time proper for them. Indulging the consciousness of being good is the way to lose that goodness; being vain of one's ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.

'For all affairs let there be adequate preparation; — with preparation there will be no calamitous issue. Do not open the door for favourites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and (go on to) make them crimes. Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure. Officiousness in sacrificing is called irreverence;* and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder. To serve the spirits acceptably (in this way) is difficult.'*

The king said, 'Excellent! your words, O Yüeh, should indeed be put in practice (by me). If you were not so good in counsel, I should not have heard these rules for my conduct.' Yüeh did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, 'It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. (But) since your Majesty truly knows this, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to our first king. Wherein I, Yüeh, refrain from speaking (what I ought to speak), the blame will rest with me.'

Section 3.

The king said, 'Come, O Yüeh. I, the little one, first learned with Kan Pan. Afterwards I lived concealed among the rude countrymen, and then I went to (the country) inside the Ho, and lived there. From the Ho I went to Po; — and the result has been that I am unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits, as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Use various methods to cultivate me; do not cast me away; — so shall I attain to practise your instructions.'

Yüeh said, 'O king, a ruler should seek to learn much (from his ministers), with a view to establish his affairs; but to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard.

'In learning there should be a humble mind and the maintenance of a constant earnestness; — in such a case (the learner's) improvement will surely come. He

who sincerely cherishes these things will find all truth accumulating in his person. Teaching is the half of learning; when a man's thoughts from first to last are constantly fixed on learning, his virtuous cultivation comes unperceived.

'Survey the perfect pattern of our first king; — so shall you for ever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices.'

The king said, 'Oh! Yüeh, that all within the four seas look up to my virtue is owing to you. As his legs and arms form the man, so does a good minister form the sage (king). Formerly, there was the first premier of our dynasty, Pâo-hăng, who raised up and formed its royal founder. He said, "If I cannot make my sovereign like Yâo or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market-place." If any common man did not get (all he should desire), he said, "It is my fault." (Thus) he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to great Heaven.* Do you give your intelligent and preserving aid to me, and let not Â-hăng engross all the good service to the House of Shang.

'The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy officers. The worthy officer should accept his support from none but the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your sovereign a (true) successor of the founder of his line, and in securing the lasting happiness of the people!'

Yüeh did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, 'I will venture to respond to, and display abroad, your Majesty's excellent charge.'

Book IX. The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice to Kâo Ʒung.

Kâo Ʒung was the title given to Wû-ting, after his death, in the ancestral temple. A supplementary sacrifice was offered on the day following the regular and more solemn service. What special idea was connected with it, it would be difficult to say; but at the close of it, the representatives or personators of the dead in the sacrifice of the preceding day were all feasted.

The title of this short Book leaves it uncertain whether the sacrifice was offered to Wû-ting or by him. The prefatory notice proceeds on the former view. Many critics of great intelligence decide for the latter, which a renewed consideration of the text has induced me to adopt. The king then is Ʒû-kăng, Wû-ting's son. Something irregular or excessive in his sacrificing to his father was the thing which his monitor Ʒû Kî wished to censure, taking occasion to do so from the incident mentioned in the first sentence.

On the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Kâo Ʒung, there appeared a crowing pheasant. Ʒû Kî said, 'To rectify this affair, the king must first be corrected.' He delivered accordingly a lesson to the king, saying, 'In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness, and it bestows on them (accordingly) length of years or the contrary.* It is not Heaven that cuts short men's lives; they bring them to an end themselves. Some men who have not complied with virtue will yet not acknowledge their offences, and when Heaven has by evident tokens charged them to correct their conduct, they still say, "What are these things to us?"

'Oh! your Majesty's business is to care reverently for the people. And all (your ancestors) were the heirs of (the kingdom by the gift of) Heaven; — in attending to the sacrifices (to them), be not so excessive in those to your father.'*

Book X. The Chief of the West's Conquest of Lî.

The reigns of seven more kings of Yin or Shang have passed, and this Book brings us to the time of Kâu-hsin or Shâu, its last sovereign, bc 1154-1123. The House of Kâu begins to come to the front, for 'the Chief of the West' was one of the acknowledged founders of the Kâu dynasty; — whether Khang, known as king Wăn, or his son Fâ, known as king Wû, is uncertain. Khang's father, the duke of Kâu in the present department of Făng-hsiang, Shen-hsî, had been appointed Chief of the West, that is, of all the western portion of the kingdom, embracing Yü's provinces of Yung, Liang, and King. The same jurisdiction descended to his son and grandson. The state of Lî, the conquest of which is mentioned, was in the present department of Lû-an, Shan-hsî, within the royal domain, so that the Chief of the West was no longer confining himself to the west, but threatening the king himself.

Ʒû Î, a loyal officer, hears of the conquest of Lî, and hurries away to inform the king and warn him of the danger threatening the dynasty through his evil conduct. The king gives no heed to his remonstrances, and Ʒû Î retires, sighing over the ruin, which he sees is not to be averted.

The Book is classed, it would be hard to tell why, among the 'Announcements.'

The Chief of the West having subdued Lî, Ʒû Î was afraid, and hastened to report it to the king.

He said, 'Son of Heaven, Heaven is bringing to an end the dynasty of Yin;* the wisest men and the shell of the great tortoise do not presume to know anything fortunate for it.* It is not that the former kings do not aid us, the men of this later time;* but by your dissoluteness and sport you are bringing on the end yourself. On this account Heaven has cast us off, and there are no good harvests to supply us with food.* Men have no regard to their heavenly nature, and pay no obedience to the statutes (of the kingdom). (Yea), our people now all wish (the dynasty) to perish, saying, "Why does not Heaven send down its indignation? Why does not (some one with) its great appointment make his appearance? What has the present king to do with us?"'

The king said, 'Oh! was not my birth in accordance with the appointment of Heaven (in favour of my House)?' (On this) Ʒû Î returned (to his own city), and said, 'Your crimes, which are many, are registered above, and can you still appeal to the appointment of Heaven in your favour?* Yin will perish very shortly. As to all your deeds, can they but bring ruin on your country?'

Book XI. The Count of Wei.

The conversation recorded here — called, like the last Book, and with as little reason, an ‘Announcement’ — is referred to bc 1123, the year in which the dynasty of Shang perished.

Wei was a principality in the royal domain, corresponding to the present district of Lû-khăng, department Lû-an, Shan-hsî, the lords of which were counts. The count who appears here was, most probably, an elder brother of the king, and by the same mother, who was, however, only a concubine when the count was born, but raised to be queen before the birth of Kâu-hsin. Saddened with the thought of the impending ruin of the dynasty, the count seeks the counsel of two other high nobles, and asks them to tell him what was to be done. One of them replies to him in still stronger language about the condition and prospects of the kingdom, and concludes by advising the count to make his escape, and declaring that he himself would remain at his post, and share in the unavoidable ruin.

The Count of Wei spoke to the following effect:— ‘Grand-Master and Junior-Master, (the House of) Yin, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters (of the kingdom). The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our maddened indulgence in spirits, we have destroyed (the effects of) his virtue in these after-times. (The people of) Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws, and there is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The smaller people (consequently) rise up, and commit violent outrages on one another. Yin is now sinking in ruin; — its condition is like that of one crossing a stream, who can find neither ford nor bank. That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present pace!’

He added, ‘Grand-Master and Junior-Master, we are manifesting insanity. The most venerable members of our families are withdrawn to the wilds; and you indicate no course (to be taken), but (only) tell me of the impending ruin; — what is to be done?’

The Grand-Master made about the following reply:— ‘O son of our (former) king, Heaven in anger is sending down calamities, and wasting the country of Yin.* Hence has arisen that mad indulgence in spirits. (The king) has no reverence for things which he ought to reverence, but does despite to the venerable aged, the men who have long been in office. The people of Yin will now steal even the pure and perfect victims devoted to the spirits of heaven and

earth;* and their conduct is connived at, and though they proceed to eat the victims, they suffer no punishment. (On the other hand), when I look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods by which they are governed are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred; — and this without ceasing. Such crimes equally belong to all in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to appeal. Now is the time of Shang's calamity; — I will arise and share in its ruin. When ruin overtakes Shang, I will not be the servant (of another House). (But) I tell you, O king's son, to go away, as being the course (for you). Formerly I injured you by what I said; if you do not (now) go away, our (sacrifices) will entirely perish. Let us rest quietly (in our several parts), and each present himself to the former kings (as having done so).* I do not think of making my escape.'

PART V. THE BOOKS OF KÂU.

Book I. The Great Declaration.

Kâu is the dynastic designation under which king Wû and his descendants possessed the throne from bc 1122 to 256, a period of 867 years. They traced their lineage up to Khî, who was Minister of Agriculture under Shun. He was invested with the principality of Thâi, the present district of Fû-fãng, department of Făng-hsiang, Sheṅ-shî. Long afterwards Than-fû, claiming to be one of his descendants, appears in bc 1326, founding the state of Kâu, near mount Khî, in the same department of Fãng-hsiang. This Than-fû was the great-grandfather of king Wû. The family surname was Kî.

When the collection of the Shû was complete, it contained thirty-eight different documents of the Kâu dynasty, of which twenty-eight remain, twenty of them being of undisputed genuineness.

This first Book, 'the Great Declaration,' is one of the contested portions; and there is another form of it, that takes the place of this in some editions. It has appeared in the Introduction that the received text of the Shû was formed with care, and that everything of importance in the challenged Books is to be found in quotations from them, while the collection was complete, that have been gathered up by the industry of scholars.

King Wû, having at last taken the field against Kâu-hsin, the tyrant of Shang, made three speeches to his officers and men, setting forth the reasons for his enterprise, and urging them to exert themselves with him in the cause of humanity and Heaven. They are brought together, and constitute 'the Great Declaration.'

'In the first Part,' says a Chinese critic, 'king Wû addresses himself to the princes and nobles of inferior rank; in the second, to their hosts; and in the third, to his officers. The ruling idea in the first is the duty of the sovereign, — what he ought to be and to do; with this it begins and ends. There is not the same continuity of thought in the second, but the will and purpose of Heaven is the principal thing insisted on. The last Part shows the difference between the good sovereign and the bad, and touches on the consent that there is between Heaven and men. There is throughout an unsparing exhibition of the wickedness of Kâu-hsin.

Section 1.

In the spring of the thirteenth year there was a great assembly at Mâng-king. The king said, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states, and all ye my officers,

managers of my affairs, hearken clearly to my declaration.

‘Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed.* The sincerely intelligent (among men) becomes the great sovereign; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people. But now, Shâu, the king of Shang, does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the people below.* Abandoned to drunkenness and reckless in lust, he has dared to exercise cruel oppression. He has extended the punishment of offenders to all their relatives. He has put men into offices on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances, to the most painful injury of you, the myriads of the people. He has burned and roasted the loyal and good. He has ripped up pregnant women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wăn to display its terrors; but (he died) before the work was completed.*

‘On this account, I, Fâ, the little child, have by means of you, the hereditary rulers of my friendly states, contemplated the government of Shang; but Shâu has no repentant heart. He sits squatting on his heels, not serving God nor the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors, and not sacrificing in it.* The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers, and still he says, “The people are mine; the (heavenly) appointment is mine,” never trying to correct his contemptuous mind.*

‘Heaven, for the help of the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters (of the kingdom). In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes?*

‘ “Where the strength is the same, measure the virtue of the parties; where the virtue is the same, measure their righteousness.” Shâu has hundreds of thousands and myriads of officers, but they have hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds; I have (but) three thousand officers, but they have one mind. The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not obey Heaven, my iniquity would be as great.*

‘I, the little child, early and late am filled with apprehensions. I have received the command of my deceased father Wăn; I have offered special sacrifice to God; I have performed the due services to the great earth; and I lead the multitude of you to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven.* Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to.* Do you aid me, the One man, to cleanse for ever (all within) the four seas. Now is the time! — It should not be lost.’

Section 2.

On (the day) Wû-wû, the king halted on the north of the Ho. When all the princes with their hosts were assembled, the king reviewed the hosts, and made the following declaration:— 'Oh! ye multitudes of the west, hearken all to my words.

'I have heard that the good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient; and that the evil man, doing evil, also finds the day insufficient. Now Shâu, the king of Shang, with strength pursues his lawless way. He has driven away the time-worn sires, and cultivates intimacies with wicked men. Dissolute, intemperate, reckless, oppressive, his ministers have become assimilated to him; and they form combinations and contract animosities, and depend on their power to exterminate one another. The innocent cry to Heaven. The odour of such a state is felt on high.*

'Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverently carry out (this mind of) Heaven. Kieh, the sovereign of Hsiâ, would not follow the example of Heaven, but sent forth his poisonous injuries through the states of the kingdom: — Heaven therefore gave its aid to Thang the Successful, and charged him to make an end of the appointment of Hsiâ.* But the crimes of Shâu exceed those of Kieh. He has degraded from office the greatly good man; he has behaved with cruel tyranny to his reprover and helper. He says that with him is the appointment of Heaven; he says that a reverent care of his conduct is not worth observing; he says that sacrifice is of no use; he says that tyranny is no harm.* The beacon for him to look to was not far off; — it was that king of Hsiâ. It would seem that Heaven is going by means of me to rule the people. My dreams coincide with my divinations; the auspicious omen is double.* My attack on Shang must succeed.

'Shâu has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, divided in heart and divided in practice; — I have of ministers, able to govern, ten men, one in heart and one in practice. Though he has his nearest relatives with him, they are not like my virtuous men. Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear.* The people are blaming me, the One man, for my delay; — I must now go forward. My military prowess is displayed, and I enter his territories to take the wicked tyrant. My punishment (of evil) will be great, and more glorious than that executed by Thang. Rouse ye, my heroes! Do not think that he is not to be feared; — better think that he cannot be withstood. (His) people stand in trembling awe of him, as if the horns were falling from their heads. Oh! unite your energies, unite your hearts; — so shall you forthwith surely accomplish the work, to last for all ages!'

Section 3.

The time was on the morrow, when the king went round his six hosts in state, and made a clear declaration to all his officers. He said, ‘Oh! my valiant men of the west, from Heaven are the illustrious courses of duty, of which the (several) requirements are quite plain. And now Shâu, the king of Shang, treats with contemptuous slight the five regular (virtues), and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people.*

‘He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading in the morning; he cut out the heart of the worthy man. By the use of his power, killing and murdering, he has poisoned and sickened all within the four seas. His honours and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He has imprisoned and enslaved the upright officer. He neglects the sacrifices to heaven and earth. He has discontinued the offerings in the ancestral temple. He makes contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary cunning to please his wife. — God will no longer indulge him, but with a curse is sending down on him this ruin.* Do ye with untiring zeal support me, the One man, reverently to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. The ancients have said, “He who soothes us is our sovereign; he who oppresses us is our enemy.” This solitary fellow Shâu, having exercised great tyranny, is your perpetual enemy. (It is said again), “In planting (a man’s) virtue, strive to make it great; in putting away (a man’s) wickedness, strive to do it from the roots.” Here I, the little child, by the powerful help of you, all my officers, will utterly exterminate your enemy. Do you, all my officers, march forward with determined boldness to sustain your prince. Where there is much merit, there shall be large reward; where you do not so advance, there shall be conspicuous disgrace.

‘Oh! (the virtue of) my deceased father Wăn was like the shining of the sun and moon. His brightness extended over the four quarters of the land, and shone signally in the western region. Hence it is that our Kâu has received (the allegiance of) many states. If I subdue Shâu, it will not be from my prowess, but from the faultless (virtue of) my deceased father Wăn. If Shâu subdue me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wăn, but because I, the little child, am not good.’

Book II. The Speech at Mû.

It is the morning of the day of battle, for which the king has prepared his host by the three speeches of the last Book. Once more he addresses his confederate princes, his officers, and his men. He sets forth more briefly the intolerable wickedness of Shâu, and instructs and warns his troops how they are to behave in the fight.

Mû was in the south of the present district of Khî, department Wei-hui, Ho-nan, a tract of open country stretching into the district of Kî, and at no great distance from the capital of Shâu.

The time was the grey dawn of the day Kiâ-ʒze. On that morning the king came to the open country of Mû, in the borders of Shang, and addressed his army. In his left hand he carried a battle-axe, yellow with gold, and in his right he held a white ensign, which he waved, saying, 'Far are ye come, ye men of the western regions!' He added, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states; ye managers of affairs, — the Ministers of Instruction, of War, and of Works; the great officers subordinate to these, and the many other officers; the master of my body-guards; the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds; and ye, O men of Yung, Shû, Kiang, Mâo, Wei, Lû, Phang, and Pho, lift up your lances, join your shields, raise your spears: — I have a speech to make.'

The king (then) said, 'The ancients have said, "The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning (indicates) the subversion of the family." Now Shâu, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. In his blindness he has neglected the sacrifices which he ought to offer, and makes no response (for the favours that he has received);* he has also cast off his paternal and maternal relations, not treating them properly. They are only the vagabonds from all quarters, loaded with crimes, whom he honours and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and high nobles, so that they can tyrannize over the people, and exercise their villainies in the cities of Shang.

'Now, I, Fâ, am simply executing respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven.* In to-day's business do not advance more than six or seven steps, and then stop and adjust your ranks; — my brave men, be energetic! Do not exceed four blows, five blows, six blows, or seven blows, and then stop and adjust your ranks; — my brave men, be energetic! Display a martial bearing. Be like tigers and panthers, like bears and grisly bears, — (here) in the borders of Shang. Do not rush on those who fly (to us in submission), but receive them to serve our

western land; — my brave men, be energetic! If you be not energetic (in all these matters), you will bring destruction on yourselves.’

Book III. The Successful Completion of the War.

I have divided this Book into three chapters: — one, consisting of brief historical notes of the commencement and close of Wû's expedition; a second, giving the address (or a part of it) delivered by Wû to his nobles and officers on occasion, we may suppose, of their recognition of him as king, and his confirming some of them in their old states or appointments, and giving new ones to others; the third again historical, and relating several incidents of the battle between Wû and Shâu, and going on to subsequent events and important governmental measures of the new dynasty.

Most Chinese critics hold that portions of the Book are lost, and that the paragraphs of it are, besides, erroneously arranged. In what division of the documents of the Shû it should be classified, it is not easy to say. It is more like a 'Canon' than anything else.

In the first month, the day Zăn-khăn immediately followed the end of the moon's waning. The next day was Kwei-kî, when the king, in the morning, marched from Kâu to attack and punish Shang. In the fourth month, at the first appearance of the moon, the king came from Shang to Făng, when he hushed all the movements of war, and proceeded to cultivate the arts of peace. He sent back his horses to the south of mount Hwâ, and let loose his oxen in the open country of Thâo-lin, showing to all under heaven that he would not use them (again).

On the day Ting-wei, he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of Kâu, when (the princes) of the royal domain, and of the Tien, Hâu, and Wei domains, all hurried about, carrying the dishes.* The third day after was Kăng-hsü, when he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and worshipped towards the hills and rivers, solemnly announcing the successful completion of the war.*

After the moon began to wane, the hereditary princes of the various states, and all the officers, received their appointments from Kâu.

The king spoke to the following effect:— 'Oh! ye host of princes, the first of our kings founded his state, and commenced (the enlargement of) its territory. Kung Liû was able to consolidate the services of his predecessor. But it was the king Thâi who laid the foundations of the royal inheritance. The king Kî was diligent for the royal House; and my deceased father, king Wăn, completed his merit, and grandly received the appointment of Heaven, to soothe the regions of our great land.* The great states feared his strength; the small states thought fondly of his virtue. In nine years, however, the whole kingdom was not united under his rule, and it fell to me, the little child, to carry out his will.

‘Detesting the crimes of Shang, I announced to great Heaven and the sovereign Earth, to the famous hill and the great river by which I passed, saying, “I, Fâ, the principled, king of Kâu by a long descent, am about to administer a great correction to Shang. Shâu, the present king of Shang, is without principle, cruel and destructive to the creatures of Heaven, injurious and tyrannical to the multitudes of the people, lord of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep, and beasts in the prairie. I, the little child, having obtained (the help of) virtuous men, presume reverently to comply with (the will of) God, and make an end of his disorderly ways.* Our flowery and great land, and the tribes of the south and north, equally follow and consent with me. Reverently obeying the determinate counsel of Heaven, I pursue my punitive work to the east, to give tranquillity to its men and women. They meet me with their baskets full of dark-coloured and yellow silks, thereby showing (the virtues) of us, the kings of Kâu. Heaven’s favours stir them up, so that they come with their allegiance to our great state of Kâu. And now, ye spirits, grant me your aid, that I may relieve the millions of the people, and nothing turn out to your shame.” ‘*

On the day Wû-wû, the army crossed the ford of Mâng, and on Kwei-hâi it was drawn up in array in the borders of Shang, waiting for the gracious decision of Heaven. On Kiâ-ʒze, at early dawn, Shâu led forward his troops, (looking) like a forest, and assembled them in the wild of Mû. But they offered no opposition to our army. Those in the front inverted their spears, and attacked those behind them, till they fled; and the blood flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars. Thus did (king Wû) once don his armour, and the kingdom was grandly settled. He overturned the (existing) rule of Shang, and made government resume its old course. He delivered the count of Khî from prison, and raised a mound over the grave of Pî-kan. He bowed forward to the cross-bar of his carriage at the gate of Shang Yung’s village. He dispersed the treasures of the Stag Tower, and distributed the grain of Kü-khiâo, thus conferring great gifts on all within the four seas, so that the people joyfully submitted to him.

He arranged the nobles in five orders, assigning the territories to them according to a threefold scale. He gave offices only to the worthy, and employments only to the able. He attached great importance to the people’s being taught the duties of the five relations of society, and to measures for ensuring a sufficient supply of food, attention to the rites of mourning, and to sacrifices.* He showed the reality of his truthfulness, and proved clearly his righteousness. He honoured virtue, and rewarded merit. Then he had only to let his robes fall down, and fold his hands, and the kingdom was orderly ruled.

Book IV. The Great Plan.

The Great Plan, ordinarily classed among the ‘Counsels’ or among the ‘Instructions’ of the Shû, might as well have a place among the ‘Canons.’ It is a remarkable production, and though it appears among the documents of the Kâu dynasty, there is claimed for the substance of it a much greater antiquity. According to the introductory sentences, king Wû, the founder of Kâu, obtained it from the count of Khî in the same year, the thirteenth of his dignity as Chief of the West, that he took the field against the tyrant of Shang. The count of Khî, it is understood, was the Grand-Master at the court of Shang, who appears in the concluding Book of the last Part. He says there, that, when ruin overtook the House of Shang, he would not be the servant of another dynasty. Accordingly, he refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of king Wû, who had delivered him from the prison in which he had been confined by Kâu-hsin, and fled — or purposed perhaps to flee — to Corea. Wû respected and admired his fidelity to the fallen dynasty, and invested him with that territory. He then, it is said, felt constrained to appear at the court of Kâu, when the king consulted him on the principles of government; and the result was that he communicated to him this Great Plan, with its nine divisions. When we read the Book, we see that it belonged originally to the time of Hsiâ, and that the larger portion of it should be ascribed to the Great Yü, and was as old, indeed, as the reign of Yâo. How it had come into the possession of the count of Khî we cannot tell. Nor does it appear how far the language of it should be ascribed to him. That the larger portion of it had come down from the times of Hsiâ is not improbable. The use of the number nine and other numbers, and the naming of the various divisions of the Plan, are in harmony with Yü’s style and practice in his Counsels in the second Part of our Classic, and in the second Part also of the Tribute of Yü. We are told in the introductory sentences, that Heaven or God gave the Plan with its divisions to Yü. To explain the way in which the gift was made, there is a tradition about a mysterious tortoise that appeared in the waters of the Lo, bearing well-defined marks on its back from one to nine, and that thereupon Yü determined the meaning of those marks and of their numbers, and completed the nine divisions of the Plan. Of this legend, however, it is not necessary to speak in connexion with the Shû, which does not mention it; it will come up in connexion with the translation of the Yî King.

The Great Plan means the great model for the government of the nation, — the method by which the people may be rendered happy and tranquil, in

harmony with their condition, through the perfect character of the king, and his perfect administration of government.

P. Gaubil says that the Book is a treatise at once of physics, astrology, divination, morals, politics, and religion, and that it has a sufficiently close resemblance to the work of Ocellus the Lucanian. There is a shadowy resemblance between the Great Plan and the curious specimen of Pythagorean doctrine which we have in the treatise on the Universe; but the dissimilarities are still greater and more numerous. More especially are the differences between the Greek mind, speculative, and the Chinese mind, practical, apparent in the two works. Where the Chinese writer loses himself in the sheerest follies of his imagining, he yet gropes about for a rule to be of use in the conduct of human affairs.

The whole of the treatise is divided into three chapters. The first is introductory, and relates how the Great Plan with its nine divisions was at first made known to Yü, and came at this time to be communicated to king Wû; the second contains the names of the nine divisions of the Plan; and in the third we have a description of the several divisions. 'The whole,' says a Chinese writer, 'exhibits the great model for the government of the nation.' The fifth or middle division on royal perfection is the central one of the whole, about which the Book revolves. The four divisions that precede it show how this royal perfection is to be accomplished, and the four that follow show how it is to be maintained.

In the thirteenth year, the king went to enquire of the count of Khî, and said to him, 'Oh! count of Khî, Heaven, (working) unseen, secures the tranquillity of the lower people, aiding them to be in harmony with their condition. I do not know how the unvarying principles (of its method in doing so) should be set forth in due order.'

The count of Khî thereupon replied, 'I have heard that in old time Khwăn dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements. God was consequently roused to anger, and did not give him the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and thus the unvarying principles (of Heaven's method) were allowed to go to ruin.* Khwăn was therefore kept a prisoner till his death, and his son Yü rose up (and entered on the same undertaking). To him Heaven gave the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and the unvarying principles (of its method) were set forth in their due order.'*

'(Of those divisions) the first is called "the five elements;" the second, "reverent attention to the five (personal) matters;" the third, "earnest devotion to the eight (objects of) government;" the fourth, "the harmonious use of the five dividers of time;" the fifth, "the establishment and use of royal perfection;" the

sixth, “the discriminating use of the three virtues;” the seventh, “the intelligent use of (the means for) the examination of doubts;” the eighth, “the thoughtful use of the various verifications;” the ninth, “the hortatory use of the five (sources of) happiness, and the awing use of the six (occasions of) suffering.”‘

i. ‘First, of the five elements. — The first is water; the second is fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; and the fifth, earth. (The nature of) water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked and straight; of metal, to yield and change; while (that of) earth is seen in seed-sowing and in-gathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which yields and changes becomes acrid; and from seed-sowing and in-gathering comes sweetness.’

‘Second, of the five (personal) matters. — The first is the bodily demeanour; the second, speech; the third, seeing; the fourth, hearing; the fifth, thinking. (The virtue of) the bodily appearance is respectfulness; of speech, accordance (with reason); of seeing, clearness; of hearing, distinctness; of thinking, perspicaciousness. The respectfulness becomes manifest in gravity; accordance (with reason), in orderliness; the clearness, in wisdom; the distinctness, in deliberation; and the perspicaciousness, in sageness.’

‘Third, of the eight (objects of) government. — The first is food; the second, wealth and articles of convenience; the third, sacrifices; the fourth, (the business of) the Minister of Works; the fifth, (that of) the Minister of Instruction; the sixth, (that of) the Minister of Crime; the seventh, the observances to be paid to guests; the eighth, the army.’

‘Fourth, of the five dividers of time. — The first is the year (or the planet Jupiter); the second, the moon; the third, the sun; the fourth, the stars and planets, and the zodiacal spaces; and the fifth, the calendaric calculations.’

‘Fifth, of royal perfection. — The sovereign, having established (in himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence, concentrates in his own person the five (sources of) happiness, and proceeds to diffuse them, and give them to the multitudes of the people. Then they, on their part, embodying your perfection, will give it (back) to you, and secure the preservation of it. Among all the multitudes of the people there will be no unlawful confederacies, and among men (in office) there will be no bad and selfish combinations; — let the sovereign establish in (himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence.

‘Among all the multitudes of the people there will be those who have ability to plan and to act, and who keep themselves (from evil): — do you keep such in mind; and there will be those who, not coming up to the highest point of excellence, yet do not involve themselves in evil: — let the sovereign receive

such. And when a placid satisfaction appears in their countenances, and they say, “Our love is fixed on virtue,” do you then confer favours on them; — those men will in this way advance to the perfection of the sovereign. Do not let him oppress the friendless and childless, nor let him fear the high and distinguished. When men (in office) have ability and administrative power, let them be made still more to cultivate their conduct; and the prosperity of the country will be promoted. All (such) right men, having a competency, will go on in goodness. If you cannot cause them to have what they love in their families, they will forthwith proceed to be guilty of crime. As to those who have not the love of virtue, although you confer favours (and emoluments) on them, they will (only) involve you in the guilt of employing the evil.

‘Without deflection, without unevenness,
Pursue the royal righteousness.
Without selfish likings,
Pursue the royal way.
Without selfish dislikings,
Pursue the royal path.
Avoid deflection, avoid partiality; —

Broad and long is the royal way.
Avoid partiality, avoid deflection; —
Level and easy is the royal way.
Avoid perversity, avoid one-sidedness; —
Correct and straight is the royal way.
(Ever) seek for this perfect excellence,
(Ever) turn to this perfect excellence.’

He went on to say, ‘This amplification of the royal perfection contains the unchanging (rule), and is the (great) lesson; — yea, it is the lesson of God.* All the multitudes of the people, instructed in this amplification of the perfect excellence, and carrying it into practice, will thereby approximate to the glory of the Son of Heaven, and say, “The Son of Heaven is the parent of the people, and so becomes the sovereign of all under the sky.”‘

‘Sixth, of the three virtues. — The first is correctness and straightforwardness; the second, strong rule; and the third, mild rule. In peace and tranquillity, correctness and straightforwardness (must sway); in violence and disorder, strong rule; in harmony and order, mild rule. For the reserved and retiring there should be (the stimulus of) the strong rule; for the high(-minded) and distinguished, (the restraint of) the mild rule.

‘It belongs only to the sovereign to confer dignities and rewards, to display the terrors of majesty, and to receive the revenues (of the kingdom). There should be no such thing as a minister’s conferring dignities or rewards, displaying the terrors of majesty, or receiving the revenues. Such a thing is injurious to the clans, and fatal to the states (of the kingdom); smaller affairs are thereby managed in a one-sided and perverse manner, and the people fall into assumptions and excesses.’

‘Seventh, of the (means for the) examination of doubts. — Officers having been chosen and appointed for divining by the tortoise-shell and the stalks of the Achillea, they are to be charged (on occasion) to execute their duties. (In doing this), they will find (the appearances of) rain, of clearing up, of cloudiness, of want of connexion, and of crossing; and the inner and outer diagrams. In all (the indications) are seven; — five given by the shell, and two by the stalks; and (by means) of these any errors (in the mind) may be traced out. These officers having been appointed, when the divination is proceeded with, three men are to interpret the indications, and the (consenting) words of two of them are to be followed.*

‘When you have doubts about any great matter, consult with your own mind; consult with your high ministers and officers; consult with the common people; consult the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. If you, the shell, the stalks, the ministers and officers, and the common people, all agree about a course, this is what is called a great concord, and the result will be the welfare of your person and good fortune to your descendants. If you, the shell, and the stalks agree, while the ministers, and officers, and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the ministers and officers, with the shell and stalks, agree, while you and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the common people, the shell, and the stalks agree, while you, with the ministers and officers, oppose, the result will be fortunate. If you and the shell agree, while the stalks, with the ministers and officers, and the common people, oppose, internal operations will be fortunate, and external undertakings unlucky. When the shell and stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be good fortune in being still, and active operations will be unlucky.’*

‘Eighth, of the various verifications. — They are rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind, and seasonableness. When the five come, all complete, and each in its proper order, (even) the various plants will be richly luxuriant. Should any one of them be either excessively abundant or excessively deficient, there will be evil.*

‘There are the favourable verifications: — namely, of gravity, which is emblemed by seasonable rain; of orderliness, emblemed by seasonable sunshine;

of wisdom, emblemed by seasonable heat; of deliberation, emblemed by seasonable cold; and of sageness, emblemed by seasonable wind. There are (also) the unfavourable verifications: — namely, of recklessness, emblemed by constant rain; of assumption, emblemed by constant sunshine; of indolence, emblemed by constant heat; of hastiness, emblemed by constant cold; and of stupidity, emblemed by constant wind.'*

He went on to say, 'The king should examine the (character of the whole) year; the high ministers and officers (that of) the month; and the inferior officers (that of) the day. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, there be an unchanging seasonableness, all the grains will be matured; the measures of government will be wise; heroic men will stand forth distinguished; and in the families (of the people) there will be peace and prosperity. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, the seasonableness be interrupted, the various kinds of grain will not be matured; the measures of government will be dark and unwise; heroic men will be kept in obscurity; and in the families (of the people) there will be an absence of repose.

'By the common people the stars should be examined. Some stars love wind, and some love rain. The courses of the sun and moon give winter and summer. The way in which the moon follows the stars gives wind and rain.'

'Ninth, of the five (sources of) happiness. — The first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, the love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will (of Heaven).* Of the six extreme evils, the first is misfortune shortening the life; the second, sickness; the third, distress of mind; the fourth, poverty; the fifth, wickedness; the sixth, weakness.'

Book V. The Hounds of Lü.

Lü was the name of one of the rude tribes of the west, lying beyond the provinces of Kâu. Its situation cannot be more exactly defined. Its people, in compliment to king Wû, and impressed by a sense of his growing power, sent to him some of their hounds, and he having received them, or intimated that he would do so, the Grand-Guardian remonstrated with him, showing that to receive such animals would be contrary to precedent, dangerous to the virtue of the sovereign, and was not the way to deal with outlying tribes and nations. The Grand-Guardian, it is supposed, was the duke of Shâo, author of the Announcement which forms the twelfth Book of this Part. The Book is one of the 'Instructions' of the Shû.

After the conquest of Shang, the way being open to the nine tribes of the Î and the eight of the Man, the western tribe of Lü sent as tribute some of its hounds, on which the Grand-Guardian made 'the Hounds of Lü,' by way of instruction to the king.

He said, 'Oh! the intelligent kings paid careful attention to their virtue, and the wild tribes on every side acknowledged subjection to them. The nearer and the more remote all presented the productions of their countries, — in robes, food, and vessels for use. The kings then displayed the things thus drawn forth by their virtue, (distributing them) to the (princes of the) states of different surnames from their own, (to encourage them) not to neglect their duties. The (more) precious things and pieces of jade they distributed among their uncles in charge of states, thereby increasing their attachment (to the throne). The recipients did not despise the things, but saw in them the power of virtue.

'Complete virtue allows no contemptuous familiarity. When (a ruler) treats superior men with such familiarity, he cannot get them to give him all their hearts; when he so treats inferior men, he cannot get them to put forth for him all their strength. Let him keep from being in bondage to his ears and eyes, and strive to be correct in all his measures. By trifling intercourse with men, he ruins his virtue; by finding his amusement in things (of mere pleasure), he ruins his aims. His aims should repose in what is right; he should listen to words (also) in their relation to what is right.

'When he does not do what is unprofitable to the injury of what is profitable, his merit can be completed. When he does not value strange things to the contemning things that are useful, his people will be able to supply (all that he needs). (Even) dogs and horses that are not native to his country he will not

keep. Fine birds and strange animals he will not nourish in his state. When he does not look on foreign things as precious, foreigners will come to him; when it is real worth that is precious to him, (his own) people near at hand will be in a state of repose.

‘Oh! early and late never be but earnest. If you do not attend jealously to your small actions, the result will be to affect your virtue in great matters; — in raising a mound of nine fathoms, the work may be unfinished for want of one basket (of earth). If you really pursue this course (which I indicate), the people will preserve their possessions, and the throne will descend from generation to generation.’

Book VI. The Metal-bound Coffer.

A certain chest or coffer, that was fastened with bands of metal, and in which important state documents were deposited, plays an important part among the incidents of the Book, which is therefore called ‘the Metal-bound Coffer.’ To what class among the documents of the Shû it should be assigned is doubtful.

King Wû is very ill, and his death seems imminent. His brother, the duke of Kâu, apprehensive of the disasters which such an event would occasion to their infant dynasty, conceives the idea of dying in his stead, and prays to ‘the three kings,’ their immediate progenitors, that he might be taken and king Wû left. Having done so, and divined that he was heard, he deposits the prayer in the metal-bound coffer. The king gets well, and the duke is also spared; but five years later, Wû does die, and is succeeded by his son, a boy only thirteen years old. Rumours are spread abroad that the duke has designs on the throne, and he withdraws for a time from the court. At length, in the third year of the young king, Heaven interposes. He has occasion to open the coffer, and the prayer of the duke is found. His devotion to his brother and to the interests of their family is brought to light. The boy-monarch weeps because of the unjust suspicions he had harboured, and welcomes the duke back to court, amid unmistakeable demonstrations of the approval of Heaven.

The whole narrative is a very pleasing episode in the history of the times. It divides itself naturally into two chapters: — the first, ending with the placing the prayer in the coffer; and the second, detailing how it was brought to light, and the consequences of the discovery.

It is in this Book that we first meet in the Shû with the duke of Kâu, a name in Chinese history only second to that of Confucius. He was the legislator and consolidator of the dynasty of Kâu, equally mighty in words and in deeds, — a man of counsel and of action. Confucius regarded his memory with reverence, and spoke of it as a sign of his own failing powers, that the duke of Kâu no longer appeared to him in his dreams. He was the fourth son of king Wăn; his name was Tan, and he had for his appanage the territory of Kâu, where Than-fû, canonized by him as king Thâi, first placed the seat of his family in bc 1327, and hence he is commonly called ‘the duke of Kâu.’

Two years after the conquest of Shang, the king fell ill, and was quite disconsolate. The two (other great) dukes said, ‘Let us reverently consult the tortoise-shell about the king;’ but the duke of Kâu said, ‘You must not so distress our former kings.’ He then took the business on himself, and reared three altars of earth on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on

the south of these, and facing the north, he took there his own position. Having put a round symbol of jade (on each of the three altars), and holding in his hands the lengthened symbol (of his own rank), he addressed the kings Thâi, Kî, and Wăn.*

The (grand) historiographer had written on tablets his prayer, which was to this effect:— 'A. B., your great descendant, is suffering from a severe and violent disease; — if you three kings have in heaven the charge of (watching over) him, (Heaven's) great son, let me Tan be a substitute for his person. I was lovingly obedient to my father; I am possessed of many abilities and arts, which fit me to serve spiritual beings. Your great descendant, on the other hand, has not so many abilities and arts as I, and is not so capable of serving spiritual beings. And moreover he was appointed in the hall of God to extend his aid all over the kingdom, so that he might establish your descendants in this lower earth. The people of the four quarters all stand in reverent awe of him. Oh! do not let that precious Heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground, and (all the long line of) our former kings will also have one in whom they can ever rest at our sacrifices.* I will now seek for your determination (in this matter) from the great tortoise-shell. If you grant me (my request), I will take these symbols and this mace, and return and wait for your orders. If you do not grant it, I will put them by.'*

The duke then divined with the three tortoise-shells, and all were favourable. He opened with a key the place where the (oracular) responses were kept, and looked at them, and they also were favourable. He said, 'According to the form (of the prognostic) the king will take no injury. I, the little child, have got the renewal of his appointment from the three kings, by whom a long futurity has been consulted for. I have now to wait for the issue. They can provide for our One man.'*

When the duke returned, he placed the tablets (of the prayer) in a metal-bound coffer, and next day the king got better.

(Afterwards), upon the death of king Wû, (the duke's) elder brother, he of Kwan, and his younger brothers, spread a baseless report through the kingdom, to the effect that the duke would do no good to the (king's) young son. On this the duke said to the two (other great) dukes, 'If I do not take the law (to these men), I shall not be able to make my report to the former kings.'*

He resided (accordingly) in the east for two years, when the criminals were taken (and brought to justice). Afterwards he made a poem to present to the king, and called it 'the Owl.' The king on his part did not dare to blame the duke.

In the autumn, when the grain was abundant and ripe, but before it was reaped, Heaven sent a great storm of thunder and lightning, along with wind, by

which the grain was all broken down, and great trees torn up. The people were greatly terrified; and the king and great officers, all in their caps of state, proceeded to open the metal-bound coffer and examine the writings in it, where they found the words of the duke when he took on himself the business of being a substitute for king Wû. The two (great) dukes and the king asked the historiographer and all the other officers (acquainted with the transaction) about the thing, and they replied, 'It was really thus; but ah! the duke charged us that we should not presume to speak about it.' The king held the writing in his hand, and wept, saying, 'We need not (now) go on reverently to divine. Formerly the duke was thus earnest for the royal House, but I, being a child, did not know it. Now Heaven has moved its terrors to display his virtue. That I, the little child, (now) go with my new views and feelings to meet him, is what the rules of propriety of our kingdom require.'*

The king then went out to the borders (to meet the duke), when Heaven sent down rain, and, by virtue of a contrary wind, the grain all rose up. The two (great) dukes gave orders to the people to take up the trees that had fallen and replace them. The year then turned out very fruitful.*

Book VII. The Great Announcement.

This ‘Great Announcement’ was called forth by the emergency referred to in the second chapter of the last Book. The prefatory notice says, ‘When king Wû had deceased, the three overseers and the wild tribes of the Hwâi rebelled. The duke of Kâu acted as minister for king Khăng, and having purposed to make an end of the House of Yin (or Shang), he made ‘the Great Announcement.’ Such was the occasion on which the Book was composed. The young king speaks in it the words and sentiments of the duke of Kâu; and hence the style in which it commences, ‘The king speaks to the following effect.’

The young sovereign speaks of the responsibility lying on him to maintain the kingdom gained by the virtues and prowess of his father, and of the senseless movements of the House of Shang to regain its supremacy. He complains of the reluctance of many of the princes and high officers to second him in putting down revolt, and proclaims with painful reiteration the support and assurances of success which he has received from the divining shell. His traitorous uncles, who were confederate with the son of the tyrant of Shang, are only alluded to.

The king speaks to the following effect:— ‘Ho! I make a great announcement to you, (the princes of) the many states, and to you, the managers of my affairs. — We are unpitied, and Heaven sends down calamities on our House, without the least intermission.* It greatly occupies my thoughts that I, so very young, have inherited this illimitable patrimony with its destinies and domains. I cannot display wisdom and lead the people to prosperity; and how much less should I be able to reach the knowledge of the decree of Heaven!* Yes, I who am but a little child am in the position of one who has to go through a deep water; — I must go and seek where I can cross over. I must diffuse the elegant institutions of my predecessor and display the appointment which he received (from Heaven); — so shall I not be forgetful of his great work. Nor shall I dare to restrain the majesty of Heaven in sending down its inflictions (on the criminals).’*

‘The Tranquillizing king left to me the great precious tortoise-shell, to bring into connexion with me the intelligence of Heaven. I divined by it, and it told me that there would be great trouble in the region of the west, and that the western people would not be still.* Accordingly we have these senseless movements. Small and reduced as Yin now is, (its prince) greatly dares to take in hand its (broken) line. Though Heaven sent down its terrors (on his House), yet knowing of the evils in our kingdom, and that the people are not tranquil, he says, “I will

recover (my patrimony);" and so (he wishes to) make our Kâu a border territory again.

'One day there was a senseless movement, and the day after, ten men of worth appeared among the people, to help me to go forward to restore tranquillity and perpetuate the plans (of my father). The great business I am engaging in will (thus) have a successful issue. I have divined (also) by the tortoise-shell, and always got a favourable response.* Therefore I tell you, the princes of my friendly states, and you, the directors of departments, my officers, and the managers of my affairs, — I have obtained a favourable reply to my divinations. I will go forward with you from all the states, and punish those vagabond and transported ministers of Yin.'

'(But) you the princes of the various states, and you the various officers and managers of my affairs, all retort on me, saying, "The hardships will be great, and that the people are not quiet has its source really in the king's palace and in the mansions of the princes in that (rebellious) state. We little ones, and the old and reverend men as well, think the expedition ill-advised; — why does your Majesty not go contrary to the divinations?" I, in my youth, (also) think continually of these hardships, and say, Alas! these senseless movements will deplorably afflict the wifeless men and widows! But I am the servant of Heaven, which has assigned me this great task, and laid the hard duty on my person.* I therefore, the young one, do not pity myself; and it would be right in you, the many officers, the directors of departments, and the managers of my affairs, to comfort me, saying, "Do not be distressed with sorrow. We shall surely complete the plans of your Tranquillizing father."

'Yes, I, the little child, dare not disregard the charge of God.* Heaven, favourable to the Tranquillizing king, gave such prosperity to our small country of Kâu. The Tranquillizing king divined and acted accordingly, and so he calmly received his (great) appointment. Now when Heaven is (evidently) aiding the people, how much more should we follow the indications of the shell! Oh! the clearly intimated will of Heaven is to be feared: — it is to help my great inheritance!'*

The king says, 'You, who are the old ministers, are fully able to remember the past; you know how great was the toil of the Tranquillizing king. Where Heaven (now) shuts up (our path) and distresses us, is the place where I must accomplish my work; — I dare not but do my utmost to complete the plans of the Tranquillizing king. It is on this account that I use such efforts to remove the doubts and carry forward the inclinations of the princes of my friendly states. And Heaven assists me with sincere expressions (of sympathy), which I have ascertained among the people; — how dare I but aim at the completion of the

work formerly begun by the Tranquillizer? Heaven, moreover, is thus toiling and distressing the people; — it is as if they were suffering from disease; how dare I allow (the appointment) which my predecessor, the Tranquillizer, received, to be without its happy fulfilment?'*

The king says, 'Formerly, at the initiation of this expedition, I spoke of its difficulties, and thought of them daily. But when a deceased father, (wishing) to build a house, had laid out the plan, if his son be unwilling to raise up the hall, how much less will he be willing to complete the roof! Or if the father had broken up the ground, and his son be unwilling to sow the seed, how much less will he be willing to reap the crop! In such a case could the father, (who had himself) been so reverently attentive (to his objects), have been willing to say, "I have a son who will not abandon his patrimony?" — How dare I therefore but use all my powers to give a happy settlement to the great charge entrusted to the Tranquillizing king? If among the friends of an elder brother or a deceased father there be those who attack his son, will the elders of the people encourage (the attack), and not (come to the) rescue?'

The king says, 'Oh! take heart, ye princes of the various states, and ye managers of my affairs. The enlightening of the country was from the wise, even from the ten men who obeyed and knew the charge of God,* and the real assistance given by Heaven. At that time none of you presumed to change the rules (prescribed by the Tranquillizing king). And now when Heaven is sending down calamity on the country of Kâu, and the authors of these great distresses (make it appear on a grand scale as if) the inmates of a house were mutually to attack one another, you are without any knowledge that the decree of Heaven is not to be changed!*

'I ever think and say, Heaven in destroying Yin was doing husbandman's work; — how dare I but complete the work on my fields? Heaven will thereby show its favour to my predecessor, the Tranquillizer. How should I be all for the oracle of divination, and presume not to follow (your advice)?* I am following the Tranquillizer, whose purpose embraced all within the limits of the land. How much more must I proceed, when the divinations are all favourable! It is on these accounts that I make this expedition in force to the east. There is no mistake about the decree of Heaven. The indications given by the tortoise-shell are all to the same effect.'*

Book VIII. The Charge to the Count of Wei.

The count of Wei was the principal character in the eleventh Book of the last Part, from which it appeared that he was a brother of the tyrant Kâu-hsin. We saw how his friends advised him to withdraw from the court of Shang, and save himself from the destruction that was impending over their House. He had done so, and king Wû had probably continued him in the possession of his appanage of Wei, while Wû-kăng, the son of the tyrant, had been spared, and entrusted with the duty of continuing the sacrifices to the great Thang and the other sovereigns of the House of Shang. Now that Wû-kăng has been punished with death for his rebellion, the duke of Kâu summons the count of Wei to court, and in the name of king Khăng invests him with the dukedom of Sung, corresponding to the present department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan, there to be the representative of the line of the departed kings of Shang.

The king speaks to the following effect:— 'Ho! eldest son of the king of Yin, examining into antiquity, (I find) that the honouring of the virtuous (belongs to their descendants) who resemble them in worth, and (I appoint) you to continue the line of the kings your ancestors, observing their ceremonies and taking care of their various relics. Come (also) as a guest to our royal House, and enjoy the prosperity of our kingdom, for ever and ever without end.

'Oh! your ancestor, Thang the Successful, was reverent and sage, (with a virtue) vast and deep. The favour and help of great Heaven lighted upon him, and he grandly received its appointment, to soothe the people by his gentleness, and remove the wicked oppressions from which they were suffering.* His achievements affected his age, and his virtue was transmitted to his posterity. And you are the one who pursue and cultivate his plans; — this praise has belonged to you for long. Reverently and carefully have you discharged your filial duties; gravely and respectfully you behave to spirits and to men.* I admire your virtue, and pronounce it great and not to be forgotten. God will always enjoy your offerings; the people will be reverently harmonious (under your sway).* I raise you therefore to the rank of high duke, to rule this eastern part of our great land.

'Be reverent. Go and diffuse abroad your instructions. Be carefully observant of your robes and (other accompaniments of) your appointment; follow and observe the proper statutes; — so as to prove a bulwark to the royal House. Enlarge (the fame of) your meritorious ancestor; be a law to your people; — so as for ever to preserve your dignity. (So also) shall you be a help to me, the One man; future ages will enjoy (the benefit of) your virtue; all the states will take

you for a pattern; — and thus you will make our dynasty of Kâu never weary of you.

‘Oh! go, and be prosperous. Do not disregard my charge.’

Book IX. The Announcement to the Prince of Khang.

Of the ten sons of king Wăn, the ninth was called Fâng, and is generally spoken of as Khang Shû, or 'the uncle, (the prince of) Khang.' We must conclude that Khang was the name of Făng's appanage, somewhere in the royal domain. This Book contains the charge given to him on his appointment to be marquis of Wei (the Chinese name is quite different from that of the appanage of the count of Wei), the chief city of which was Kâo-ko, that had been the capital of Kâu-hsin. It extended westward from the present Khâi Kâu, department Tâ-ming, Kih-lî, to the borders of the departments of Wei-hui and Hwâi-khing, Ho-nan.

The Book is called an 'Announcement,' whereas it properly belongs to the class of 'Charges.' Whether the king who speaks in it, and gives the charge be Wû, or his son king Khăng, is a point on which there is much difference of opinion among Chinese critics. The older view that the appointment of Făng to be marquis of Wei, and ruler of that part of the people who might be expected to cling most tenaciously to the memory of the Shang dynasty, took place after the death of Wû-kăng, the son of the tyrant, and was made by the duke of Kâu, in the name of king Khăng, is on the whole attended with the fewer difficulties.

The first paragraph, which appears within brackets, does not really belong to this Book, but to the thirteenth, where it will be found again. How it got removed from its proper place, and prefixed to the charge to the prince of Khang, is a question on which it is not necessary to enter. The key-note of the whole charge is in what is said, at the commencement of the first of the five chapters into which I have divided it, about king Wăn, that 'he was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments.' The first chapter celebrates the exhibition of these two things given by Wăn, whereby he laid the foundations of the great destiny of his House, and set an example to his descendants. The second inculcates on Făng how he should illustrate his virtue, as the basis of his good government of the people entrusted to him. The third inculcates on him how he should be careful in the use of punishments, and sets forth the happy effects of his being so. The fourth insists on the influence of virtue, as being superior in government to that of punishment, and how punishments should all be regulated by the ruler's virtue. The last chapter winds the subject up with a reference to the uncertainty of the appointments of Heaven, and their dependance for permanence on the discharge of the duties connected with them by those on whom they have lighted.

[On the third month, when the moon began to wane, the duke of Kâu commenced the foundations, and proceeded to build the new great city of Lo, of

the eastern states. The people from every quarter assembled in great harmony. From the Hâu, Tien, Nan, Ʒhâi, and Wei domains, the various officers stimulated this harmony of the people, and introduced them to the business there was to be done for Kâu. The duke encouraged all to diligence, and made a great announcement about the performance (of the works).]

The king speaks to this effect:— 'Head of the princes, and my younger brother, little one, Făng, it was your greatly distinguished father, the king Wăn, who was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments. He did not dare to treat with contempt (even) wifeless men and widows. He employed the employable, and revered the reverend; he was terrible to those who needed to be awed: — so getting distinction among the people. It was thus he laid the foundations of (the sway of) our small portion of the kingdom, and the one or two (neighbouring) regions were brought under his improving influence, until throughout our western land all placed in him their reliance. The fame of him ascended up to the high God, and God approved. Heaven accordingly gave a grand charge to king Wăn, to exterminate the great (dynasty of) Yin, and grandly receive its appointment, so that the various countries belonging to it and their peoples were brought to an orderly condition.* Then your unworthy elder brother exerted himself; and thus it is that you Făng, the little one, are here in this eastern region.'

The king says, 'Oh! Făng, bear these things in mind. Now (your success in the management of) the people will depend on your reverently following your father Wăn; — do you carry out his virtuous words which you have heard, and clothe yourself with them. (Moreover), where you go, seek out among (the traces of) the former wise kings of Yin what you may use in protecting and regulating their people. (Again), you must in the remote distance study the (ways of) the old accomplished men of Shang, that you may establish your heart, and know how to instruct (the people). (Further still), you must search out besides what is to be learned of the wise kings of antiquity, and employ it in tranquillizing and protecting the people. (Finally), enlarge (your thoughts) to (the comprehension of all) heavenly (principles), and virtue will be richly displayed in your person, so that you will not render nugatory the king's charge.'

The king says, 'Oh! Făng, the little one, be respectfully careful, as if you were suffering from a disease. Awful though Heaven be, it yet helps the sincere.* The feelings of the people can for the most part be discerned; but it is difficult to preserve (the attachment of) the lower classes. Where you go, employ all your heart. Do not seek repose, nor be fond of ease and pleasure. I have read the saying,— "Dissatisfaction is caused not so much by great things, or by small

things, as by (a ruler's) observance of principle or the reverse, and by his energy of conduct or the reverse." Yes, it is yours, O little one, — it is your business to enlarge the royal (influence), and to protect the people of Yin in harmony with their feelings. Thus also shall you assist the king, consolidating the appointment of Heaven, and renovating the people.'*

The king says, 'Oh! Făng, deal reverently and intelligently in your infliction of punishments. When men commit small crimes, which are not mischances, but purposed, they of themselves doing what is contrary to the laws intentionally, though their crimes be but small, you may not but put them to death. But in the case of great crimes, which were not purposed, but from mischance and misfortune, accidental, if the transgressors confess their guilt without reserve, you must not put them to death.'

The king says, 'Oh! Făng, there must be the orderly regulation (of this matter). When you show a great discrimination, subduing (men's hearts), the people will admonish one another, and strive to be obedient. (Deal firmly yet tenderly with evil), as if it were a disease in your own person, and the people will entirely put away their faults. (Deal with them) as if you were protecting your own infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly. It is not you, O Făng, who (can presume to) inflict a (severe) punishment or death upon a man; — do not, to please yourself, so punish a man or put him to death.' Moreover, he says, 'It is not you, O Făng, who (can presume to inflict a lighter punishment), cutting off a man's nose or ears; — do not, to please yourself, cause a man's nose or ears to be cut off.'

The king says, 'In things beyond (your immediate supervision), have laws set forth which the officers may observe, and these should be the penal laws of Yin which were rightly ordered.' He also says, 'In examining the evidence in (criminal) cases, reflect upon it for five or six days, yea, for ten days or three months. You may then boldly come to a decision in such cases.'

The king says, 'In setting forth the business of the laws, the punishments will be determined by (what were) the regular laws of Yin. But you must see that those punishments, and (especially) the penalty of death, be righteous. And you must not let them be warped to agree with your own inclinations, O Făng. Then shall they be entirely accordant with right, and you may say, "They are properly ordered;" yet you must say (at the same time), "Perhaps they are not yet entirely accordant with right." Yes, though you are the little one, who has a heart like you, O Făng? My heart and my virtue are also known to you.

'All who of themselves commit crimes, robbing, stealing, practising villainy and treachery, and who kill men or violently assault them to take their property,

being reckless and fearless of death; — these are abhorred by all.'

The king says, 'O Făng, such great criminals are greatly abhorred, and how much more (detestable) are the unfilial and unbrotherly! — as the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father's heart, and the father who can (no longer) love his son, but hates him; as the younger brother who does not think of the manifest will of Heaven, and refuses to respect his elder brother, and the elder brother who does not think of the toil of their parents in bringing up their children, and is very unfriendly to his junior. If we who are charged with government do not treat parties who proceed to such wickedness as offenders, the laws (of our nature) given by Heaven to our people will be thrown into great disorder and destroyed. You must resolve to deal speedily with such according to the penal laws of king Wăn, punishing them severely and not pardoning.

'Those who are disobedient (to natural principles) are to be thus subjected to the laws; — how much more the officers employed in your state as the instructors of the youth, the heads of the official departments, and the smaller officers charged with their several commissions, when they propagate other lessons, seeking the praise of the people, not thinking (of their duty), nor using (the rules for their offices), but distressing their ruler! These lead on (the people) to wickedness, and are an abomination to me. Shall they be let alone? Do you speedily, according to what is right, put them to death.

'And you will be yourself ruler and president; — if you cannot manage your own household, with your smaller officers, and the heads of departments in the state, but use only terror and violence, you will greatly set aside the royal charge, and be trying to regulate your state contrary to virtue. You must in everything reverence the statutes, and proceed by them to the happy rule of the people. There were the reverence of king Wăn and his caution; — in proceeding by them to the happy rule of the people, say, "If I could only attain to them — ." So will you make me, the One man, to rejoice.'

The king says, 'O Făng, when I think clearly of the people, I see that they should be led (by example) to happiness and tranquillity. I think of the virtue of the former wise kings of Yin, whereby they tranquillized and regulated the people, and rouse myself to make it my own. Moreover, the people now are sure to follow a leader. If one do not lead them, he cannot be said to exercise a government in their state.'

The king says, 'O Făng, I cannot dispense with the inspection (of the ancients), and I make this declaration to you about virtue in the use of punishments. Now the people are not quiet; they have not yet stilled their minds; notwithstanding my leading of them, they have not come to accord (with my

government). I clearly consider that severe as are the inflictions of Heaven on me, I dare not murmur. The crimes (of the people), though they were not great or many, (would all be chargeable on me), and how much more shall this be said when the report of them goes up so manifestly to heaven!'

The king says, 'Oh! Făng, be reverent! Do not what will cause murmurings; and do not use bad counsels and uncommon ways. With the determination of sincerity, give yourself to imitate the active virtue (of the ancients). Hereby give repose to your mind, examine your virtue, send far forward your plans; and thus by your generous forbearance you will make the people repose in what is good, and I shall not have to blame you or cast you off.'

The king says, 'Oh! you, Făng, the little one, (Heaven's) appointments are not unchanging.* Think of this, and do not make me deprive you of your dignity. Make illustrious the charge which you have received; exalt (the instructions) which you have heard, and tranquillize and regulate the people accordingly.'

The king speaks to this effect: 'Go, Făng. Do not disregard the statutes you should reverence; hearken to what I have told you; — so shall you among the people of Yin enjoy (your dignity), and hand it down to your posterity.'

Book X. The Announcement about Drunkenness.

This Announcement was, like the last, made to Făng, the prince of Khang, about the time when he was invested with the principality of Wei. Mention has often been made in previous documents of the Shû of the drunken debauchery of Kieh as the chief cause of the downfal of the dynasty of Hsiâ, and of the same vice in Kâu-hsin, the last of the kings of Shang. The people of Shang had followed the example of their sovereign, and drunkenness, with its attendant immoralities, characterised both the highest and lowest classes of society. One of Făng's most difficult tasks in his administration would be, to correct this evil habit, and he is called in this Book to the undertaking. He is instructed in the proper use and the allowable uses of spirits; the disastrous consequences of drunkenness are set forth; and he is summoned to roll back the flood of its desolation from his officers and people.

I have divided the Book into two chapters: — the one preliminary, showing the original use and the permissible uses of ardent spirits; the other, showing how drunkenness had proved the ruin of the Shang dynasty, and how they of Kâu, and particularly Făng in Wei, should turn the lesson to account.

The title might be translated— 'The Announcement about Spirits,' but the cursory reader would most readily suppose that the discourse was about Spiritual Beings. The Chinese term Kiû, that is here employed, is often translated by wine, but it denotes, it seems to me, ardent spirits. As Gaubil says, 'We have here to do with le vin du riz, the art of which was discovered, according to most writers, in the time of Yü, the founder of the first dynasty. The grape was not introduced to China till that of the first Han.'

[Since the above sentences were in manuscript, the Rev. Dr. Edkins of Pekin has stated at a meeting of the North-China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and in a letter to myself (April 24th), that he has lately investigated the question whether the Kiû of the ancient Chinese was spirits or not, and found that distillation was first known in China in the Mongol or Yüan dynasty (ad 1280-1367), so that the Arabs must have the credit of the invention; that the process in making Kiû was brewing, or nearly so, but, as the term beer is inadmissible in a translation of the classics, he would prefer to use the term wine; and that Kiû with Shâo ('fired,' 'ardent') before it, means spirits, but without Shâo, it means wine.

If the whole process of Dr. Edkins' investigation were before me, I should be glad to consider it, and not hesitate to alter my own view, if I saw reason to do so. Meanwhile, what he says makes me glad that I adopted 'the Announcement

about Drunkenness' as the title of this chapter. It is drunkenness, by whatever liquor occasioned, that the king of Kâu condemns and denounces.

What we commonly understand by wine is never intended by Kiû in the Chinese classics, and therefore I cannot use that term. After searching as extensively as I could do in this country, since I received Dr. Edkins' letter, I have found nothing to make me think that the Chinese term is not properly translated by 'spirits.'

Dr. Williams, in his Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language (Shanghai, 1874), gives this account of Kiû:— 'Liquor; it includes spirits, wine, beer, and other drinks. The Chinese make no wine, and chiefly distil their liquors, and say that Tû Khang, a woman of the Tî tribes, first made it.' This account is to a considerable extent correct. The Chinese distil their liquors. I never saw beer or porter of native production among them, though according to Dr. Edkins they had been brewing 'or nearly so' for more than 3000 years. Among his examples of the use of Kiû, Williams gives the combinations of 'red Kiû' for claret, 'white Kiû' for sherry, and 'pî (simply phonetical) Kiû' for beer, adding that they 'are all terms of foreign origin.' What he says about the traditional account of the first maker of Kiû is not correct. It is said certainly that this was Tû Khang, but who he was, or when he lived, I have never been able to discover. Some identify him with Î-tî, said by Williams to have been 'a woman of the Tî tribes.' The attributing of the invention to Î-tî is probably an independent tradition. We find it in the 'Plans of the Warring States' (ch. xiv, art. 10), a work covering about four centuries from the death of Confucius:— 'Anciently, the daughter of the Tî ordered Î-tî to make Kiû. She admired it, and presented some to Yü, who drank it, and found it pleasant. He then discarded Î-tî, and denounced the use of such generous Kiû, saying, "In future ages there are sure to be those who by Kiû will lose their states." ' According to this tradition intoxicating Kiû was known in the time of Yü — in the twenty-third century bc The daughter of the Tî would be Yü's wife, and Î-tî would probably be their cook. It does not appear as the name of a woman, or one from the wild Tî tribes.

With regard to the phrase Shâo Kiû, said to be the proper term for ardent spirits, and unknown in China till the Yüan dynasty, a reference to the Khang-hsî Tonic Thesaurus of the language will show instances of its use as early at least as the Thang dynasty (ad 618-906).]

The king speaks to the following effect:— 'Do you clearly make known my great commands in the country of Mei.

'When your reverent father, the king Wăn, laid the foundations of our kingdom in the western region, he delivered announcements and cautions to (the princes of) the various regions, and to all his (high) officers, with their assistants,

and the managers of affairs, saying, morning and evening, “At sacrifices spirits should be employed.”* When Heaven was sending down its favouring decree, and laying the foundations of (the eminence of) our people, (spirits) were used only at the great sacrifices. When Heaven sends down its terrors, and our people are thereby greatly disorganized and lose their virtue, this may be traced invariably to their indulgence in spirits; yea, the ruin of states, small and great, (by these terrors), has been caused invariably by their guilt in the use of spirits.

‘King Wăn admonished and instructed the young nobles, who were charged with office or in any employment, that they should not ordinarily use spirits; and throughout all the states, he required that such should drink spirits only on occasion of sacrifices, and that then virtue should preside so that there might be no drunkenness.’

He said, ‘Let my people teach their young men that they are to love only the productions of the soil, for so will their hearts be good. Let the young also hearken wisely to the constant instructions of their fathers; and let them look at all virtuous actions, whether great or small, in the same light (with watchful heed).

‘(Ye people of) the land of Mei, if you can employ your limbs, largely cultivating your millets, and hastening about in the service of your fathers and elders; and if, with your carts and oxen, you traffic diligently to a distance, that you may thereby filially minister to your parents; then, when your parents are happy, you may set forth your spirits clear and strong, and use them.

‘Hearken constantly to my instructions, all ye my (high) officers and ye heads of departments, all ye, my noble chiefs; — when ye have largely done your duty in ministering to your aged, and serving your ruler, ye may eat and drink freely and to satiety. And to speak of greater things: — when you can maintain a constant, watchful examination of yourselves, and your conduct is in accordance with correct virtue, then may you present the offerings of sacrifice,* and at the same time indulge yourselves in festivity. In such case you will indeed be ministers doing right service to your king, and Heaven likewise will approve your great virtue, so that you shall never be forgotten in the royal House.’*

The king says, ‘O Făng, in our western region, the princes of states, and the young (nobles), sons of the managers of affairs, who in former days assisted king Wăn, were all able to obey his lessons, and abstain from excess in the use of spirits; and so it is that I have now received the appointment which belonged to Yin.’

The king says, ‘O Făng, I have heard it said, that formerly the first wise king of Yin manifested a reverential awe of the bright principles of Heaven and of the

lower people, acting accordingly, steadfast in his virtue, and holding fast his wisdom.* From him, Thang the Successful, down to Tî-yî, all completed their royal virtue and revered their chief ministers, so that their managers of affairs respectfully discharged their helping duties, and dared not to allow themselves in idleness and pleasure; — how much less would they dare to indulge themselves in drinking! Moreover, in the exterior domains, (the princes of) the Hâu, Tien, Nan, and Wei (states), with their presiding chiefs; and in the interior domain, all the various officers, the directors of the several departments, the inferior officers and employés, the heads of great houses, and the men of distinguished name living in retirement, all eschewed indulgence in spirits. Not only did they not dare to indulge in them, but they had not leisure to do so, being occupied with helping to complete the sovereign's virtue and make it more illustrious, and helping the directors of affairs reverently to attend to his service.

'I have heard it said likewise, that the last successor of those kings was addicted to drink, so that no charges came from him brightly before the people, and he was (as if) reverently and unchangingly bent on doing and cherishing what provoked resentment. Greatly abandoned to extraordinary lewdness and dissipation, for pleasure's sake he sacrificed all his majesty. The people were all sorely grieved and wounded in heart; but he gave himself wildly up to drink, not thinking of restraining himself, but continuing his excess, till his mind was frenzied, and he had no fear of death. His crimes (accumulated) in the capital of Shang; and though the extinction of the dynasty (was imminent), this gave him no concern, and he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven.* The rank odour of the people's resentments, and the drunkenness of his herd of creatures, went loudly up on high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin, and showed no love for it, — because of such excesses. There is not any cruel oppression of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt, (and its punishment.)'*

The king says, 'O Făng, I make you this long announcement, not (for the pleasure of doing so); but the ancients have said, "Let not men look into water; let them look into the glass of other people." Now that Yin has lost its appointment, ought we not to look much to it as our glass, (and learn) how to secure the repose of our time? I say to you, — Strenuously warn the worthy ministers of Yin, and (the princes) in the Hâu, the Tien, the Nan, and the Wei domains; and still more your friends, the great Recorder and the Recorder of the Interior, and all your worthy ministers, the heads of great Houses; and still more those whom you serve, with whom you calmly discuss matters, and who carry out your measures; and still more those who are, as it were, your mates, — your Minister of War who deals with the rebellious, your Minister of Instruction who

is like a protector to the people, and your Minister of Works who settles the boundaries; and above all, do you strictly keep yourself from drink.

‘If you are informed that there are companies that drink together, do not fail to apprehend them all, and send them here to Kâu, where I may put them to death. As to the ministers and officers of Yin who were led to it and became addicted to drink, it is not necessary to put them to death (at once); — let them be taught for a time. If they follow these (lessons of mine), I will give them bright distinction. If they disregard my lessons, then I, the One man, will show them no pity. As they cannot change their way, they shall be classed with those who are to be put to death.’

The king says, ‘O Făng, give constant heed to my admonitions. If you do not rightly manage the officers, the people will continue lost in drunkenness.’

Book XI. The Timber of the Rottlera.

‘The wood of the Ʒze tree’ — the Rottlera Japonica, according to Dr. Williams — is mentioned in the Book, and was adopted as the name for it. The Ʒze was esteemed a very valuable tree for making articles of furniture and for the carver’s art. The title perhaps intimates that the administrator of government ought to go about his duties carefully and skilfully, as the cabinet-maker and carver deal with their materials.

The Book is wanting in unity. Divided into two chapters, the first may be taken as a charge to ‘the prince of Khang.’ He is admonished of his duty to promote a good understanding between the different classes in his state, and between them all and the sovereign; and that, in order to this, his rule must be gentle, eschewing the use of punishments. The second chapter is of a different character, containing not the charges of a sovereign, but the admonitions or counsels of a minister, loyally cautioning him, and praying for the prosperity of his reign. We might suppose them the response of Făng to the previous charge, but the text does not indicate the introduction of a new speaker.

The king says, ‘O Făng, to secure a good understanding between the multitudes of his people and his ministers (on the one hand), and the great families (on the other); and (again) to secure the same between all the subjects under his charge, and the sovereign: — is the part of the ruler of a state.

‘If you regularly, in giving out your orders, say, “My instructors whom I am to follow, my Minister of Instruction, my Minister of War, and my Minister of Works; my heads of departments, and all ye, my officers, I will on no account put any to death oppressively” — . Let the ruler also set the example of respecting and encouraging (the people), and these will (also) proceed to respect and encourage them. Then let him go on, in dealing with villainy and treachery, with murderers and harbourers of criminals, to exercise clemency (where it can be done), and these will likewise do the same with those who have assaulted others and injured their property. When sovereigns appointed overseers (of states), they did so in order to the government of the people, and said to them, “Do not give way to violence or oppression, but go on to show reverent regard for the friendless, and find helping connexions for (destitute) women.” Deal with all according to this method, and cherish them. And when sovereigns gave their injunctions to the rulers of states, and their managers of affairs, what was their charge? It was that they should lead (the people) to the enjoyment of plenty and peace. Such was the way of the kings from of old. An overseer is to eschew the use of punishments.’

(The king) says, ‘As in the management of a field, when the soil has been all laboriously turned up, they have to proceed by orderly arrangements to make its boundaries and water-courses; as in building a house, after all the toil on its walls, they have to plaster and thatch it; as in working with the wood of the rottlera, when the toil of the coarser and finer operations has been completed, they have to apply the paint of red and other colours; — (so do you finish for me the work which I have begun in the state of Wei.)’

Now let your majesty say, ‘The former kings diligently employed their illustrious virtue, and produced such attachment by their cherishing (of the princes), that from all the states they brought offerings, and came with brotherly affection from all quarters, and likewise showed their virtue illustrious. Do you, O sovereign, use their methods to attach (the princes), and all the states will largely come with offerings. Great Heaven having given this Middle Kingdom with its people and territories to the former kings, do you, our present sovereign, display your virtue, effecting a gentle harmony among the deluded people, leading and urging them on; — so (also) will you comfort the former kings, who received the appointment (from Heaven).*

‘Yes, make these things your study. I say so simply from my wish that (your dynasty) may continue for myriads of years, and your descendants always be the protectors of the people.’

Book XII. The Announcement of the Duke of Shâo.

Shâo was the name of a territory within the royal domain, corresponding to the present district of Hwan-khü, Kiang Kâu, Shan-hsî. It was the appanage of Shih, one of the ablest of the men who lent their aid to the establishment of the dynasty of Kâu. He appears in this Book as the Grand-Guardian at the court of king Khăng, and we have met with him before in the Hounds of Lü and the Metal-bound Coffer. He is introduced here in connexion with one of the most important enterprises of the duke of Kâu, the building of the city of Lo, not very far from the present city of Lo-yang, in Ho-nan, as a new and central capital of the kingdom. King Wû had conceived the idea of such a city; but it was not carried into effect till the reign of his son, and is commonly assigned to Khăng's seventh year, in bc 1109.

Shih belonged to the royal House, and of course had the surname Kî. He is styled the duke of Shâo, as being one of the 'three dukes,' or three highest officers of the court, and also the chief of Shâo, all the country west of Shen being under him, as all the east of it was under the duke of Kâu. He was invested by Wû with the principality of 'the Northern Yen,' corresponding to the present department of Shun-thien, Kih-lî, which was held by his descendants fully nine hundred years. It was in Lo — while the building of it was proceeding — that he composed this Book, and sent it by the hands of the duke of Kâu to their young sovereign.

The whole may be divided into three chapters. The first contains various information about the arrangements for the building of Lo, first by the duke of Shâo, and then by the duke of Kâu; and about the particular occasion when the former recited the counsels which he had composed, that they might be made known to the king. These form the second chapter. First, it sets forth the uncertainty of the favour of Heaven, and urges the king to cultivate the 'virtue of reverence,' in order to secure its permanence, and that he should not neglect his aged and experienced ministers. It speaks next of the importance and difficulty of the royal duties, and enforces the same virtue of reverence by reference to the rise and fall of the previous dynasties. Lastly, it sets forth the importance, at this early period of his reign, of the king's at once setting about the reverence which was thus described. There is a concluding chapter, where the duke gives expression to his loyal and personal feelings for the king, and the purpose to be served by the offerings, which he was then sending to the court.

The burden of the Announcement is 'the virtue of reverence.' Let the king only feel how much depended on his attending reverently to his duties, and all

would be well. The people would love and support the dynasty of Kâu, and Heaven would smile upon and sustain it.

In the second month, on the day Yî-wei, six days after full moon, the king proceeded in the morning from Kâu to Făng. (Thence) the Grand-Guardian went before the duke of Kâu to survey the locality (of the new capital); and in the third month, on the day Wû-shăn, the third day after the first appearance of the moon on Ping-wû, he came in the morning to Lo. He divined by the tortoiseshell about the (several) localities, and having obtained favourable indications, he set about laying out the plan (of the city).* On Kăng-hsü, the third day after, he led the people of Yin to prepare the various sites on the north of the Lo; and this work was completed on Kiâ-yin, the fifth day after.

On Yî-mâo, the day following, the duke of Kâu came in the morning to Lo, and thoroughly inspected the plan of the new city. On Ting-sze, the third day after, he offered two bulls as victims in the (northern and southern) suburbs; and on the morrow, Wû-wû, at the altar to the spirit of the land in the new city, he sacrificed a bull, a ram, and a boar.* After seven days, on Kiâ-ʒze, in the morning, from his written (specifications) he gave their several orders to the people of Yin, and to the presiding chiefs of the princes from the Hâu, Tien, and Nan domains. When the people of Yin had thus received their orders, they arose and entered with vigour on their work.

(When the work was drawing to a completion), the Grand-Guardian went out with the hereditary princes of the various states to bring their offerings (for the king); and when he entered again, he gave them to the duke of Kâu, saying, 'With my hands to my head and my head to the ground, I present these to his Majesty and your Grace. Announcements for the information of the multitudes of Yin must come from you, with whom is the management of affairs.'

'Oh! God (dwelling in) the great heavens has changed his decree respecting his great son and the great dynasty of Yin. Our king has received that decree. Unbounded is the happiness connected with it, and unbounded is the anxiety: — Oh! how can he be other than reverent?*

'When Heaven rejected and made an end of the decree in favour of the great dynasty of Yin, there were many of its former wise kings in heaven.* The king, however, who had succeeded to them, the last of his race, from the time of his entering into their appointment, proceeded in such a way as at last to keep the wise in obscurity and the vicious in office. The poor people in such a case, carrying their children and leading their wives, made their moan to Heaven. They even fled away, but were apprehended again. Oh! Heaven had compassion

on the people of the four quarters; its favouring decree lighted on our earnest (founders). Let the king sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence.*

'Examining the men of antiquity, there was the (founder of the) Hsiâ dynasty. Heaven guided (his mind), allowed his descendants (to succeed him), and protected them.* He acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it. But in process of time the decree in his favour fell to the ground.* So also is it now when we examine the case of Yin. There was the same guiding (of its founder), who corrected (the errors of Hsiâ), and (whose descendants) enjoyed the protection (of Heaven). He (also) acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it.* But now the decree in favour of him has fallen to the ground. Our king has now come to the throne in his youth; — let him not slight the aged and experienced, for it may be said of them that they have studied the virtuous conduct of the ancients, and have matured their counsels in the sight of Heaven.

'Oh! although the king is young, yet he is the great son (of God).* Let him effect a great harmony with the lower people, and that will be the blessing of the present time. Let not the king presume to be remiss in this, but continually regard and stand in awe of the perilous (uncertainty) of the people's (attachment).

'Let the king come here as the vice-gerent of God, and undertake (the duties of government) in this centre of the land.* Tan said, "Now that this great city has been built, from henceforth he may be the mate of great Heaven, and reverently sacrifice to (the spirits) above and beneath; from henceforth he may from this central spot administer successful government." Thus shall the king enjoy the favouring regard (of Heaven) all-complete, and the government of the people will now be prosperous.*

'Let the king first subdue to himself those who were the managers of affairs under Yin, associating them with the managers of affairs for our Kâu. This will regulate their (perverse) natures, and they will make daily advancement. Let the king make reverence the resting-place (of his mind); — he must maintain the virtue of reverence.

'We should by all means survey the dynasties of Hsiâ and Yin. I do not presume to know and say, "The dynasty of Hsiâ was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer."* The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour prematurely fell to the ground. (Similarly), I do not presume to know and say, "The dynasty of Yin was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer."* The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour fell prematurely to the ground.

The king has now inherited the decree, — the same decree, I consider, which belonged to those two dynasties. Let him seek to inherit (the virtues of) their meritorious (sovereigns); — (let him do this especially) at this commencement of his duties.

'Oh! it is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on (the training of) his early life, through which he may secure his wisdom in the future, as if it were decreed to him. Now Heaven may have decreed wisdom (to the king); it may have decreed good fortune or bad; it may have decreed a (long) course of years; — we only know that now is with him the commencement of his duties. Dwelling in this new city, let the king now sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence. When he is all-devoted to this virtue, he may pray to Heaven for a long-abiding decree in his favour.*

'In the position of king, let him not, because of the excesses of the people in violation of the laws, presume also to rule by the violent infliction of death; — when the people are regulated gently, the merit (of government) is seen. It is for him who is in the position of king to overtop all with his virtue. In this case the people will imitate him throughout the kingdom, and he will become still more illustrious.

'Let the king and his ministers labour with a mutual sympathy, saying, "We have received the decree of Heaven, and it shall be great as the long-continued years of Hsiâ; — yea, it shall not fail of the long-continued years of Yin." I wish the king, through (the attachment of) the lower people, to receive the long-abiding decree of Heaven.'*

(The duke of Shâo) then did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, and said, 'I, a small minister, presume, with the king's (heretofore) hostile people and all their officers, and with his (loyal) friendly people, to maintain and receive his majesty's dread command and brilliant virtue. That the king should finally obtain the decree all-complete, and that he should become illustrious, — this I do not presume to labour for. I only bring respectfully these offerings to present to his majesty, to be used in his prayers to Heaven for its long-abiding decree.'*

Book XIII. The Announcement concerning Lo.

The matters recorded in this Book are all connected, more or less nearly, with Lo, the new capital, the arrangements for the building of which are related at the commencement of the last Book. According to the summary of the contents given by the commentator Ʒhâi Khăn, 'The arrangements for the building having been made, the duke of Kâu sent a messenger to inform the king of the result of his divinations. The historiographer recorded this as the Announcement about Lo, and at the same time related a dialogue between the king and his minister, and how the king charged the duke to remain at Lo, and conduct the government of it.' Passing over the commencing paragraph, which I have repeated here from the ninth Book, Ʒhâi divides all the rest into seven chapters. Ch. 1 contains the duke's message concerning his divinations; and the next gives the king's reply. Ch. 3 is occupied with instructions to the king about the measures which he should pursue on taking up his residence at Lo. In ch. 4, the king charges the duke to remain at Lo, and undertake its government. In ch. 5, the duke responds, and accepts the charge, dwelling on the duties which the king and himself would have to perform. Ch. 6 relates the action of the duke in reference to a message and gift from the king intended for his special honour. In ch. 7, the historiographer writes of sacrifices offered by the king in Lo, and a proclamation that he issued, and tells how long the duke continued in his government; — showing how the duke began the city and completed it, and how king Khăng, after offering the sacrifices and inaugurating the government, returned to Hâo, and did not, after all, make his capital at Lo.

Many critics make much to do about the want of historical order in the Book, and suppose that portions have been lost, and other portions transposed; but the Book may be explained without resorting to so violent a supposition.

[In the third month, when the moon began to wane, the duke of Kâu commenced the foundations and proceeded to build the new great city of Lo of the eastern states. The people from every quarter assembled in great harmony. From the Hâu, Tien, Nan, Ʒhâi, and Wei domains, the various officers stimulated this harmony of the people, and introduced them to the business that was to be done for Kâu. The duke encouraged all to diligence, and made a great announcement about the performance (of the works).]

The duke of Kâu did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'Herewith I report (the execution of my commission) to my son, my intelligent sovereign. The king appeared as if he would not presume to be present at Heaven's founding here the appointment (of our dynasty), and fixing

it, whereupon I followed the (Grand-)Guardian, and made a great survey of this eastern region, hoping to found the place where he should become the intelligent sovereign of the people. On the day Yî-mâo, I came in the morning to this capital of Lo. I (first) divined by the shell concerning (the ground about) the Lî-water on the north of the Ho. I then divined concerning the east of the Kien-water, and the west of the Khan, when the (ground near the) Lo was indicated. Again I divined concerning the east of the Khan-water, when the (ground near the) Lo was also indicated. I (now) send a messenger with a map, and to present the (result of the) divinations.'*

The king did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'The duke did not presume not to acknowledge reverently the favour of Heaven, and has surveyed the locality where our Kâu may respond to that favour. Having settled the locality, he has sent his messenger to show me the divinations, favourable and always auspicious. We two must together sustain the responsibility. He has made provision for me (and my successors), for myriads and tens of myriads of years, there reverently to acknowledge the favour of Heaven.* With my hands to my head and my head to the ground, (I receive) his instructive words.'

The duke of Kâu said, 'Let the king at first employ the ceremonies of Yin, and sacrifice in the new city,* doing everything in an orderly way, but without display. I will marshal all the officers to attend you from Kâu, merely saying that probably there will be business to be done (in sacrificing). Let the king instantly issue an order to the effect that the most meritorious (ministers) shall have the first place in the sacrifices; and let him also say in an order, "You, in whose behalf the above order is issued, must give me your assistance with sincere earnestness." Truly display the record of merits, for it is you who must in everything teach the officers. My young son, can you indulge partiality? Eschew it, my young son. (If you do not), the consequence hereafter will be like a fire, which, a spark at first, blazes up, and by and by cannot be extinguished. Let your observance of the constant rules of right, and your soothing measures be like mine. Take only the officers that are in Kâu with you to the new city, and make them there join their (old) associates, with intelligent vigour establishing their merit, and with a generous largeness (of soul) completing (the public manners); — so shall you obtain an endless fame.'

The duke said, 'Yes, young as you are, be it yours to complete (the work of your predecessors). Cultivate (the spirit of) reverence, and you will know who among the princes (sincerely) present their offerings to you, and who do not. In connexion with those offerings there are many observances. If the observances are not equal to the articles, it must be held that there is no offering. When there

is no service of the will in the offerings (of the princes), all the people will then say, “We need not (be troubled about) our offerings,” and affairs will be disturbed by errors and usurpations.

‘Do you, my young son, manifest everywhere my unwearied diligence, and listen to my instructions to you how to help the people to observe the constant rules of right. If you do not bestir yourself in these things, you will not be of long continuance. If you sincerely and fully carry out the course of your Directing father, and follow exactly my example, there will be no venturing to disregard your orders. Go, and be reverent. Henceforth I will study husbandry. There do you generously rule our people, and there is no distance from which they will not come to you.’

The king spoke to this effect, ‘O duke, you are the enlightener and sustainer of my youth. You have set forth the great and illustrious virtues, that I, notwithstanding my youth, may display a brilliant merit like that of Wăn and Wû, reverently responding to the favouring decree of Heaven; and harmonize and long preserve the people of all the regions, settling the multitudes (in Lo); and that I may give due honour to the great ceremony (of recording) the most distinguished (for their merits), regulating the order for the first places at the sacrifices, and doing everything in an orderly manner without display.

‘But your virtue, O duke, shines brightly above and beneath, and is displayed actively throughout the four quarters. On every hand appears the deep reverence (of your virtue) in securing the establishment of order, so that you fail in nothing of the earnest lessons of Wăn and Wû. It is for me, the youth, (only) to attend reverently, early and late, to the sacrifices.’*

The king said, ‘Great, O duke, has been your merit in helping and guiding me; — let it ever continue so.’

The king said, ‘O duke, let me, the little child, return to my sovereignty in Kâu, and I charge you, O duke, to remain behind (here). Order has been initiated throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, but the ceremonies to be honoured (by general observance) have not yet been settled, and I cannot look on your service as completed. Commence on a great scale what is to be done by your remaining here, setting an example to my officers and greatly preserving the people whom Wăn and Wû received; — by your good government you will be a help to the whole kingdom.’

The king said, ‘Remain, O duke. I will certainly go. Your services are devoutly acknowledged and reverently rejoiced in. Do not, O duke, occasion me this difficulty. I on my part will not be weary in seeking the tranquillity (of the

people); — do not let the example which you have afforded me be intermitted. So shall the kingdom enjoy for generations (the benefit of your virtue).'

The duke of Kâu did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'You have charged me, O king, to come here. I undertake (the charge), and will protect the people whom your accomplished grandfather, and your glorious and meritorious father, king Wû, received by the decree (of Heaven). I will enlarge the reverence which I cherish for you. (But), my son, come (frequently), and inspect this settlement. Pay great honour to (old) statutes, and to the good and wise men of Yin. Good government (here) will make you (indeed) the new sovereign of the kingdom, and an example of (royal) respectfulness to all your successors of Kâu.'

(The duke) proceeded to say, 'From this time, by the government administered in this central spot, all the states will be conducted to repose; and this will be the completion of your merit, O king.

'I, Tan, with the numerous officers and managers of affairs, will consolidate the achievements of our predecessors, in response to (the hopes of) the people. I will afford an example of sincerity to (future ministers of) Kâu, seeking to render complete the pattern intended for the enlightenment of you, my son, and thus to carry fully out the virtue of your accomplished grandfather.'

(Afterwards, on the arrival of a message and gifts from the king, the duke said), '(The king) has sent messengers to admonish (the people of) Yin, and with a soothing charge to me, along with two flagons of the black-millet herb-flavoured spirits, saying, "Here is a pure sacrificial gift, which with my hands to my head and my head to the ground I offer for you to enjoy its excellence!"* I dare not keep this by me, but offer it in sacrifice to king Wăn and king Wû.' (In doing so, he prayed), 'May he be obedient to, and observant of your course! Let him not bring on himself any evil or illness! Let him satisfy his descendants for myriads of years with your virtue! Let (the people of) Yin enjoy prolonged (prosperity)!'* (He also said to the messengers), 'The king has sent you to Yin, and we have received his well-ordered charges, (sufficient to direct us) for myriads of years, but let (the people) ever (be able to) observe the virtue cherished by my son.'

On the day Wû-khăn, the king, being in the new city, performed the annual winter sacrifice, offering (moreover) one red bull to king Wăn and another to king Wû.* He then ordered a declaration to be prepared, which was done by Yî in the form of a prayer, and it simply announced the remaining behind of the duke of Kâu. The king's guests, on occasion of the killing of the victims and offering the sacrifice, were all present. The king entered the grand apartment,

and poured out the libation.* He gave a charge to the duke of Kâu to remain, and Yî, the preparer of the document, made the announcement; — in the twelfth month. (Thus) the duke of Kâu grandly sustained the decree which Wăn and Wû had received through the space of seven years.

Book XIV. The Numerous Officers.

We have in this Book another ‘Announcement,’ addressed to the people of Yin or Shang, and especially to the higher classes among them,— ‘the numerous officers,’ — to reconcile them to their lot as subjects of the new dynasty. From the preceding two Books it appears that many of the people of Yin had been removed to the country about the Lo, before the dukes of Shâo and Kâu commenced the building of the new city. Now that the city was completed, another and larger migration of them, we may suppose, was ordered, and the duke of Kâu took occasion to issue the announcement that is here preserved.

I have divided it into four chapters. The first vindicates the kings of Kâu for superseding the line of Shang, not from ambition, but in obedience to the will of God. The second unfolds the causes why the dynasty of Yin or Shang had been set aside. The third shows how it had been necessary to remove them to Lo, and with what good intention the new capital had been built. The fourth tells how comfort and prosperity were open to their attainment at Lo, while by perseverance in disaffection they would only bring misery and ruin upon themselves.

In the third month, at the commencement (of the government) of the duke of Kâu in the new city of Lo, he announced (the royal will) to the officers of the Shang dynasty, saying, ‘The king speaks to this effect:— “Ye numerous officers who remain from the dynasty of Yin, great ruin came down on Yin from the cessation of forbearance in compassionate Heaven, and we, the lords of Kâu, received its favouring decree.* We felt charged with its bright terrors, carried out the punishments which kings inflict, rightly disposed of the appointment of Yin, and finished (the work of) God.* Now, ye numerous officers, it was not our small state that dared to aim at the appointment belonging to Yin. But Heaven was not with (Yin), for indeed it would not strengthen its misrule. It (therefore) helped us; — did we dare to seek the throne of ourselves? God was not for (Yin), as appeared from the mind and conduct of our inferior people, in which there is the brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven.” ‘*

‘I have heard the saying, “God leads men to tranquil security,”* but the sovereign of Hsiâ would not move to such security, whereupon God sent down corrections, indicating his mind to him. (Kieh), however, would not be warned by God, but proceeded to greater dissoluteness and sloth and excuses for himself. Then Heaven no longer regarded nor heard him, but disallowed his great appointment, and inflicted extreme punishment. Then it charged your founder, Thang the Successful, to set Hsiâ aside, and by means of able men to

rule the kingdom. From Thang the Successful down to Tî-yî, every sovereign sought to make his virtue illustrious, and duly attended to the sacrifices.* And thus it was that, while Heaven exerted a great establishing influence, preserving and regulating the House of Yin, its sovereigns on their part were humbly careful not to lose (the favour of) God, and strove to manifest a good-doing corresponding to that of Heaven.* But in these times, their successor showed himself greatly ignorant of (the ways of) Heaven, and much less could it be expected of him that he would be regardful of the earnest labours of his fathers for the country. Greatly abandoned to dissolute idleness, he gave no thought to the bright principles of Heaven, and the awfulness of the people.* On this account God no longer protected him, but sent down the great ruin which we have witnessed. Heaven was not with him, because he did not make his virtue illustrious.* (Indeed), with regard to the overthrow of all states, great and small, throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, in every case reasons can be given for their punishment.'

'The king speaks to this effect:— "Ye numerous officers of Yin, the case now is this, that the kings of our Kâu, from their great goodness, were charged with the work of God. There was the charge to them, 'Cut off Yin.' (They proceeded to perform it), and announced the execution of their service to God. In our affairs we have followed no double aims; — ye of the royal House (of Yin) must (now simply) follow us." '*

' "May I not say that you have been very lawless? I did not (want to) remove you. The thing came from your own city. When I consider also how Heaven has drawn near to Yin with so great tribulations, it must be that there was (there) what was not right."

'The king says, "Ho! I declare to you, ye numerous officers, it is simply on account of these things that I have removed you and settled you here in the west; — it was not that I, the One man, considered it a part of my virtue to interfere with your tranquillity. The thing was from Heaven; do not offer resistance; I shall not presume to have any subsequent (charge concerning you); do not murmur against me. Ye know that your fathers of the Yin dynasty had their archives and statutes, (showing how) Yin superseded the appointment of Hsiâ. Now, indeed, ye say further, '(The officers of) Hsiâ were chosen and employed in the royal court (of Shang), and had their duties among the mass of its officers.' (But) I, the One man, listen only to the virtuous, and employ them; and it was with this view that I ventured to seek you in your capital of Shang (once sanctioned by) Heaven, (and removed you here to Lo.) I thereby follow (the ancient example), and have pity on you. (Your present non-employment) is no fault of mine; — it is by the decree of Heaven."*

‘The king says, “Ye numerous officers, formerly, when I came from Yen, I greatly mitigated the penalty and spared the lives of the people of your four states. At the same time I made evident the punishment appointed by Heaven, and removed you to this distant abode, that you might be near the ministers who had served in our honoured (capital), and (learn) their much obedience.”

‘The king says, “I declare to you, ye numerous officers of Yin, now I have not put you to death, and therefore I reiterate the declaration of my charge. I have now built this great city here in Lo, considering that there was no (central) place in which to receive my guests from the four quarters, and also that you, ye numerous officers, might here with zealous activity perform the part of ministers to us, with the entire obedience (ye would learn). Ye have still here, I may say, your grounds, and may still rest in your duties and dwellings. If you can reverently obey, Heaven will favour and compassionate you. If you do not reverently obey, you shall not only not have your lands, but I will also carry to the utmost Heaven’s inflictions on your persons. Now you may here dwell in your villages, and perpetuate your families; you may pursue your occupations and enjoy your years in this Lo; your children also will prosper; — (all) from your being removed here.”

‘The king says — ; and again he says, “Whatever I may now have spoken is on account of (my anxiety about) your residence here.”‘

Book XV. Against Luxurious Ease.

The name of this Book is taken from two characters in the first sentence of it, which are the key-note of the whole. It is classified among the ‘Instructions’ of the Shû, and was addressed to king Khăng by the duke of Kâu soon after he had resigned the administration of the government into his hands.

There are six pauses in the course of the address, which is resumed always with ‘The duke of Kâu said, “Oh.” ‘ This suggests a division into seven chapters.

In the first, the duke suggests to the king to find a rule for himself in the laborious toils that devolve on the husbandman. In the second, he refers to the long reigns of three of the Yin sovereigns, and the short reigns of others, as illustrating how the blessing of Heaven rests on the diligent monarch. In the third, the example of their own kings, Thâi, Kî, and Wăn, is adduced with the same object. In the fourth, the duke addresses the king directly, and exhorts him to follow the pattern of king Wăn, and flee from that of Kâu-hsin. In the fifth, he stimulates him, by reference to ancient precedents, to adopt his counsels, and shows the evil effects that will follow if he refuse to do so. In the sixth, he shows him, by the cases of the good kings of Yin and of king Wăn, how he should have regard to the opinions of the common people, and gird himself to diligence. The seventh chapter is a single admonition that the king should lay what had been said to heart.

The duke of Kâu said, ‘Oh! the superior man rests in this, — that he will indulge in no luxurious ease. He first understands how the painful toil of sowing and reaping conducts to ease, and thus he understands how the lower people depend on this toil (for their support). I have observed among the lower people, that where the parents have diligently laboured in sowing and reaping, their sons (often) do not understand this painful toil, but abandon themselves to ease, and to village slang, and become quite disorderly. Or where they do not do so, they (still) throw contempt on their parents, saying, “Those old people have heard nothing and know nothing.”‘

The duke of Kâu said, ‘Oh! I have heard that aforetime Kung Ɜung, one of the kings of Yin, was grave, humble, reverential, and timorously cautious. He measured himself with reference to the decree of Heaven, and cherished a reverent apprehension in governing the people, not daring to indulge in useless ease.* It was thus that he enjoyed the throne seventy and five years. If we come to the time of Kâo Ɜung, he toiled at first away from the court, and was among the lower people. When he came to the throne, and occupied the mourning shed, it may be said that he did not speak for three years. (Afterwards) he was (still

inclined) not to speak; but when he did speak, his words were full of harmonious (wisdom). He did not dare to indulge in useless ease, but admirably and tranquilly presided over the regions of Yin, till throughout them all, small and great, there was not a single murmur. It was thus that he enjoyed the throne fifty and nine years. In the case of Ʒû-kiâ, he refused to be king unrighteously, and was at first one of the lower people. When he came to the throne, he knew on what they must depend (for their support), and was able to exercise a protecting kindness towards their masses, and did not dare to treat with contempt the wifeless men and widows. Thus it was that he enjoyed the throne thirty and three years. The kings that arose after these, from their birth enjoyed ease. Enjoying ease from their birth, they did not know the painful toil of sowing and reaping, and had not heard of the hard labours of the lower people. They sought for nothing but excessive pleasure; and so not one of them had long life. They (reigned) for ten years, for seven or eight, for five or six, or perhaps (only) for three or four.'

The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! there likewise were king Thâi and king Kî of our own Kâu, who were humble and reverentially cautious. King Wăn dressed meanly, and gave himself to the work of tranquillization and to that of husbandry. Admirably mild and beautifully humble, he cherished and protected the inferior people, and showed a fostering kindness to the wifeless men and widows. From morning to mid-day, and from mid-day to sundown, he did not allow himself leisure to eat; — thus seeking to secure the happy harmony of the myriads of the people. King Wăn did not dare to go to excess in his excursions or his hunting, and from the various states he would receive only the correct amount of contribution. The appointment (of Heaven) came to him in the middle of his life, and he enjoyed the throne for fifty years.'*

The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! from this time forward, do you who have succeeded to the throne imitate Wăn's avoiding of excess in his sight-seeing, his indulgence in ease, his excursions, his hunting; and from the myriads of the people receive only the correct amount of contribution. Do not allow yourself the leisure to say, "To-day I will indulge in pleasure." This would not be holding out a lesson to the people, nor the way to secure the favour of Heaven. Men will on the contrary be prompt to imitate you and practise evil. Become not like Shâu the king of Yin, who went quite astray, and became abandoned to drunkenness.'

The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! I have heard it said that, in the case of the ancients, (their ministers) warned and admonished them, protected and loved them, taught and instructed them; and among the people there was hardly one who would impose on them by extravagant language or deceiving tricks. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), your ministers will imitate you, and so the

correct laws of the former kings, both small and great, will be changed and disordered. The people, blaming you, will disobey and rebel in their hearts; — yea, they will curse you with their mouths.'

The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! those kings of Yin, — Kung Ʒung, Kâo Ʒung, and Ʒû-kiâ, with king Wăn of our Kâu, — these four men carried their knowledge into practice. If it was told them, "The lower people murmur against you and revile you," then they paid great and reverent attention to their conduct; and with reference to the faults imputed to them they said, "Our faults are really so," thus not simply shrinking from the cherishing of anger. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), when men with extravagant language and deceptive tricks say to you, "The lower people are murmuring against you and reviling you," you will believe them. Doing this, you will not be always thinking of your princely duties, and will not cultivate a large and generous heart. You will confusedly punish the guiltless, and put the innocent to death. There will be a general murmuring, which will be concentrated upon your person.'

The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! let the king, who has succeeded to the throne, make a study of these things.'

Book XVI. The Prince Shih.

The words ‘Prince Shih’ occur at the commencement of the Book, and are taken as its title. Shih was the name of the duke of Shâo, the author of Book xii. To him the address or announcement here preserved was delivered, and his name is not an inappropriate title for it.

The common view of Chinese critics is that the duke of Shâo had announced his purpose to withdraw from office on account of his age, when the duke of Kâu persuaded him to remain at his post, and that the reasons which he set before him were recorded in this Book. It may have been so, but the language is far from clearly indicating it. A few expressions, indeed, may be taken as intimating a wish that Shih should continue at court, but some violence has to be put upon them.

I have divided the whole into four chapters, but the two principal ideas in the address are these: — that the favour of Heaven can be permanently secured for a dynasty only by the virtue of its sovereigns; and that that virtue is secured mainly by the counsels and help of virtuous ministers. The ablest sovereigns of Shang are mentioned, and the ministers by whose aid it was, in a great measure, that they became what they were. The cases of Wăn and Wû of their own dynasty, similarly aided by able men, are adduced in the same way; and the speaker adverts to the services which they — the two dukes — had already rendered to their sovereign, and insists that they must go on to the end, and accomplish still greater things.

The duke of Kâu spoke to the following effect:— ‘Prince Shih, Heaven, unpitying, sent down ruin on Yin. Yin has lost its appointment (to the throne), which our House of Kâu has received. I do not dare, however, to say, as if I knew it, “The foundation will ever truly abide in prosperity. If Heaven aid sincerity,” — .* Nor do I dare to say, as if I knew it, “The end will issue in our misfortunes.” Oh! you have said, O prince, “It depends on ourselves.” I also do not dare to rest in the favour of God, not forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time, when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people;* — (the issue) is with men. Should our present successor to his fathers prove greatly unable to reverence (Heaven) above and (the people) below, and so bring to an end the glory of his predecessors, could we in (the retirement of) our families be ignorant of it? The favour of Heaven is not easily preserved; Heaven is difficult to be depended on. Men lose its favouring appointment, because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers.* Now I, Tan, the little child, am not able to

make (the king) correct. I would simply conduct him to the glory of his fathers, and make him, who is my young charge, partaker of that.' He also said, 'Heaven is not to be trusted. Our course is only to seek the prolongation of the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, that Heaven may not find occasion to remove its favouring decree which king Wăn received.'*

The duke said, 'Prince Shih, I have heard that aforetime, when Thang the Successful had received the appointment (to the throne), he had with him Î Yin, making (his virtue) like that of great Heaven;* that Thâi Kiâ had (the same Î Yin), the Pâo-hăng; that Thâi-wû had Î Kih and Khăn Hû, through whom (his virtue) was made to affect God,* and Wû Hsien who regulated the royal House; that Ʒû-yî had Wû Hsien's son; and that Wû-ting had Kan Phan. (These ministers) carried out (their principles), and displayed (their merit), preserving and regulating the dynasty of Yin, so that, while its ceremonies lasted, (those sovereigns), when deceased, were assessors to Heaven,* and its duration extended over many years. Heaven thus determinately maintained its favouring appointment, and Shang was replenished with men. The various heads of great surnames and members of the royal House, holding employments, all held fast their virtue, and showed an anxious solicitude (for the kingdom). The smaller ministers, and the guardian princes in the Hâu and Tien domains, hurried about on their services. Thus did they all exert their virtue and aid their sovereign, so that whatever affairs he, the One man, had in hand, throughout the land, an entire faith was reposed in their justice as in the indications of the shell or the divining stalks.'*

The duke said, 'Prince Shih, Heaven gives length of days to the just and the intelligent; (it was thus that those ministers) maintained and regulated the dynasty of Yin.* He who came last to the throne granted by Heaven was extinguished by its terrors. Do you think of the distant future, and we shall have the decree (in favour of Kâu) made sure, and its good government will be brilliantly exhibited in our newly-founded state.'

The duke said, 'Prince Shih, aforetime when God was inflicting calamity (on Yin), he encouraged anew the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, till at last the great favouring decree was concentrated in his person. (But) that king Wăn was able to conciliate and unite the portion of the great kingdom which we came to possess, was owing to his having (such ministers) as his brother of Kwo, Hung Yâo, San Î-shăng, Thâi Tien, and Nan-kung Kwo.'

He said further, 'But for the ability of those men to go and come in his affairs, developing his constant lessons, there would have been no benefits descending from king Wăn on the people. And it also was from the determinate favour of Heaven that there were these men of firm virtue, and acting according to their

knowledge of the dread majesty of Heaven, to give themselves to enlighten king Wăn, and lead him forward to his high distinction and universal rule, till his fame reached the ears of God, and he received the appointment that had been Yin's.* There were still four of those men who led on king Wû to the possession of the revenues of the kingdom, and afterwards, along with him, in great reverence of the majesty of Heaven, slew all his enemies.* These four men, moreover, made king Wû so illustrious that his glory overspread the kingdom, and (the people) universally and greatly proclaimed his virtue. Now with me Tan, the little child, it is as if I were floating on a great stream; — with you, O Shih, let me from this time endeavour to cross it. Our young sovereign is (powerless), as if he had not yet ascended the throne. You must by no means lay the whole burden on me; and if you draw yourself up without an effort to supply my deficiencies, no good will flow to the people from our age and experience. We shall not hear the voices of the phœnixes, and how much less can it be thought that we shall be able to make (the king's virtue) equal (to Heaven)!'*

The duke said, 'Oh! consider well these things, O prince. We have received the appointment to which belongs an unlimited amount of blessing, but having great difficulties attached to it. What I announce to you are counsels of a generous largeness. — I cannot allow the successor of our kings to go astray.'

The duke said, 'The former king laid bare his heart, and gave full charge to you, constituting you one of the guides and patterns for the people, saying, "Do you with intelligence and energy second and help the king; do you with sincerity support and convey forward the great decree. Think of the virtue of king Wăn, and enter greatly into his boundless anxieties."'

The duke said, 'What I tell you, O prince, are my sincere thoughts. O Shih, the Grand-Protector, if you can but reverently survey with me the decay and great disorders of Yin, and thence consider the dread majesty of Heaven (which warns) us! — Am I not to be believed that I must reiterate my words? I simply say, "The establishment (of our dynasty) rests with us two." Do you agree with me? Then you (also) will say, "It rests with us two." And the favour of Heaven has come to us so largely: — it should be ours to feel as if we could not sufficiently respond to it. If you can but reverently cultivate your virtue (now), and bring to light our men of eminent ability, then when you resign (your position) to some successor in a time of established security, (I will interpose no objection.)

'Oh! it is by the earnest service of us two that we have come to the prosperity of the present day. We must both go on, abjuring all idleness, to complete the work of king Wăn, till it has grandly overspread the kingdom, and from the

corners of the sea, and the sunrising, there shall not be one who is disobedient to the rule (of Kâu).'

The duke said, 'O prince, have I not spoken in accordance with reason in these many declarations? I am only influenced by anxiety about (the appointment of) Heaven, and about the people.'

The duke said, 'Oh! you know, O prince, the ways of the people, how at the beginning they can be (all we could desire); but it is the end (that is to be thought of). Act in careful accordance with this fact. Go and reverently exercise the duties of your office.'

Book XVII. The Charge to Kung of Ʒhâi.

Ʒhâi was the name of the small state or territory, which had been conferred on Tû, the next younger brother of the duke of Kâu. The name still remains in the district of Shang-ʒhâi, department Zû-ning, Ho-nan. Tû was deprived of his state because of his complicity in the rebellion of Wû-kăng; but it was subsequently restored to his son Hû by this charge. Hû is here called Kung, that term simply denoting his place in the roll of his brothers or cousins. King Khăng and Hû were cousins,— 'brothers' according to Chinese usage of terms, and Hû being the younger of the two, was called Ʒhâi Kung, 'the second or younger brother, — of Ʒhâi.'

The Book consists of two chapters. The former is of the nature of a preface, giving the details necessary to explain the appointment of Hû. The second contains the king's charge, delivered in his name by the duke of Kâu, directing Hû how to conduct himself, so that he might blot out the memory of his father's misdeeds, and win the praise of the king.

When the duke of Kâu was in the place of prime minister and directed all the officers, the (king's) uncles spread abroad an (evil) report, in consequence of which (the duke) put to death the prince of Kwan in Shang; confined the prince of Ʒhâi in Kwo-lin, with an attendance of seven chariots; and reduced the prince of Hwo to be a private man, causing his name to be erased from the registers for three years. The son of the prince of Ʒhâi having displayed a reverent virtue, the duke of Kâu made him a high minister, and when his father died, requested a decree from the king, investing him with the country of Ʒhâi.

'The king speaks to this effect:— "My little child, Hû, you follow the virtue (of our ancestors), and have changed from the conduct (of your father); you are able to take heed to your ways; — I therefore appoint you to be a marquis in the east. Go to your fief, and be reverent!

"In order that you may cover the faults of your father, be loyal, be filial. Urge on your steps in your own way, diligent and never idle, and so shall you hand down an example to your descendants. Follow the constant lessons of your grandfather king Wăn, and be not, like your father, disobedient to the royal orders.

"Great Heaven has no partial affections; — it helps only the virtuous.* The people's hearts have no unchanging attachment; — they cherish only the kind. Acts of goodness are different, but they contribute in common to good order. Acts of evil are different, but they contribute in common to disorder. Be cautious!

“In giving heed to the beginning think of the end; — the end will then be without distress. If you do not think of the end, it will be full of distress, even of the greatest.

“Exert yourself to achieve your proper merit. Seek to be in harmony with all your neighbours. Be a fence to the royal House. Live in amity with your brethren. Tranquillize and help the lower people.

“Follow the course of the Mean, and do not by aiming to be intelligent throw old statutes into confusion. Watch over what you see and hear, and do not for one-sided words deviate from the right rule. Then I, the One man, will praise you.”

‘The king says, “Oh! my little child, Hû, go, and do not idly throw away my charge.”‘

Book XVIII. The Numerous Regions.

The king has returned to his capital in triumph, having put down rebellion in the east, and specially extinguished the state or tribe of Yen. The third chapter of Book xiv contained a reference to an expedition against Yen. Critics are divided on the point of whether the expedition mentioned in this Book was the same as that, or another; and our sources of information are not sufficient to enable us to pronounce positively in the case. If we may credit what Mencius says, the Records of the Shû do not tell us a tithe of the wars carried on by the duke of Kâu to establish the new dynasty:— 'He smote Yen, and after three years put its ruler to death. He drove Fei-lien to a corner by the sea, and slew him. The states which he extinguished amounted to fifty' (Mencius, III, ii, ch. 9).

However this point be settled, on the occasion when the announcement in this Book was delivered, a great assembly of princes and nobles — the old officers of Yin or Shang, and chiefs from many regions — was met together. They are all supposed to have been secretly, if not openly, in sympathy with the rebellion which has been trampled out, and to grudge to yield submission to the rule of Kâu. The king, by the duke of Kâu, reasons and expostulates with them. He insists on the leniency with which they had been treated in the past; and whereas they might be saying that Kâu's overthrow of the Yin dynasty was a usurpation, he shows that it was from the will of Heaven. The history of the nation is then reviewed, and it is made to appear that king Wû had displaced the kings of Yin or Shang, just as Thang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, had displaced those of Hsiâ. It was their duty therefore to submit to Kâu. If they did not avail themselves of its leniency, they should be dealt with in another way.

Having thus spoken, the duke turns, in the fourth of the five chapters into which I have divided the Book, and addresses the many officers of the states, and especially those of Yin, who had been removed to Lo, speaking to them, as 'the Numerous Officers,' after the style of Book xiv. Finally, he admonishes them all that it is time to begin a new course. If they do well, it will be well with them; if they continue perverse, they will have to blame themselves for the consequences.

In the fifth month, on the day Ting-hâi, the king arrived from Yen, and came to (Hâo), the honoured (capital of) Kâu. The duke of Kâu said, 'The king speaks to the following effect: "Ho! I make an announcement to you of the four states, and the numerous (other) regions. Ye who were the officers and people of the prince of Yin, I have dealt very leniently as regards your lives, as ye all know.

You kept reckoning greatly on (some) decree of Heaven, and did not keep with perpetual awe before your thoughts (the preservation of) your sacrifices.*

‘ “God sent down correction on Hsiâ, but the sovereign (only) increased his luxury and sloth, and would not speak kindly to the people. He showed himself dissolute and dark, and would not yield for a single day to the leadings of God: — this is what you have heard.* He kept reckoning on the decree of God (in his favour), and did not cultivate the means for the people’s support.* By great inflictions of punishment also he increased the disorder of the states of Hsiâ. The first cause (of his evil course) was the internal misrule, which made him unfit to deal well with the multitudes. Nor did he endeavour to find and employ men whom he could respect, and who might display a generous kindness to the people; but where any of the people of Hsiâ were covetous and fierce, he daily honoured them, and they practised cruel tortures in the cities. Heaven on this sought a (true) lord for the people, and made its distinguished and favouring decree light on Thang the Successful, who punished and destroyed the sovereign of Hsiâ.* Heaven’s refusal of its favour (to Hsiâ) was decided. The righteous men of your numerous regions were not permitted to continue long in their posts of enjoyment, and the many officers whom Hsiâ’s (last sovereign) honoured were unable intelligently to maintain the people in the enjoyment (of their lives), but, on the contrary, aided one another in oppressing them, till of the hundred ways of securing (prosperity) they could not promote (one).

‘ “In the case indeed of Thang the Successful, it was because he was the choice of your numerous regions that he superseded Hsiâ, and became the lord of the people. He paid careful attention to the essential virtue (of a sovereign), in order to stimulate the people, and they on their part imitated him and were stimulated. From him down to Tî-yî, the sovereigns all made their virtue illustrious, and were cautious in the use of punishments; — thus also exercising a stimulating influence (over the people). When they, having examined the evidence in criminal cases, put to death those chargeable with many crimes, they exercised the same influence; and they did so also when they liberated those who were not purposely guilty. But when the throne came to your (last) sovereign, he could not with (the good will of) your numerous regions continue in the enjoyment of the favouring decree of Heaven.” ‘*

‘Oh! the king speaks to the following effect:— “I announce and declare to you of the numerous regions, that Heaven had no set purpose to do away with the sovereign of Hsiâ or with the sovereign of Yin. But it was the case that your (last) ruler, being in possession of your numerous regions, abandoned himself to great excess, and reckoned on the favouring decree of Heaven, making trifling excuses for his conduct. And so in the case of the (last) sovereign of Hsiâ; his

plans of government were not of a tendency to secure his enjoyment (of the kingdom), and Heaven sent down ruin on him, and the chief of the territory (of Shang) put an end (to the line of Hsiâ). In truth, the last sovereign of your Shang was luxurious to the extreme of luxury, while his plans of government showed neither purity nor progress, and thus Heaven sent down such ruin on him.*

‘ “The wise, through not thinking, become foolish, and the foolish, by thinking, become wise. Heaven for five years waited kindly, and forbore with the descendant (of Thang), to see if he would indeed prove himself the ruler of the people; but there was nothing in him deserving to be regarded. Heaven then sought among your numerous regions, making a great impression by its terrors to stir up some one who would look (reverently) to it, but in all your regions there was not one deserving of its favouring regard. But there were the kings of our Kâu, who treated well the multitudes of the people, and were able to sustain the burden of virtuous (government). They could preside over (all services to) spirits and to Heaven.* Heaven thereupon instructed us, and increased our excellence, made choice of us, and gave us the decree of Yin, to rule over your numerous regions.” ‘*

‘ “Why do I now presume to make (these) many declarations? I have dealt very leniently as regards the lives of you, the people of these four states. Why do you not show a sincere and generous obedience in your numerous regions? Why do you not aid and co-operate with the kings of our Kâu, to secure the enjoyment of Heaven’s favouring decree? You now still dwell in your dwellings, and cultivate your fields; — why do you not obey our kings, and consolidate the decree of Heaven? The paths which you tread are continually those of disquietude; — have you in your hearts no love for yourselves? do you refuse so greatly to acquiesce in the ordinance of Heaven? do you triflingly reject that decree? do you of yourselves pursue unlawful courses, scheming (by your alleged reasons) for the approval of upright men? I simply instructed you, and published my announcement; with trembling awe I secured and confined (the chief criminals): — I have done so twice and for three times. But if you do not take advantage of the leniency with which I have spared your lives, I will proceed to severe punishments, and put you to death. It is not that we, the sovereigns of Kâu, hold it virtuous to make you untranquil, but it is you yourselves who accelerate your crimes (and sufferings).”‘

‘The king says, “Oh! ho! I tell you, ye many officers of the various regions, and you, ye many officers of Yin, now have ye been hurrying about, doing service to my overseers for five years. There are among you the inferior assistants, the chiefs, and the numerous directors, small and great; — see that ye

all attain to the discharge of your duties. Want of harmony (in the life) rises from (the want of it in) one's (inner) self; — strive to be harmonious. Want of concord in your families (arises from the want of it in your conduct); — strive to be harmonious. When intelligence rules in your cities, then will you be proved to be attentive to your duties. Do not be afraid, I pray you, of the evil ways (of the people); and moreover, by occupying your offices with a reverent harmony, you will find it possible to select from your cities individuals on whose assistance you can calculate. You may thus long continue in this city of Lo, cultivating your fields. Heaven will favour and compassionate you, and we, the sovereigns of Kâu, will greatly help you, and confer rewards, selecting you to stand in our royal court. Only be attentive to your duties, and you may rank among our great officers."

'The king says, "Oh! ye numerous officers, if you cannot exhort one another to pay a sincere regard to my charges, it will further show that you are unable to honour your sovereign; and all the people will (also) say, 'We will not honour him.' Thus will ye be proved slothful and perverse, greatly disobedient to the royal charges. Throughout your numerous regions you will bring on yourselves the terrors of Heaven, and I will then inflict on you its punishments, removing you far from your country."'

'The king says, "I do not (wish to) make these many declarations, but it is in a spirit of awe that I lay my commands before you." He further says, "You may now make a (new) beginning. If you cannot reverently realize the harmony (which I enjoin), do not (hereafter) murmur against me."'

Book XIX. The Establishment of Government.

The phrase, ‘the Establishment of Government,’ occurs several times in the course of the Book, and is thence taken to denominate it, — appropriately enough. The subject treated of throughout, is how good government may be established.

Some Chinese critics maintain that the text as it stands is very confused, ‘head and tail in disorder, and without connexion,’ and various re-arrangements of it have been proposed, for which, however, there is no manuscript authority. Keeping to the received text, and dividing it into six chapters, we may adopt a summary of its contents approved by the editors of the Shû, which was published in the Yung-kăng reign of the present dynasty. — In government there is nothing more important than the employment of proper men; and when such men are being sought, the first care should be for those to occupy the three highest positions. When these are properly filled, all the other offices will get their right men, and royal government will be established. The appointment of the officers of business, of pastoral oversight, and of the law, is the great theme of the whole Book, and the concluding words of chapter 1 are its pulse, — may be felt throbbing everywhere in all the sentiments. Chapters 2 and 3 illustrate the subject from the history of the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang; and in chapter 4 it is shown how kings Wăn and Wû selected their officers, and initiated the happy state which was still continuing. In chapter 5 there is set forth the duty of the king to put away from him men of artful tongues; to employ the good, distinguished by their habits of virtue; to be always well prepared for war; and to be very careful of his conduct in the matter of litigations. Chapter 6 seems to have hardly any connexion with the rest of the Book, and is probably a fragment of one of the lost Books of the Shû, that has got tacked on to this.

The Book belongs to the class of ‘Instructions,’ and was made, I suppose, after the duke of Kâu had retired from his regency.

The duke of Kâu spoke to the following effect:— ‘With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, we make our declarations to the Son of Heaven, the king who has inherited the throne.’ In such manner accordingly all (the other ministers) cautioned the king, saying, ‘In close attendance on your majesty there are the regular presidents, the regular ministers, and the officers of justice; — the keepers of the robes (also), and the guards.’ The duke of Kâu said, ‘Oh! admirable are these (officers). Few, however, know to be sufficiently anxious about them.’

‘Among the ancients who exemplified (this anxiety) there was the founder of the Hsiâ dynasty. When his House was in its greatest strength, he sought for able men who should honour God (in the discharge of their duties).* (His advisers), when they knew of men thoroughly proved and trustworthy in the practice of the nine virtues, would then presume to inform and instruct their sovereign, saying, “With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, O sovereign, we would say, Let (such an one) occupy one of your high offices: Let (such an one) be one of your pastors: Let (such an one) be one of your officers of justice. By such appointments you will fulfil your duty as sovereign. If you judge by the face only, and therefrom deem men well schooled in virtue, and appoint them, then those three positions will all be occupied by unrighteous individuals.” The way of Kieh, however, was not to observe this precedent. Those whom he employed were cruel men; — and he left no successor.’

‘After this there was Thang the Successful, who, rising to the throne, grandly administered the bright ordinances of God.* He employed, to fill the three (high) positions, those who were equal to them; and those who were called possessors of the three kinds of ability would display that ability. He then studied them severely, and greatly imitated them, making the utmost of them in their three positions and with their three kinds of ability. The people in the cities of Shang were thereby all brought to harmony, and those in the four quarters of the kingdom were brought greatly under the influence of the virtue thus displayed. Oh! when the throne came to Shâu, his character was all violence. He preferred men of severity, and who deemed cruelty a virtue, to share with him in the government of his states; and at the same time, the host of his associates, men who counted idleness a virtue, shared the offices of his court. God then sovereignly punished him, and caused us to possess the great land, enjoy the favouring decree which Shâu had (afore) received, and govern all the people in their myriad realms.’*

‘Then subsequently there were king Wăn and king Wû, who knew well the minds of those whom they put in the three positions, and saw clearly the minds of those who had the three grades of ability. Thus they could employ them to serve God with reverence, and appointed them as presidents and chiefs of the people. In establishing their government, the three things which principally concerned them were to find the men for (high) offices, the officers of justice, and the pastors. (They had also) the guards; the keepers of the robes; their equerries; their heads of small departments; their personal attendants; their various overseers; and their treasurers. They had their governors of the larger and smaller cities assigned in the royal domain to the nobles; their men of arts; their overseers whose offices were beyond the court; their grand

historiographers; and their heads of departments; — all good men of constant virtue.

‘(In the external states) there were the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Works, with the many officers subordinate to them. Among the wild tribes, such as the Wei, the Lû, and the Khăng, in the three Po, and at the dangerous passes, they had wardens.

‘King Wăn was able to make the minds of those in the (three high) positions his own, and so it was that he established those regular officers and superintending pastors, so that they were men of ability and virtue. He would not appear himself in the various notifications, in litigations, and in precautionary measures. There were the officers and pastors (to attend to them), whom he (simply) taught to be obedient (to his wishes), and not to be disobedient. (Yea), as to litigations and precautionary measures, he (would seem as if he) did not presume to know about them. He was followed by king Wû, who carried out his work of settlement, and did not presume to supersede his righteous and virtuous men, but entered into his plans, and employed, as before, those men. Thus it was that they unitedly received this vast inheritance.’

‘Oh! young son, the king, from this time forth be it ours to establish the government, appointing the (high) officers, the officers of the laws, and the pastors; — be it ours clearly to know what courses are natural to these men, and then fully to employ them in the government, that they may aid us in the management of the people whom we have received, and harmoniously conduct all litigations and precautionary measures. And let us never allow others to come between us and them. (Yea), in our every word and speech, let us be thinking of (these) officers of complete virtue, to regulate the people that we have received.

‘Oh! I, Tan, have received these excellent words of others, and tell them all to you, young son, the king. From this time forth, O accomplished son (of Wû), accomplished grandson (of Wăn), do not err in regard to the litigations and precautionary measures; — let the proper officers manage them. From of old to the founder of Shang, and downwards to king Wăn of our Kâu, in establishing government, when they appointed (high) officers, pastors, and officers of the laws, they settled them in their positions, and allowed them to unfold their talents; — thus giving the regulation of affairs into their hands. In the kingdom, never has there been the establishment of government by the employment of artful-tongued men; (with such men), unlessoned in virtue, never can a government be distinguished in the world. From this time forth, in establishing government, make no use of artful-tongued men, but (seek for) good officers, and get them to use all their powers in aiding the government of our country.

Now, O accomplished son (of Wû), accomplished grandson (of Wăn), young son, the king, do not err in the matter of litigations; — there are the officers and pastors (to attend to them).

'Have well arranged (also) your military accoutrements and weapons, so that you may go forth beyond the steps of Yü, and traverse all under the sky, even to beyond the seas, everywhere meeting with submission: — so shall you display the bright glory of king Wăn, and render more illustrious the great achievements of king Wû.

'Oh! from this time forth, may (our) future kings, in establishing the government, be able to employ men of constant virtue!'

The duke of Kâu spoke to the following effect:— 'O grand historiographer, the duke of Sû, the Minister of Crime, dealt reverently with all the criminal matters that came before him, and thereby perpetuated the fortunes of our kingdom. Here was an example of anxious solicitude (for future ministers), whereby they may rank with him in the ordering of the appropriate punishments.'

Book XX. The Officers of Kâu.

‘The Officers of Kâu’ contains a general outline of the official system of the Kâu dynasty, detailing the names and functions of the principal ministers about the court and others, to whom, moreover, various counsels are addressed by the king who speaks in it, — no doubt, king Khăng. Chinese critics class it with the ‘Instructions’ of the Shû, but it belongs rather to the ‘Announcements.’

There is no mention in it of the duke of Kâu; and its date must therefore be in some year after he had retired from the regency, and resigned the government into the king’s own hands.

The Book has a beginning, middle, and end, more distinctly marked than they are in many of the documents in the Shû. The whole is divided into five chapters. The first is introductory, and describes the condition of the kingdom, when the arrangements of the official system were announced. In the second, the king refers to the arrangements of former dynasties. In the third, he sets forth the principal offices of state, the ministers of which had their residence at court, and goes on to the arrangements for the administration of the provinces. The two other chapters contain many excellent advices to the ministers and officers to discharge their duties so that the fortunes of the dynasty might be consolidated, and no dissatisfaction arise among the myriad states.

The king of Kâu brought the myriad regions (of the kingdom) to tranquillity; he made a tour of inspection through the Hâu and Tien tenures; he punished on all sides the chiefs who had refused to appear at court; thus securing the repose of the millions of the people, and all the (princes in the) six tenures acknowledging his virtue. He then returned to the honoured capital of Kâu, and strictly regulated the officers of the administration.

The king said, ‘It was the grand method of former times to regulate the government while there was no confusion, and to secure the country while there was no danger.’ He said, ‘Yâo and Shun, having studied antiquity, established a hundred officers. At court, there were the General Regulator and (the President of) the Four Mountains; abroad, there were the pastors of the provinces and the princes of states. Thus the various departments of government went on harmoniously, and the myriad states all enjoyed repose. Under the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang, the number of officers was doubled, and they were able still to secure good government. (Those early) intelligent kings, in establishing their government, cared not so much about the number of the offices as about the men (to occupy them). Now I, the little child, cultivate with reverence my virtue, concerned day and night about my deficiencies; I look up to (those) former

dynasties, and seek to conform to them, while I instruct and direct you, my officers.'

'I appoint the Grand-Master, the Grand-Assistant, and the Grand-Guardian. These are the three Kung. They discourse about the principles of reason and adjust the states, harmonizing (also) and regulating the operations (in nature) of heaven and earth. These offices need not (always) be filled; there must (first) be the men for them.

'(I appoint) the Junior Master, the Junior Assistant, and the Junior Guardian. These are called the three Kû. They assist the Kung to diffuse widely the transforming influences, and display brightly with reverence (the powers of) heaven and earth, — assisting me, the One man.

'(I appoint) the Prime Minister, who presides over the ruling of the (various) regions, has the general management of all the other officers, and secures uniformity within the four seas; the Minister of Instruction, who presides over the education in the states, diffuses a knowledge of the duties belonging to the five relations of society, and trains the millions of the people to obedience; the Minister of Religion, who presides over the (sacred) ceremonies of the country, regulates the services rendered to the spirits and manes, and makes a harmony between high and low;* the Minister of War, who presides over the (military) administration of the country, commands the six hosts, and secures the tranquillity of all the regions; the Minister of Crime, who presides over the prohibitions of the country, searches out the villainous and secretly wicked, and punishes oppressors and disturbers of the peace; and the Minister of Works, who presides over the land of the country, settles the four classes of the people, and secures at the proper seasons the produce of the ground.

'These six ministers with their different duties lead on their several subordinates, and set an example to the nine pastors of the provinces, enriching and perfecting the condition of the millions of the people. In six years (the lords of) the five tenures appear once at the royal court; and after a second six years, the king makes a tour of inspection in the four seasons, and examines the (various) regulations and measures at the four mountains. The princes appear before him each at the mountain of his quarter; and promotions and degradations are awarded with great intelligence.'

The king said, 'Oh! all ye men of virtue, my occupiers of office, pay reverent attention to your charges. Be careful in the commands you issue; for, once issued, they must be carried into effect, and cannot be retracted. Extinguish all selfish aims by your public feeling, and the people will have confidence in you, and be gladly obedient. Study antiquity as a preparation for entering on your offices. In deliberating on affairs, form your determinations by help (of such

study), and your measures will be free from error. Make the regular statutes of (our own) dynasty your rule, and do not with artful speeches introduce disorder into your offices. To accumulate doubts is the way to ruin your plans; to be idle and indifferent is the way to ruin your government. Without study, you stand facing a wall, and your management of affairs will be full of trouble.

'I warn you, my high ministers and officers, that exalted merit depends on the high aim, and a patrimony is enlarged only by diligence; it is by means of bold decision that future difficulties are avoided. Pride comes, along with rank, unperceived, and extravagance in the same way with emolument. Let reverence and economy be (real) virtues with you, unaccompanied with hypocritical display. Practise them as virtues, and your minds will be at ease, and you will daily become more admirable. Practise them in hypocrisy, and your minds will be toiled, and you will daily become more stupid. In the enjoyment of favour think of peril, and never be without a cautious apprehension; — he who is without such apprehension finds himself amidst what is really to be feared. Push forward the worthy, and show deference to the able; and harmony will prevail among all your officers. When they are not harmonious, the government becomes a mass of confusion. If those whom you advance be able for their offices, the ability is yours; if you advance improper men, you are not equal to your position.'

The king said, 'Oh! ye (charged) with the threefold business (of government), and ye great officers, reverently attend to your departments, and conduct well the affairs under your government, so as to assist your sovereign, and secure the lasting happiness of the millions of the people; — so shall there be no dissatisfaction throughout the myriad states.'

Book XXI. The Kün-khĂn.

Kün-khĂn was the successor in ‘the eastern capital’ of the duke of Kâu, who has now passed off the stage of the Shû, which he occupied so long. Between ‘the Officers of Kâu’ and this Book, there were, when the Shû was complete, two others, which are both lost. We must greatly deplore the loss of the second of them, for it contained an account of the death of the duke of Kâu, and an announcement made by king Khăng by his bier.

Who Kün-khăn, the charge to whom on entering on his important government is here preserved, really was, we are not informed. Some have supposed that he was a son of the duke of Kâu; but we may be sure, from the analogy of other charges, that if he had been so, the fact would have been alluded to in the text. Kün-khăn might be translated ‘the prince Khăn,’ like Kün Shih in the title of Book xvi, but we know nothing of any territory with which he was invested.

The following summary of the contents is given by a Chinese critic:— ‘The whole Book may be divided into three chapters. The first relates Kün-khăn’s appointment to the government of the eastern capital. The concluding words, “Be reverent,” are emphatic, and give the key-note to all that follows. The second chapter enjoins on him to exert himself to illustrate the lessons of the duke of Kâu, and thereby transform the people of Yin. The third requires him to give full development to those lessons, and instances various particulars in which his doing so would appear; — all illustrative of the command at the commencement, that he should be reverent.’

The king spake to the following effect:— ‘Kün-khăn, it is you who are possessed of excellent virtue, filial and respectful. Being filial, and friendly with your brethren, you can display these qualities in the exercise of government. I appoint you to rule this eastern border. Be reverent.’

‘Formerly, the duke of Kâu acted as teacher and guardian of the myriads of the people, who cherish (the remembrance of) his virtue. Go and with sedulous care enter upon his charge; act in accordance with his regular ways, and exert yourself to illustrate his lessons; — so shall the people be regulated. I have heard that he said, “Perfect government has a piercing fragrance, and influences the spiritual intelligences.* It is not the millet which has the piercing fragrance; it is bright virtue.” Do you make this lesson of the duke of Kâu your rule, being diligent from day to day, and not presuming to indulge in luxurious ease. Ordinary men, while they have not yet seen a sage, (are full of desire) as if they should never get a sight of him; and after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him. Be cautioned by this! You are the wind; the inferior people

are the grass. In revolving the plans of your government, never hesitate to acknowledge the difficulty of the subject. Some things have to be abolished, and some new things to be enacted; — going out and coming in, seek the judgment of your people about them, and, when there is a general agreement, exert your own powers of reflection. When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your sovereign in the palace. Thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, "This plan or this view is all due to our sovereign." Oh! if all ministers were to act thus, how excellent would they be, and how distinguished!'

The king said, 'Kün-khăn, do you give their full development to the great lessons of the duke of Kâu. Do not make use of your power to exercise oppression; do not make use of the laws to practise extortion. Be gentle, but with strictness of rule. Promote harmony by the display of an easy forbearance.

'When any of the people of Yin are amenable to punishment, if I say "Punish," do not you therefore punish; and if I say "Spare," do not you therefore spare. Seek the due middle course. Those who are disobedient to your government, and uninfluenced by your instructions, you will punish, remembering that the end of punishment is to make an end of punishing. Those who are inured to villainy and treachery, those who violate the regular duties of society, and those who introduce disorder into the public manners: — those three classes you will not spare, though their particular offences be but small.

'Do not cherish anger against the obstinate, and dislike them. Seek not every quality in one individual. You must have patience, and you will be successful; have forbearance, and your virtue will be great. Mark those who discharge their duties well, and also mark those who do not do so, (and distinguish them from one another.) Advance the good, to induce those who may not be so to follow (their example).

'The people are born good, and are changed by (external) things,* so that they resist what their superiors command, and follow what they (themselves) love. Do you but reverently observe the statutes, and they will be found in (the way of) virtue; they will thus all be changed, and truly advance to a great degree of excellence. Then shall I, the One man, receive much happiness, and your excellent services will be famous through long ages!'

Book XXII. The Testamentary Charge.

This Book brings us to the closing act of the life of king Khăng, whose reign, according to the current chronology, lasted thirty-seven years, ending in bc 1079. From the appointment of Kün-khăn to his death, the king's history is almost a blank. The only events chronicled by Sze-mâ Khien are a coinage of round money with a square hole in the centre, — the prototype of the present cash; and an enactment about the width and length in which pieces of silk and cloth were to be manufactured.

King Khăng, feeling that his end is near, calls his principal ministers and other officers around his bed, and commits his son Kâo to their care and guidance. The record of all these things and the dying charge form a chapter that ends with the statement of the king's death. The rest of the Book forms a second chapter, in which we have a detailed account of the ceremonies connected with the publication of the charge, and the accession of Kâo to the throne. It is an interesting account of the ways of that distant time on such occasions.

In the fourth month, when the moon began to wane, the king was indisposed. On the day Kiâ-ʒze, he washed his hands and face; his attendants put on him his cap and robes; (and he sat up), leaning on a gem-adorned bench. He then called together the Grand-Guardian Shih, the earls of Zui and Thung, the duke of Pî, the marquis of Wei, the duke of Mâo, the master of the warders, the master of the guards, the heads of the various departments, and the superintendents of affairs.

The king said, 'Oh! my illness has greatly increased, and it will soon be over with me. The malady comes on daily with more violence, and maintains its hold. I am afraid I may not find (another opportunity) to declare my wishes about my successor, and therefore I (now) lay my charge upon you with special instructions. The former rulers, our kings Wăn and Wû, displayed in succession their equal glory, making sure provision for the support of the people, and setting forth their instructions. (The people) accorded a practical submission, without any opposition, and the influence (of their example and instructions) extended to Yin, and the great appointment (of Heaven) was secured*. After them, I, the stupid one, received with reverence the dread (decree) of Heaven, and continued to keep the great instructions of Wăn and Wû, not daring blindly to transgress them.*

'Now Heaven has laid affliction on me, and it seems as if I should not again rise or be myself. Do you take clear note of these my words, and in accordance with them watch reverently over my eldest son Kâo, and greatly assist him in the

difficulties of his position. Be kind to those who are far off, and help those who are near. Promote the tranquillity of the states, small and great, and encourage them (to well-doing). I think how a man has to govern himself in dignity and with decorum; — do not you allow Kâo to proceed heedlessly on the impulse of improper motives.' Immediately on receiving this charge, (the ministers and others) withdrew. The tent was then carried out into the court; and on the next day, (being) Yî-khâu, the king died.

The Grand-Guardian then ordered Kung Hwan and Nan-Kung Mâo to instruct Lü Kî, the marquis of Khî, with two shield-and-spearmen, and a hundred guards, to meet the prince Kâo outside the south gate, and conduct him to (one of) the side-apartments (near to that where the king lay), there to be as chief mourner.

On the day Ting-mâo, (two days after the king's death), he ordered (the charge) to be recorded on tablets, and the forms (to be observed in publishing it). Seven days after, on Kwei-yû, as chief (of the west) and premier, he ordered the (proper) officers to prepare the wood (for all the requirements of the funeral).

The salvage men set out the screens, ornamented with figures of axes, and the tents. Between the window (and the door), facing the south, they placed the (three)fold mat of fine bamboo splints, with its striped border of white and black silk, and the usual bench adorned with different-coloured gems. In the side-space on the west, which faced the east, they placed the threefold rush mat, with its variegated border, and the usual bench adorned with beautiful shells. In the side-space on the east, which faced the west, they placed the threefold mat of fine grass, with its border of painted silk, and the usual bench carved, and adorned with gems. Before the western side-chamber, and facing the south, they placed the threefold mat of fine bamboo, with its dark mixed border, and the usual lacquered bench.

(They set forth) also the five pairs of gems (or jade), and the precious things of display. There were the red knife, the great lessons, the large round-and-convex symbol of jade, and the rounded and pointed maces, — all in the side-space on the west; the large piece of jade, the pieces contributed by the wild tribes of the east, the heavenly sounding-stone, and the river-Plan, — all in the side-space on the east; the dancing habits of Yin, the large tortoise-shell, and the large drum, — all in the western apartment; the spear of Tûi, the bow of Ho, and the bamboo arrows of Khui, — all in the eastern apartment.

The grand carriage was by the guests' steps, facing (the south); the next was by the eastern (or host's) steps, facing (the south). The front carriage was placed before the left lobby, and the one that followed it before the right lobby.

Two men in brownish leather caps, and holding three-cornered halberts, stood inside the gate leading to the private apartments. Four men in caps of spotted deer-skin, holding spears with blades upturned from the base of the point, stood, one on each side of the steps east and west, and near to the platform of the hall. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the east (end). One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe of a different pattern, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the west end. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance, stood at the front and east of the hall, close by the steps. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance of a different pattern, stood in the corresponding place on the west. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a pointed weapon, stood by the steps on the north side of the hall.

The king, in a linen cap and the variously figured skirt, ascended by the guests' steps, followed by the high ministers, (great) officers, and princes of states, in linen caps and dark-coloured skirts. Arrived in the hall, they all took their (proper) places. The Grand-Guardian, the Grand-Historiographer, and the Minister of Religion were all in linen caps and red skirts. The Grand-Guardian bore the great mace. The Minister of Religion bore the cup and the mace-cover. These two ascended by the steps on the east. The Grand-Historiographer bore the testamentary charge. He ascended by the guests' steps (on the west), and advanced to the king with the tablets containing the charge, and said, 'Our royal sovereign, leaning on the gem-adorned bench, declared his last charge, and commanded you to continue (the observance of) the lessons, and to take the rule of the kingdom of Kâu, complying with the great laws, and securing the harmony of all under the sky, so as to respond to and display the bright instructions of Wăn and Wû.'

The king twice bowed (low), and then arose, and replied, 'I am utterly insignificant and but a child, how should I be able to govern the four quarters (of the kingdom) with a corresponding reverent awe of the dread majesty of Heaven!'* He then received the cup and the mace-cover. Thrice he slowly and reverently advanced with a cup of spirits (to the east of the coffin); thrice he sacrificed (to the spirit of his father);* and thrice he put the cup down. The Minister of Religion said, 'It is accepted.'*

The Grand-Guardian received the cup, descended the steps, and washed his hands. He then took another cup, (placed it on) a half-mace which he carried, and repeated the sacrifice.* He then gave the cup to one of the attendants of the Minister of Religion, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian took a cup again, and poured out the spirits in sacrifice.* He

then just tasted the spirits, returned to his place, gave the cup to the attendant, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian descended from the hall, after which the various (sacrificial) articles were removed, and the princes all went out at the temple gate and waited.

Book XXIII. The Announcement of King Khang.

Khang was the honorary sacrificial title conferred on Kâo, the son and successor of king Khăng. His reign lasted from bc 1078 to 1053. Khang, as an honorary title, has various meanings. In the text it probably denotes— 'Who caused the people to be tranquil and happy.'

Immediately on his accession to the throne, as described in the last Book, king Khang made the Announcement which is here recorded. Indeed the two Books would almost seem to form only one, and as such they appeared in the Shû of Fû, as related in the Introduction.

The princes, with whose departure from the inner hall of the palace the last Book concludes, are introduced again to the king in the court between the fourth and fifth gates, and do homage to him after their fashion, cautioning also and advising him about the discharge of his high duties. He responds with the declaration which has given name to the Book, referring to his predecessors, and asking the assistance of all his hearers, that his reign may be a not unworthy sequel of theirs. With this the proceedings terminate, and the king resumes his mourning dress which he had put off for the occasion. The whole thus falls into three chapters.

The king came forth and stood (in the space) within the fourth gate of the palace, when the Grand-Guardian led in the princes of the western regions by the left (half) of the gate, and the duke of Pî those of the eastern regions by the right (half). They then all caused their teams of light bay horses, with their manes and tails dyed red, to be exhibited; — and, (as the king's) guests, lifted up their rank-symbols, and (the other) presents (they had brought), saying, 'We your servants, defenders (of the throne), venture to bring the productions of our territories, and lay them here.' (With these words) they all did obeisance twice, laying their heads on the ground. The king, as the righteous successor to the virtue of those who had gone before him, returned their obeisance.

The Grand-Guardian and the earl of Zui, with all the rest, then advanced and bowed to each other, after which they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground, and said, 'O Son of Heaven, we venture respectfully to declare our sentiments. Great Heaven altered its decree which the great House of Yin had received, and Wăn and Wû of our Kâu grandly received the same, and carried it out, manifesting their kindly government in the western regions. His recently ascended majesty,* rewarding and punishing exactly in accordance with what was right, fully established their achievements, and transmitted this happy state to his successors. Do you, O king, now be reverent. Maintain your armies in

great order, and do not allow the rarely equalled appointment of our high ancestors to come to harm.'*

The king spoke to the following effect:— 'Ye princes of the various states, chiefs of the Hâu, Tien, Nan, and Wei domains, I, Kâo, the One man, make an announcement in return (for your advice). The former rulers, Wăn and Wû, were greatly just and enriched (the people). They did not occupy themselves to find out people's crimes. Pushing to the utmost and maintaining an entire impartiality and sincerity, they became gloriously illustrious all under heaven. Then they had officers brave as bears and grisly bears, and ministers of no double heart, who (helped them) to maintain and regulate the royal House. Thus (did they receive) the true favouring decree from God, and thus did great Heaven approve of their ways, and give them the four quarters (of the land).* Then they appointed and set up principalities, and established bulwarks (to the throne), for the sake of us, their successors. Now do ye, my uncles, I pray you, consider with one another, and carry out the service which the dukes, your predecessors, rendered to my predecessors. Though your persons be distant, let your hearts be in the royal House. Enter thus into my anxieties, and act in accordance with them, so that I, the little child, may not be put to shame.'

The dukes and all the others, having heard this charge, bowed to one another, and hastily withdrew. The king put off his cap, and assumed again his mourning dress.

Book XXIV. The Charge to the Duke of Pî.

The king who delivers the charge in this Book was Khang, and the only events of his reign of twenty-six years of which we have any account in the Shû and in Sze-mâ Khien are it and the preceding announcement.

Book xxi relates the appointment of Kün-khăn, by king Khăng, to the charge which was now, on his death, entrusted to the duke of Pî, who is mentioned at the commencement of 'the Testamentary Charge.' By the labours of the duke of Kâu and Kün-khăn a considerable change had been effected in the character of the people of Yin, who had been transferred to the new capital and its neighbourhood; and king Khang now appoints the duke of Pî to enter into and complete their work.

After an introductory paragraph, the charge, in three chapters, occupies all the rest of the Book. The first of them speaks of what had been accomplished, and the admirable qualities of the duke which fitted him to accomplish what remained to be done. The second speaks of the special measures which were called for by the original character and the altered character of the people. The third dwells on the importance of the charge, and stimulates the duke, by various considerations, to address himself to fulfil it effectually.

In the sixth month of his twelfth year, the day of the new moon's appearance was Kăng-wû, and on Zăn-shăn, the third day after, the king walked in the morning from the honoured capital of Kâu to Făng, and there, with reference to the multitudes of Khăng-kâu, gave charge to the duke of Pî to protect and regulate the eastern border.

The king spoke to the following effect:— 'Oh! Grand-Master, it was when Wăn and Wû had diffused their great virtue all under heaven, that they therefore received the appointment which Yin had enjoyed.* The duke of Kâu acted as assistant to my royal predecessors, and tranquillized and established their kingdom. Cautiously did he deal with the refractory people of Yin, and removed them to the city of Lo, that they might be quietly near the royal House, and be transformed by its lessons. Six and thirty years have elapsed; the generation has been changed; and manners have altered. Through the four quarters of the land there is no occasion for anxiety, and I, the One man, enjoy repose.

'The prevailing ways now tend to advancement and now to degeneracy, and measures of government must be varied according to the manners (of the time). If you (now) do not manifest your approval of what is good, the people will not be led to stimulate themselves in it. But your virtue, O duke, is strenuous, and you are cautiously attentive to the smallest things. You have been helpful to and

brightened four reigns; with deportment all correct leading on the inferior officers, so that there is not one who does not reverently take your words as a law. Your admirable merits were many (and great) in the times of my predecessors; I, the little child, have but to let my robes hang down, and fold my hands, while I look up for the complete effect (of your measures).'

The king said, 'Oh! Grand-Master, I now reverently charge you with the duties of the duke of Kâu. Go! Signalize the good, separating the bad from them; give tokens of your approbation in their neighbourhoods, making it ill for the evil by such distinction of the good, and thus establishing the influence and reputation (of their virtue). When the people will not obey your lessons and statutes, mark off the boundaries of their hamlets, making them fear (to do evil), and desire (to do good). Define anew the borders and frontiers, and be careful to strengthen the guard-posts through the territory, in order to secure tranquillity (within) the four seas. In measures of government to be consistent and constant, and in proclamations a combination of completeness and brevity, are valuable. There should not be the love of what is extraordinary. Among the customs of Shang was the flattery of superiors; sharp-tonguedness was the sign of worth. The remains of these manners are not yet obliterated. Do you, O duke, bear this in mind. I have heard the saying, "Families which have for generations enjoyed places of emolument seldom observe the rules of propriety. They become dissolute, and do violence to virtue, setting themselves in positive opposition to the way of Heaven. They ruin the formative principles of good; encourage extravagance and display; and tend to carry all (future ages) on the same stream with them." Now the officers of Yin had long relied on the favour which they enjoyed. In the confidence of their prideful extravagance they extinguished their (sense of) righteousness. They displayed before men the beauty of their robes, proud, licentious, arrogant, and boastful; — the natural issue was that they should end in being thoroughly bad. Although their lost minds have (in a measure) been recovered, it is difficult to keep them under proper restraint. If with their property and wealth they can be brought under the influence of instruction, they may enjoy lengthened years, virtue, and righteousness! — these are the great lessons. If you do not follow in dealing with them these lessons of antiquity, wherein will you instruct them?'

The king said, 'Oh! Grand-Master, the security or the danger of the kingdom depends on those officers of Yin. If you are not (too) stern with them nor (too) mild, their virtue will be truly cultivated. The duke of Kâu exercised the necessary caution at the beginning (of the undertaking); Kün-khăn displayed the harmony proper to the middle of it; and you, O duke, can bring it at last to a successful issue. You three princes will have been one in aim, and will have

equally pursued the proper way. The penetrating power of your principles, and the good character of your measures of government, will exert an enriching influence on the character of the people, so that the wild tribes, with their coats buttoning on the left, will all find their proper support in them, and I, the little child, will long enjoy much happiness. Thus, O duke, there in Khăng-kâu will you establish for ever the power (of Kâu), and you will have an inexhaustible fame. Your descendants will follow your perfect pattern, governing accordingly.

'Oh! do not say, "I am unequal to this;" but exert your mind to the utmost. Do not say, "The people are few;" but attend carefully to your business. Reverently follow the accomplished achievements of the former kings, and complete the excellence of the government of your predecessors.'

Book XXV. The Kün-yâ.

According to the note in the Preface to the Shû, the charge delivered in this Book to Kün-yâ, or possibly 'the prince Yâ,' was by king Mû; and its dictum is not challenged by any Chinese critic. The reign of king Khâo, who succeeded to Khang, is thus passed over in the documents of the Shû. Mû was the son and successor of Khâo, and reigned from bc 1001 to 947.

Kün-yâ's surname is not known. He is here appointed to be Minister of Instruction, and as it is intimated that his father and grandfather had been in the same office, it is conjectured that he was the grandson of the earl of Zui, who was Minister of Instruction at the beginning of the reign of king Khang.

The Book is short, speaking of the duties of the office, and stimulating Yâ to the discharge of them by considerations drawn from the merits of his forefathers, and the services which he would render to the dynasty and his sovereign.

The king spoke to the following effect:— 'Oh! Kün-yâ, your grandfather and your father, one after the other, with a true loyalty and honesty, laboured in the service of the royal House, accomplishing a merit that was recorded on the grand banner. I, the little child, have become charged by inheritance with the line of government transmitted from Wăn and Wû, from Khăng and Khang; I also keep thinking of their ministers who aided them in the good government of the kingdom; the trembling anxiety of my mind makes me feel as if I were treading on a tiger's tail, or walking upon spring ice. I now give you charge to assist me; be as my limbs to me, as my heart and backbone. Continue their old service, and do not disgrace your grandfather and father.

'Diffuse widely (the knowledge of) the five invariable relations (of society), and reverently seek to produce a harmonious observance of the duties belonging to them among the people. If you are correct in your own person, none will dare to be but correct. The minds of the people cannot attain to the right mean (of duty); — they must be guided by your attaining to it. In the heat and rains of summer, the inferior people may be described as murmuring and sighing. And so it is with them in the great cold of winter. How great are their hardships! Think of their hardships in order to seek to promote their ease; and the people will be tranquil. Oh! how great and splendid were the plans of king Wăn! How greatly were they carried out by the energy of king Wû! All in principle correct, and deficient in nothing, they are for the help and guidance of us their descendants. Do you with reverence and wisdom carry out your instructions, enabling me to honour and follow the example of my (immediate) predecessors, and to respond

to and display the bright decree conferred on Wăn and Wû; — so shall you be the mate of your by-gone fathers.'

The king spoke to the following effect:— 'Kün-yâ, do you take for your rule the lessons afforded by the courses of your excellent fathers. The good or the bad order of the people depends on this. You will thus follow the practice of your grandfather and father, and make the good government of your sovereign illustrious.'

Book XXVI. The Charge to Khiung.

The charge recorded here, like that in the last Book, is assigned to king Mû. It was delivered on the appointment of a Khiung or Po-khiung (that is, the eldest Khiung, the eldest brother in his family) to be High Chamberlain. Of this Khiung we know nothing more than we learn from the Shû. He was no high dignitary of state. That the charge to him found a place in the Shû, we are told, shows how important it was thought that men in the lowest positions, yet coming into contact with the sovereign, should possess correct principles and an earnest desire for his progress in intelligence and virtue.

King Mû represents himself as conscious of his own incompetencies, and impressed with a sense of the high duties devolving on him. His predecessors, much superior to himself, were yet greatly indebted to the aid of the officers about them; — how much more must this be the case with him!

He proceeds to appoint Khiung to be the High Chamberlain, telling him how he should guide correctly all the other servants about the royal person, so that none but good influences should be near to act upon the king; — telling him also the manner of men whom he should employ, and the care he should exercise in the selection of them.

The king spoke to the following effect:— ‘Po-khiung, I come short in virtue, and have succeeded to the former kings, to occupy the great throne. I am fearful, and conscious of the peril (of my position). I rise at midnight, and think how I can avoid falling into errors. Formerly Wăn and Wû were endowed with all intelligence, august and sage, while their ministers, small and great, all cherished loyalty and goodness. Their servants, charioteers, chamberlains, and followers were all men of correctness; morning and evening waiting on their sovereign’s wishes, or supplying his deficiencies. (Those kings), going out and coming in, rising up and sitting down, were thus made reverent. Their every warning or command was good. The people yielded a reverent obedience, and the myriad regions were all happy. But I, the One man, am destitute of goodness, and really depend on the officers who have places about me to help my deficiencies, applying the line to my faults, and exhibiting my errors, thus correcting my bad heart, and enabling me to be the successor of my meritorious predecessors.

‘Now I appoint you to be High Chamberlain, to see that all the officers in your department and my personal attendants are upright and correct, that they strive to promote the virtue of their sovereign, and together supply my deficiencies. Be careful in selecting your officers. Do not employ men of artful speech and insinuating looks, men whose likes and dislikes are ruled by mine,

one-sided men and flatterers; but employ good men. When these household officers are correct, the sovereign will be correct; when they are flatterers, the sovereign will consider himself a sage. His virtue or his want of it equally depends on them. Cultivate no intimacy with flatterers, nor get them to do duty for me as my ears and eyes; — they will lead their sovereign to disregard the statutes of the former kings. If you choose the men not for their personal goodness, but for the sake of their bribes, their offices will be made of no effect, your great want of reverence for your sovereign will be apparent, and I will hold you guilty.'

The king said, 'Oh! be reverent! Ever help your sovereign to follow the regular laws of duty (which he should exemplify).'

Book XXVII. The Marquis of Lü on Punishments.

The charge or charges recorded in this Book were given in the hundredth year of the king's age. The king, it is again understood, was Mû; and the hundredth year of his age would be bc 952. The title of the Book in Chinese is simply 'Lü's Punishments,' and I conclude that Lü, or the marquis of Lü, was a high minister who prepared, by the king's orders, a code of punishments for the regulation of the kingdom, in connexion with the undertaking, or the completion, of which the king delivered to his princes and judges the sentiments that are here preserved.

The common view is that Lü is the name of a principality, the marquis of which was Mû's Minister of Crime. Where it was is not well known, and as the Book is quoted in the Lî Kî several times under the title of 'Fû on Punishments,' it is supposed that Lü and Fû (a small marquisate in the present Ho-nan) were the same.

The whole Book is divided into seven chapters. The first is merely a brief introduction, the historiographer's account of the circumstances in which king Mû delivered his lessons. Each of the other chapters begins with the words, 'The king said.' The first two of them are an historical resumé of the lessons of antiquity on the subject of punishments, and an inculcation on the princes and officers of justice to give heed to them, and learn from them. The next two tell the princes of the diligence and carefulness to be employed in the use of punishments, and how they can make punishments a blessing. The fourth chapter treats principally of the commutation or redemption of punishments, and has been very strongly condemned by critics and moralists. They express their surprise that such a document should be in the Shû, and, holding that the collection was made by Confucius, venture to ask what the sage meant by admitting it. There is, in fact, no evidence that the redemption of punishments on the scale here laid down, existed in China before Mû's time. It has entered, however, into the penal code of every subsequent dynasty. Great official corruption and depravation of the general morality would seem to be inseparable from such a system. The fifth chapter returns again to the reverence with which punishments should be employed; and the sixth and last is addressed to future generations, and directs them to the ancient models, in order that punishments may never be but a blessing to the kingdom.

A Chinese critic says that throughout the Book 'virtue' and 'exact adaptation' are the terms that carry the weight of the meaning. Virtue must underlie the use of punishments, of which their exact adaptation will be the manifestation.

In reference to the charge to (the marquis of) Lü: — When the king had occupied the throne till he reached the age of a hundred years, he gave great consideration to the appointment of punishments, in order to deal with (the people of) the four quarters.

The king said, ‘According to the teachings of ancient times, Khih Yû was the first to produce disorder, which spread among the quiet, orderly people, till all became robbers and murderers, owl-like and yet self-complacent in their conduct, traitors and villains, snatching and filching, dissemblers and oppressors.

‘Among the people of Miâo, they did not use the power of goodness, but the restraint of punishments. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws. They slaughtered the innocent, and were the first also to go to excess in cutting off the nose, cutting off the ears, castration, and branding. All who became liable to those punishments were dealt with without distinction, no difference being made in favour of those who could offer some excuse. The people were gradually affected by this state of things, and became dark and disorderly. Their hearts were no more set on good faith, but they violated their oaths and covenants. The multitudes who suffered from the oppressive terrors, and were (in danger of) being murdered, declared their innocence to Heaven. God surveyed the people, and there was no fragrance of virtue arising from them, but the rank odour of their (cruel) punishments.*

‘The great Tî compassionated the innocent multitudes that were (in danger of) being murdered, and made the oppressors feel the terrors of his majesty. He restrained and (finally) extinguished the people of Miâo, so that they should not continue to future generations. Then he commissioned Khung and Lî to make an end of the communications between earth and heaven; and the descents (of spirits) ceased. From the princes down to the inferior officers, all helped with clear intelligence (the spread of) the regular principles of duty, and the solitary and widows were no longer overlooked. The great Tî with an unprejudiced mind carried his enquiries low down among the people, and the solitary and widows laid before him their complaints against the Miâo. He awed the people by the majesty of his virtue, and enlightened them by its brightness. He thereupon charged the three princely (ministers) to labour with compassionate anxiety in the people’s behalf. Po-î delivered his statutes to prevent the people from rendering themselves obnoxious to punishment; Yü reduced to order the water and the land, and presided over the naming of the hills and rivers; Kî spread abroad a knowledge of agriculture, and (the people) extensively cultivated the admirable grains. When the three princes had accomplished their work, it was abundantly well with the people. The Minister of Crime exercised among them the restraint of punishment in exact adaptation to each offence, and taught them

to reverence virtue. The greatest gravity and harmony in the sovereign, and the greatest intelligence in those below him, thus shining forth to all quarters (of the land), all were rendered diligent in cultivating their virtue. Hence, (if anything more were wanted), the clear adjudication of punishments effected the regulation of the people, and helped them to observe the regular duties of life. The officers who presided over criminal cases executed the law (fearlessly) against the powerful, and (faithfully) against the wealthy. They were reverent and cautious. They had no occasion to make choice of words to vindicate their conduct. The virtue of Heaven was attained to by them; from them was the determination of so great a matter as the lives (of men). In their low sphere they yet corresponded (to Heaven) and enjoyed (its favour).'*

The king said, 'Ah! you who direct the government and preside over criminal cases through all the land, are you not constituted the shepherds of Heaven?* To whom ought you now to look as your pattern? Is it not to Po-î, spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments? And from whom ought you now to take warning? Is it not from the people of Miâo, who would not examine into the circumstances of criminal cases, and did not make choice of good officers that should see to the right apportioning of the five punishments, but chose the violent and bribe-snatchers, who determined and administered them, so as to oppress the innocent, until God would no longer hold them guiltless, and sent down calamity on Miâo, when the people had no plea to allege in mitigation of their punishment, and their name was cut off from the world?'*

The king said, 'Oh! lay it to heart. My uncles, and all ye, my brethren and cousins, my sons and my grandsons, listen all of you to my words, in which, it may be, you will receive a most important charge. You will only tread the path of satisfaction by being daily diligent; — do not have occasion to beware of the want of diligence. Heaven, in its wish to regulate the people, allows us for a day to make use of punishments.* Whether crimes have been premeditated, or are unpremeditated, depends on the parties concerned; — do you (deal with them so as to) accord with the mind of Heaven, and thus serve me, the One man. Though I would put them to death, do not you therefore put them to death; though I would spare them, do not you therefore spare them. Reverently apportion the five punishments, so as fully to exhibit the three virtues. Then shall I, the One man, enjoy felicity; the people will look to you as their sure dependance; the repose of such a state will be perpetual.'

The king said, 'Ho! come, ye rulers of states and territories, I will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. It is yours now to give repose to the people; — what should you be most concerned about the choosing of? Should it not be the proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should

it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most carefully? Should it not be to whom these will reach?

‘When both parties are present, (with their documents and witnesses) all complete, let the judges listen to the fivefold statements that may be made. When they have examined and fully made up their minds on those, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments. If the five punishments do not meet it, let them adjust it to one of the five redemption-fines; and if these, again, are not sufficient for it, let them reckon it among the five cases of error.

‘In (settling) the five cases of error there are evils (to be guarded against); — being warped by the influence of power, or by private grudge, or by female solicitation, or by bribes, or by applications. Any one of these things should be held equal to the crime (before the judges). Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to (every difficulty).

‘When there are doubts as to the infliction of any of the five punishments, that infliction should be forborne. When there are doubts as to the infliction of any of the five fines, it should be forborne. Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to overcome (every difficulty). When you have examined and many things are clear, yet form a judgment from studying the appearance of the parties. If you find nothing out on examination, do not listen (to the case any more). In everything stand in awe of the dread majesty of Heaven.*

‘When, in a doubtful case, the punishment of branding is forborne, the fine to be laid on instead is 600 ounces (of copper); but you must first have satisfied yourselves as to the crime. When the case would require the cutting off the nose, the fine must be double this; — with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be the cutting off the feet, the fine must be 3000 ounces; — with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be castration, the fine must be 3600 ounces; — with the same determination. When the punishment would be death, the fine must be 6000 ounces; — with the same determination. Of crimes that may be redeemed by the fine in lieu of branding there are 1000; and the same number of those that would otherwise incur cutting off the nose. The fine in lieu of cutting off the feet extends to 500 cases; that in lieu of castration, to 300; and that in lieu of death, to 200. Altogether, set against the five punishments, there are 3000 crimes. (In the case of others not exactly defined), you must class them with the (next) higher or (next) lower offences, not admitting assumptive and disorderly pleadings, and not using obsolete laws. Examine and act lawfully, judging carefully, and proving yourselves equal (to every difficulty).

‘Where the crime should incur one of the higher punishments, but there are mitigating circumstances, apply to it the next lower. Where it should incur one

of the lower punishments, but there are aggravating circumstances, apply to it the next higher. The light and heavy fines are to be apportioned (in the same way) by the balance of circumstances. Punishments and fines should (also) be light in one age, and heavy in another. To secure uniformity in this (seeming) irregularity, there are certain relations of things (to be considered), and the essential principle (to be observed).

'The chastisement of fines is short of death, yet it will produce extreme distress. They are not (therefore) persons of artful tongues who should determine criminal cases, but really good persons, whose awards will hit the right mean. Examine carefully where there are any discrepancies in the statements; the view which you were resolved not to follow, you may see occasion to follow; with compassion and reverence settle the cases; examine carefully the penal code, and deliberate with all about it, that your decisions may be likely to hit the proper mean and be correct; — whether it be the infliction of a punishment or a fine, examining carefully and mastering every difficulty. When the case is thus concluded, all parties will acknowledge the justice of the sentence; and when it is reported, the sovereign will do the same. In sending up reports of cases, they must be full and complete. If a man have been tried on two counts, his two punishments (must be recorded).'

The king said, 'Oh! let there be a feeling of reverence. Ye judges and princes, of the same surname with me, and of other surnames, (know all) that I speak in much fear. I think with reverence of the subject of punishment, for the end of it is to promote virtue. Now Heaven, wishing to help the people, has made us its representatives here below.* Be intelligent and pure in hearing (each) side of a case. The right ordering of the people depends on the impartial hearing of the pleas on both sides; — do not seek for private advantage to yourselves by means of those pleas. Gain (so) got by the decision of cases is no precious acquisition; it is an accumulation of guilt, and will be recompensed with many judgments: — you should ever stand in awe of the punishment of Heaven.* It is not Heaven that does not deal impartially with men, but men ruin themselves. If the punishment of Heaven were not so extreme, nowhere under the sky would the people have good government.'

The king said, 'Oh! ye who shall hereafter inherit (the dignities and offices of) the present time, to whom are ye to look for your models? Must it not be to those who promoted the virtue belonging to the unbiassed nature of the people? I pray you give attention to my words. The wise men (of antiquity) by their use of punishments obtained boundless fame. Everything relating to the five punishments exactly hit with them the due mean, and hence came their

excellence. Receiving from your sovereigns the good multitudes, behold in the case of those men punishments made felicitous!’

Book XXVIII. The Charge to the Marquis WĂn.

The king to whom this charge is ascribed was Phing (bc 770-719). Between him and Mû there was thus a period of fully two centuries, of which no documents are, or ever were, in the collection of the Shû. The time was occupied by seven reigns, the last of which was that of Nieh, known as king Yû, a worthless ruler, and besotted in his attachment to a female favourite, called Pâo-sze. For her sake he degraded his queen, and sent their son, Î-khiû, to the court of the lord of Shăn, her father, 'to learn good manners.' The lord of Shăn called in the assistance of some barbarian tribes, by which the capital was sacked, and the king slain; and with him ended the sway of 'the Western Kâu.' Several of the feudal princes went to the assistance of the royal House, drove away the barbarians, brought back Î-khiû from Shăn, and hailed him as king. He is known as king Phing, 'the Tranquillizer.' His first measure was to transfer the capital from the ruins of Hâo to Lo, thus fulfilling at length, but under disastrous circumstances, the wishes of the duke of Kâu; and from this time (bc 770) dates the history of 'the Eastern Kâu.'

Among king Phing's early measures was the rewarding the feudal lords to whom he owed his throne. The marquis of Kin was one of them. His name was Khiû, and that of Î-ho, by which he is called in the text, is taken as his 'style,' or designation assumed by him on his marriage. Wăn, 'the Accomplished,' was his sacrificial title. The lords of Kin were descended from king Wû's son, Yü, who was appointed marquis of Thang, corresponding to the present department of Thâi-yüan, in Shan-hsî. The name of Thang was afterwards changed into Kin. The state became in course of time one of the largest and most powerful in the kingdom.

The charge in this Book is understood to be in connexion with Wăn's appointment to be president or chief of several of the other princes. The king begins by celebrating the virtues and happy times of kings Wăn and Wû, and the services rendered by the worthy ministers of subsequent reigns. He contrasts with this the misery and distraction of his own times, deploring his want of wise counsellors and helpers, and praising the marquis for the services which he had rendered. He then concludes with the special charge by which he would reward the prince's merit in the past, and stimulate him to greater exertions in the future.

The king spoke to the following effect:— 'Uncle Î-ho, how illustrious were Wăn and Wû! Carefully did they make their virtue brilliant, till it rose brightly on high, and the fame of it was widely diffused here below. Therefore God caused his favouring decree to light upon king Wăn.* There were ministers also

(thereafter), who aided and illustriously served their sovereigns, following and carrying out their plans, great and small, so that my fathers sat tranquilly on the throne.

'Oh! an object of pity am I, who am (but as) a little child. Just as I have succeeded to the throne, Heaven has severely chastised me.* Through the interruption of the (royal) bounties that ceased to descend to the inferior people, the invading barbarous tribes of the west have greatly (injured) our kingdom. Moreover, among the managers of my affairs there are none of age and experience and distinguished ability in their offices. I am (thus) unequal (to the difficulties of my position), and say to myself, "My grand-uncles and uncles, you ought to compassionate my case." Oh! if there were those who could establish their merit in behalf of me, the One man, I might long enjoy repose upon the throne.

'Uncle Î-ho, you render still more glorious your illustrious ancestor. You were the first to imitate the example of Wăn and Wû, collecting (the scattered powers), and continuing (the all but broken line of) your sovereign. Your filial piety goes back to your accomplished ancestor, (and is equal to his.) You have done much to repair my (losses), and defend me in my difficulties, and of you, being such, I am full of admiration.'

The king said, 'Uncle Î-ho, return home, survey your multitudes, and tranquillize your state. I reward you with a jar of spirits, distilled from the black millet, and flavoured with odoriferous herbs, with a red bow, and a hundred red arrows; with a black bow, and a hundred black arrows; and with four horses. Go, my uncle. Show kindness to those that are far off, and help those who are near at hand; cherish and secure the repose of the inferior people; do not idly seek your ease; exercise an inspection and (benign) compassion in your capital (and all your borders); — thus completing your illustrious virtue.'

Book XXIX. The Speech at Pî.

The Speech at Pî carries us back from the time of Phing to that of king Khăng. In the Preface to the Shû it is attributed to Po-khin, the son of the duke of Kâu; and there is a general acquiescence of tradition and critics in this view. We may account for its position out of the chronological order from the Book's being the record not of any royal doings, but of the words of the ruler of a state.

The speech has reference to some military operations against the wild tribes on the Hwâi river and in other parts of the province of Hsü; and we have seen that they were in insurrection many times during the reign of Khăng. We thus cannot tell exactly the year in which the speech was delivered. Po-khin presided over his state of Lû for the long period of fifty-three years, and died bc 1063.

The name of Pî is retained in the district still so called of the department of Î-kâu. At first it was an independent territory, but attached to Lû, and under the jurisdiction of its marquises, by one of whom it had been incorporated with Lû before the time of Confucius.

Po-khin appears at the head of his host, approaching the scene of active operations. Having commanded silence, he issues his orders, first, that the soldiers shall have their weapons in good order; next, that the people of the country shall take care of the oxen and horses of the army; further, that the troops on no account leave their ranks or go astray; and finally, he names the day when he will commence operations against the enemy, and commands all the requisite preparations to be made.

The duke said, 'Ah! ye men, make no noise, but listen to my commands. We are going (to punish) those wild tribes of the Hwâi and of Hsü, which have risen up together.

'Have in good repair your buff coats and helmets; have the laces of your shields well secured; — presume not to have any of them but in perfect order. Prepare your bows and arrows; temper your lances and spears; sharpen your pointed and edged weapons; — presume not to have any of them but in good condition.

'We must now largely let the oxen and horses loose, and not keep them in enclosures; — (ye people), do you close your traps and fill up your pitfalls, and do not presume to injure any of the animals (so let loose). If any of them be injured, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

'When the horses or cattle are seeking one another, or when your followers, male or female, abscond, presume not to leave the ranks to pursue them. But let them be carefully returned. I will reward you (among the people) who return

them according to their value. But if you leave your places to pursue them, or if you who find them do not restore them, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

‘And let none of you presume to commit any robbery or detain any creature that comes in your way, to jump over enclosures and walls to steal (people’s) horses or oxen, or to decoy away their servants or female attendants. If you do so, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

‘On the day Kiâ-hsü I will take action against the hordes of Hsü; — prepare the roasted grain and other provisions, and presume not to have any deficiency. If you have, you shall suffer the severest punishment. Ye men of Lû, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with your posts and planks. On Kiâ-hsü I will commence my intrenchments; — dare not but be provided with a supply of these. (If you be not so provided), you shall be subjected to various punishments, short only of death. Ye men of Lû, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with the forage, and do not dare to let it be other than abundant. (If you do), you shall suffer the severest punishment.’

Book XXX. The Speech of (the Marquis of) Khin.

The state of Khin, at the time to which this speech belongs, was one of the most powerful in the kingdom, and already giving promise of what it would grow to. Ultimately, one of its princes overthrew the dynasty of Kâu, and brought feudal China to an end. Its earliest capital was in the present district of Khăng-shui, Khin Kâu, Kan-sû.

Khin and Kin were engaged together in bc 631 in besieging the capital of Kăng, and threatened to extinguish that state. The marquis of Khin, however, was suddenly induced to withdraw his troops, leaving three of his officers in friendly relations with the court of Kăng, and under engagement to defend the state from aggression. These men played the part of spies in the interest of Khin, and in bc 629, one of them, called Khî-ʒze, sent word that he was in charge of one of the gates, and if an army were sent to surprise the capital, Kăng might be added to the territories of Khin. The marquis — known in history as duke Mû — laid the matter before his counsellors. The most experienced of them — Pâi-lî Hsî and Khien-shû — were against taking advantage of the proposed treachery; but the marquis listened rather to the promptings of ambition; and the next year he sent a large force, under his three ablest commanders, hoping to find Kăng unprepared for any resistance. The attempt, however, failed; and the army, on its way back to Khin, was attacked by the forces of Kin, and sustained a terrible defeat. It was nearly annihilated, and the three commanders were taken prisoners.

The marquis of Kin was intending to put these captives to death, but finally sent them to Khin, that duke Mû might himself sacrifice them to his anger for their want of success. Mû, however, did no such thing. He went from his capital to meet the disgraced generals, and comforted them, saying that the blame of their defeat was due to himself, who had refused to listen to the advice of his wise counsellors. Then also, it is said, he made the speech here preserved for the benefit of all his ministers, describing the good and bad minister, and the different issues of listening to them, and deploring how he had himself foolishly rejected the advice of his aged counsellors, and followed that of new men; — a thing which he would never do again.

The duke said, ‘Ah! my officers, listen to me without noise. I solemnly announce to you the most important of all sayings. (It is this which) the ancients have said, “Thus it is with all people, — they mostly love their ease. In reproving others there is no difficulty, but to receive reproof, and allow it to have free course, — this is difficult.” The sorrow of my heart is, that the days and

months have passed away, and it is not likely they will come again, (so that I might pursue a different course.)

‘There were my old counsellors. — I said, “They will not accommodate themselves to me,” and I hated them. There were my new counsellors, and I would for the time give my confidence to them. So indeed it was with me; but hereafter I will take advice from the men of yellow hair, and then I shall be free from error. That good old officer! — his strength is exhausted, but I would rather have him (as my counsellor). That dashing brave officer! — his shooting and charioteering are faultless, but I would rather not wish to have him. As to men of quibbles, skilful at cunning words, and able to make the good man change his purposes, what have I to do to make much use of them?

‘I have deeply thought and concluded. — Let me have but one resolute minister, plain and sincere, without other ability, but having a straightforward mind, and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them; and when he finds accomplished and sage men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, really showing himself able to bear them: — such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants and people, and would indeed be a giver of benefits.

‘But if (the minister), when he finds men of ability, be jealous and hates them; if, when he finds accomplished and sage men, he oppose them and does not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them: — such a man will not be able to protect my descendants and people; and will he not be a dangerous man?

‘The decline and fall of a state may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a state may also arise from the goodness of one man.’

BOOK OF RITES — 禮記

Translated by James Legge

This collection of texts describes the social forms, administration and ceremonial rites of the Zhou dynasty as they were understood in the Warring States and the early Han periods. The *Book of Rites* is of uncertain origin and date, lacking the overall structure found in the other "rites" texts, such as the *Rites of Zhou* and the *Etiquette and Ceremonial*. Some sections of the text consist of definitions of ritual terms, while others contain details of the life and teachings of Confucius. Some parts have been traced to such pre-Han works as the *Xunzi* and *Lüshi Chunqiu*, while others are believed to date from the Former Han period.

During the reign of Qin Shihuang, many of the Confucian classics were destroyed in the 213 BC 'Burning of the Books'. Fortunately for the preservation of this work, the Qin dynasty collapsed within the decade: Confucian scholars who had memorised the classics or hid written copies recompiled them in the early Han dynasty. The *Book of Rites* was said to have been fully reconstructed in this manner. Since then, other scholars have attempted to redact these first drafts.

Li is a core concept of the *Book of Rites*. Confucius described *Li* as all traditional forms that provided a standard of conduct. *Li* literally means "rites", though it can also be used to refer to "ceremonial" or "rules of conduct". The term has come to generally be associated with "good form", "decorum" or "politeness". Confucius felt that *li* should emphasise the spirit of piety and respect for others through rules of conduct and ceremonies. As outlined in the text, *li* is meant to restore the significance of traditional forms by looking at the simplicity of the past. Confucius insisted that a standard of conduct that focused on traditional forms would be a way to ease the turmoil of collapsing Zhou state. The absolute power of *li* is displayed in the *Book of Rites*: "Of all things to which the people owe their lives the rites are the most important..." The ideas of *li* were thought to become closely associated with human nature, ethics, and social order as the population integrated *li* into their lives. *Li* is beneficial to society because it guides people to recognize and fulfil their responsibilities toward others.

An annotated version of the Book of Rites, dated before 907

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PREFACE.

I MAY be permitted to express my satisfaction that, with the two volumes of the Lî Kî now published, I have done, so far as translation is concerned, all and more than all which I undertook to do on the Chinese Classics more than twenty-five years ago. When the first volume was published in 1891, my friend, the late Stanislas Julien, wrote to me, asking if I had duly considered the voluminousness of the Lî Kî, and expressing his doubts whether I should be able to complete my undertaking. Having begun the task, however, I have pursued it to the end, working on with some unavoidable interruptions, and amidst not a few other engagements.

The present is the first translation that has been published in any European language of the whole of the Lî Kî. In 1853 the late J. M. Callery published at the Imprimerie Royale, Turin, what he called 'Lî Kî, ou Mémorial des Rites, traduit pour la première fois du Chinois, et accompagné de Notes, de Commentaires, et du Texte Original.' But in fact the text which P. Callery adopted was only an expurgated edition, published by Fan Sze-tang, a scholar of the Yüan dynasty, as commented on and annotated by Kâu Kih, whose well-known work appeared in 1711, the 50th year of the Khang-hsî reign or period. Callery has himself called attention to this in his introduction, and it is to be regretted that he did not indicate it in the title-page of his book. Fan's text omits entirely the 5th, 12th, 13th, 19th, 28th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 37th, and 39th Books in my translation, while of most of the others, 'a good third' has been expurgated. I do not think that Callery's version contains above one half of the Lî Kî, as it is found in the great editions of the Thang and present dynasties. The latter of these was commanded in an imperial rescript in 1748, the 13th year of the Khien-lung period. The committee charged with its execution consisted of 85 dignitaries and scholars, who used the previous labours of 244 authors, besides adding, on many of the most difficult passages, their own remarks and decisions, which are generally very valuable.

My own version is based on a study of these two imperial collections, and on an extensive compilation, made specially for my use by my Chinese friend and former helper, the graduate Wang Thâo, gathered mostly from more recent writers of the last 250 years. The Khien-lung editors make frequent reference to the work of Khan Hâo, which appeared in 1322 under the modest title of, 'A Collection of Remarks on the Lî Kî.' This acquired so great a celebrity under the Ming dynasty, that, as Callery tells us, an edict was issued in 1403 appointing it the standard for the interpretation of the Classic at the public examinations; and

this pre-eminence was accorded to it on to the Khien-lung period. The whole of the Lî Kî is given and expounded by Khan, excepting the 28th and 39th Books, which had long been current as portions of 'The Four Books.' I may say that I have read over and over, and with much benefit, every sentence in his comments. Forming my own judgment on every passage, now agreeing with him and now differing, and frequently finding reason to attach a higher value to the views of the Khien-lung editors, I must say that 'he deserves well' of the Lî Kî. His volumes are characterised by a painstaking study of the original text, and an honest attempt to exhibit the logical connexion of thought in its several parts.

P. Callery's translation of his expurgated text is for the most part well executed, and his notes, of which I have often made use, are admirable. I have also enjoyed the benefit of the more recent work, 'Cursus Litteratura o Sinicae,' by P. Angelo Zottoli, in whom the scholarship of earlier Jesuit missionaries has revived. In his third the earlier volume, published at Shang-hâi in 1880, there are good translations of the 1st, 5th, 10th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd Books; while the 28th and 39th are in his second volume. In the Latin which he employs, according to the traditions of his church and what is still a practice of some scholars, he is able to be more brief in his renderings than Callery and myself, but perhaps not so satisfactory to readers generally. I also referred occasionally to Signor Carlo Puini's 'Lî-Kî: Instituzioni, Usi e Costumanze della Cina antica; Traduzione. Commento e Note (Fascicolo Primo; Firenze, 1883.'

The present translation is, as I said above, the first published in any European language of the whole of the Lî Kî; but another had existed in manuscript for several years, the work of Mr. Alexander Wylie, now unhappily, by loss of eye-sight and otherwise failing health, laid aside from his important Chinese labours. I was fortunate enough to obtain possession of this when I had got to the 35th Book in my own version, and, in carrying the sheets through the press, I have constantly made reference to it. It was written at an early period of Mr. Wylie's Chinese studies, and is not such as a Sinologist of his attainments and research would have produced later on. Still I have been glad to have it by me, though I may venture to say that, in construing the paragraphs and translating the characters, I have not been indebted in a single instance to him or P. Callery. The first six Books, and portions of several others, had been written out, more than once, before I finally left China in 1873; but I began again at the beginning, early in 1883, in preparing the present version. I can hardly hope that, in translating so extensive and peculiar a work. descriptive of customs and things at so remote a period of time, and without the assistance of any Chinese graduate with whom I could have talked over complicated and perplexing paragraphs, I may not have fallen into some mistakes; but I trust they will be found to be very

few. My simple and only aim has been, first, to understand the text for myself and then to render it in English, fairly and as well a I could in the time attain to, for my readers.

J. L.

OXFORD,
July 10, 1885.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Three Different LÎ King, or Ritual Books, Acknowledged in China. The Recovery of the First Two, and Formation of the Third, under the Han Dynasty.

How Confucius spoke of the Lî.

1. Confucius said, 'It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused; by the Rules of Propriety that the character is established; from Music that the finish is received.' On another occasion he said, 'Without the Rules of Propriety, respectfulness becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, timidity; boldness, insubordination; and straightforwardness, rudeness.'

These are two specimens of the manner in which Confucius expressed himself about the Lî, the Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages, recognised in his time. It is a natural inference from his language that there were Collections of such Rules which could be read and studied; but he does not expressly say so.

How Mencius spoke of them.

The language of Mencius was more definite. In at least two passages of his works we find the usual form of quotation Lî Yüeh, 'The Lî says,' which, according to the analogy of Shih Yüeh, 'The Shih King, or Book of Poetry, says,' might be rendered, 'The Lî King says.' In another passage, he says to a Mr. King Khun, 'Have you not read the Lî?' It does not appear that Mencius was always referring to one and the same collection of Lî; but it is clear that in his time there were one or more such collections current and well known among his countrymen.

Now there are three Lî King, or three Rituals.

There are now three Chinese classics into which the name Lî enters: — the Î Lî, the Kâu Lî, and the Lî Kî, frequently styled, both by the Chinese themselves and by sinologists, 'The Three Rituals.' The first two are books of the Kâu dynasty (B.C. 1122-225). The third, of which a complete translation is given in the present work, may contain passages of an earlier date than either of the others; but as a collection in its present form, it does not go higher than the Han dynasty, and was not completed till our second century. It has, however, taken a higher position than those others, and is ranked with the Shû, the Shih, the Yî, and the Khun Khiû, forming one of 'The Five King,' which are acknowledged as the books of greatest authority in China. Other considerations besides antiquity have given, we shall see, its eminence to the Lî Kî.

State of the Lî books at the rise of the Han an dynasty.

2. The monuments of the ancient literature, with the exception, perhaps, of the Yi King, were in a condition of disorder and incompleteness at the rise of the Han dynasty. (B.C. 206). This was the case especially with the Î Lî and Kâu Lî. They had suffered, with the other books, from the fires and proscription of the short-lived dynasty of Khin, the founder of which was bent especially on their destruction; and during the closing centuries of Kâu, in all the period of 'The Warring Kingdoms,' they had been variously mutilated by the contending princess.

Work of the ancient emperors of Han in recovering the books.

The sovereigns of Han undertook the task of gathering up and arranging the fragments of the ancient books, and executed it well.. In B.C. 213 Shih Hwang Tî of Khin had promulgated his edict forbidding any one to hide and keep in his possession the old writings. This was repealed in B.C. 191 by the emperor Hui, so that it had been in existence only twenty-two years, during most of which, we may presume, it had been inoperative. Arrangements were also made to receive and preserve old tablets which might be presented, and to take down in writing what scholars might be able to repeat. In B.C. 164, the emperor Wan ordered 'the Great Scholars' of his court to compile 'the Royal Ordinances,' the fifth of the Books in our Lî Kî.

Recovery of the Î Lî.

i. Internal evidence shows that when this treatise was made, the Î Lî, or portions of it at least, had been recovered; and with this agrees the testimony of Sze-mâ Khien, who was born perhaps in that very year, and lived to between B.C. 90 and 80. In the 61st Book of his Biographies, referred to in a note above, Khien says, 'Many of the scholars repeated (parts of) the Lî; but no other of them so much as Kâo Thang of Lû; and now we have only the Shih Lî, which he was able to recite.' In harmony with this statement of the great historian, is the first entry in Liû Hsin's Catalogue of Lî books in the Imperial library of Han: —'56 küan or sections of Lî in the old text, and 17 phien in the (current) text (of the time);' forming, as is universally believed, the present Î Lî, for which the Shih Lî of Khien is merely another name.

That Kâo Thang should have been able to dictate so much of the work will not be thought wonderful by those who are familiar with the power of memory displayed by many Chinese scholars even at the present day. The sections in the old text were found in the reign of the emperor Wû (B.C. 140-87), and came into the possession of his brother, known as king Hsien of Ho-kien. We do not know how much this mass of tablets added to the Î Lî, as we now have it, but they confirmed the genuineness of the portion obtained from Kâo.

King Hsien of Ho-kien, and his recovery of the Kâu Lî.

ii. The recovery of the Kâu Lî came not long after, and through the agency of the same king Hsien. No one did so much as he in the restoration of the ancient of literature. By name Teh, and one of the fourteen sons of the emperor King (B.C. 156-141), he was appointed by his father, in B.C. 155, king of Ho-kien, which is still the name of one of the departments of Kih-lî, and there he continued till his death, in 129, the patron of all literary men, and unceasingly pursuing his quest for old books dating from before the Khin dynasty. Multitudes came to him from all quarters, bringing to him the precious tablets which had been preserved in their families or found by them elsewhere. The originals he kept in his own library, and had a copy taken, which he gave to the donor with a valuable gift. We are indebted to him in this way for the preservation of the Tâo Teh King, the works of Mencius, and other precious treasures; but I have only to notice here his services in connexion with the Lî books.

Some one brought to him the tablets of the Kâu Lî, then called Kâu Kwan, 'The Official Book of Kâu,' and purporting to contain a complete account of the organised government of the dynasty of Kâu in six sections. The sixth section, however, which should have supplied a list of the officers in the department of the minister of Works, with their functions, was wanting, and the king offered to pay 1000 pieces of gold to any one who should supply the missing tablets, but in vain. He presented the tablets which he had obtained at the court of his half-brother, the emperor Wû; but the treasure remained uncared for in one of the imperial repositories till the next century; when it came into the charge of Liû Hsin. Hsin replaced the missing portion from another old work, called Khâo Kun Kî, which Wylie renders by 'The Artificers' Record.' This has ever since continued to appear as the sixth section of the whole work, for the charge of which Hsin obtained the appointment of a special board of scholars, such as had from the first been entrusted with the care of the Î Lî. The Kâu Lî is a constitutional and not a ritual work. The last entry in Hsin's Catalogue of Lî Books is:— 'The Kâu Kwan in six sections; and a treatise on the Kâu Kwan in four sections.' That is the proper name for it. It was not called the Kâu Lî till the Thang dynasty.

Formation of the Lî Kî.

iii. We come to the formation of the text of the Lî Kî, in which we are more particularly interested. We cannot speak of its recovery, for though parts of it had been in existence during the Kâu dynasty, many of its Books cannot claim a higher antiquity than the period of the Han. All that is known about the authorship of them all will be found in the notices which form the last chapter of this Introduction.

After the entry in Lia Hsin's Catalogue about the recovered text of the Î Lî, 'there follows—'131 phien of Kî,' that is, so many different records or treatises on the subject of Lî. These had also been collected by king Hsien, and Kû Hsî's note about them is that they were 'Treatises composed by the disciples of the seventy disciples,' meaning by 'the seventy disciples' those of Confucius' followers who had been most in his society and, profited most from his instructions. These 131 phien contained, no doubt, the germ of our Lî Kî; but there they remained for about a century in the imperial repositories, undigested and uncared for, and constantly having other treatises of a similar nature added to them.

Council of B.C. 511.

At last, in B.C. 51, the emperor Hsüan (B.C. 71-47) convoked a large assembly of Great Scholars to meet in the Stone-Conduit Gallery, and discuss the text of the recovered classics. A prominent member of this assembly, the president of it I suppose, was Liû Hsiang, himself a celebrated writer and a scion of the imperial house, who appears to have had the principal charge of all the repositories. Among the other members, and in special connexion with the Lî works, we find the name of Tâi Shang, who will again come before us.

B.C. 26.

We do not know what the deliberations of the Great Scholars resulted in, but twenty-five years later the emperor Khang caused another search to be made throughout the empire for books that might hitherto have escaped notice; and, when it was completed, he ordered Hsiang to examine all the contents of the repositories, and collate the various copies of the classics. From this came the preparation of a catalogue; and Hsiang dying at the age of seventy-two, in B.C. 9, before it was completed, the work was delegated to his third and youngest son Hsin. His catalogue we happily possess. It mentions, in addition to the Î Lî and Kâu Lî, 199 phien of Lî treatises. The résumé appended to the Lî books in the Catalogue of the Su i Dynasty, omitting works mentioned by Hsin, and inserting two others, says that Hsiang had in his hands altogether 214 phien. What was to be done with this mass of tablets, or the written copies made from them?

Hâu Zhang and the two Tâis

The most distinguished of the Lî scholars in the time of the emperors Hsüan and Khang was a Hâu Zhang, the author of the compilation called in Hsin's Catalogue Khü Tâi Kî; and two of his disciples, Tâi Teh and Tâi Shang, cousins, the name of the latter of whom has already been mentioned as a member of the council of B.C. 51, were also celebrated for their ability. Teh, the older of the two, and commonly called Tâ Tâi, or 'the Greater Tâi,' while Hsiang was yet alive, digested the mass of phien, and in doing so reduced their number to 85.

The younger, called Hsiâo Tâi, or ‘the Lesser Tâi,’ doing the same for his cousin’s work, reduced it to 46 treatises. This second condensation of the Lî documents met with general acceptance, and was styled the Lî Kî. Shang himself wrote a work in twelve chapters, called ‘A Discussion of the Doubts of Scholars about the Lî Kî,’ which, though now lost, was existing in the time of Sui.

Mâ Yung and Kang Hsüan.

Through Khiâo Zan and others, scholars of renown in their day, the redaction passed on to the well-known Mâ Yung (A.D. 79-166), who added to Shang’s books the Yüeh Ling, the Ming Thang Wei, and the Yo Kî making their number in all forty-nine, though, according to the arrangement adopted in the present translation, they still amount only to forty-six. From Mâ, again, it passed to his pupil Kang Hsüan (A.D. 127-200), in whom be was obliged to acknowledge a greater scholar than himself.

Thus the Lî Kî was formed. It is not necessary to pursue its history farther. Kang was the scholar of his age, and may be compared, in scholarship, with the later Kû Hsî. And he has been fortunate in the preservation of his works. He applied himself to all the three Rituals, and his labours on them all, the Kâu Lî, the Î Lî, and the Lî Kî, remain. His commentaries on them are to be found in the great work of ‘The Thirteen King’ of the Thang dynasty. There they appear, followed by the glosses, illustrations, and paraphrases of Khung Ying-tâ.

Zhâi Yung and his manusculpt.

In A.D. 175, while Kang was yet alive, Zhâi Yung, a scholar and officer of many gifts, superintended the work of engraving on stone the text of all the Confucian classics. Only fragments of that great manusculpt remain to the present day, but others of the same nature were subsequently made. We may feel assured that we have the text of the Lî Kî and other old Chinese books, as it was 1800 years ago, more correctly than any existing Manuscripts give us that of any works of the West, Semitic, or Greek, or Latin, of anything like equal antiquity.

Lî of the Greater Tâi.

3. A few sentences on the Lî of the Greater Tâi will fitly close this chapter. He handed down his voluminous compilation to a Hsü Liang of Lang Yeh in the present Shantung, and in his family it was transmitted; but if any commentaries on it were published, there is no trace of them in history. As the shorter work of his cousin obtained a wide circulation, his fell into neglect, and, as Kû Î-zun says, was simply put upon the shelf. Still there appears in the Sui Catalogue these two entries:— ‘The Lî Kî of Tâ Tâi, in 13 Sections,’ and ‘The Hsiâ Hsiâo Kang, in 1 Section,’ with a note by the editor that it was compiled by Tâ Tâi. This little tractate may, or may not, have been also included in one of the 13 Sections. There are entries also about Tâ Tâi’s work in the catalogues of the

Thang and Sung dynasties, which have given rise to many discussions. Some of the Sung scholars even regarded it as a 14th King. In the large collection of 'Books of Han and Wei,' a portion of the Lî of Tâ Tâi is still current, 39 Book in 10 Sections, including the fragment of the Hsiâ dynasty, of which a version, along with the text, was published in 1882 by Professor Douglas of King's College, under the title of 'The Calendar of the Hsiâ Dynasty.' I have gone over all the portion in the Han and Wei Collection, and must pronounce it very inferior to the compilation of the Hsiâo or Lesser Tâi. This inferiority, and not the bulk, merely, was the reason why from the first it has been comparatively little attended to.

Confucian Analects, Book VIII, 8 and 2.

Works of Mencius, II, Part ii, 2. 5; III, Part ii, 3. 3.

Works of Mencius, III, ii, 2. 2.

See Wylie's Notes on Chinese Literature, p.4, and Mayers' Chinese Reader's Manual, .

Sze-mâ Khien's Biographies, Book 61 (###), b. Other testimonies to the fact could be adduced.

Mencius V, ii, 2. 2. See also the note of Liû Hsin, appended to his catalogue of Lî works, in the Imperial library of Han.

Such was the 'Stone-Conduit Gallery,' which Mayers (Manual, ,5) describes as a building erected by Hsiâo Ho at Khang-an for the reception of the records of the extinct Khin dynasty, about B.C. 200, adding that 'in B.C. 51, the emperor Hsüan appointed a commission of scholars to assemble in this building, and complete the revision of the classical writings.' But it had also been' intended from the first as a repository for those writings as they were recovered.

See the General Mirror of History under that year.

Mayers puts his birth 'about B.C. 163,' and his death 'about 86.'

See the account of king Hsien in the twenty-third chapter of the Biographies in the History of the first Han dynasty. Hsien was the king's posthumous title (###), denoting 'The Profound and Intelligent.'

The Catalogue of the Sui Dynasty's (A. D. 589-618) Imperial library says this was a scholar of the surname Lî (###). I have been unable to trace the authority for the statement farther back.

This is related in the Catalogue of the Sui dynasty, It could not be in Khien's sixty-first chapter of Biographies, because the Kâu Kwan was not known, or, at least, not made public, in Khien's time. The Sui writers, no doubt, took it from some biography of the Han, which has escaped me.

A complete translation of the Kâu Lî appeared at Paris in 1851, the work of Edward Biot, who had died himself before its publication, before his fiftieth

year. According to a note in Callery's 'Memorial des Rites' (), the labour of its preparation hastened Biot's death. There are some errors in the version, but they are few. I have had occasion to refer to hundreds of passages in it, and always with an increasing admiration of the author's general resources and knowledge of Chinese. His early death was the greatest loss which the cause of sinology has sustained. His labours, chiefly on Chinese subjects, had been incessant from 1835. The perusal of them has often brought to my memory the words of Newton, 'If Mr. Cotes had lived, we should have known something.' Is there no sinologist who will now undertake a complete translation of the Î Lî?

See the Details in the General Mirror of History, under B.C. 51.

See the 58th Book of Biographies (###) in the History of the first Han, and the Catalogue of the Sui Library.

Sinologists, without exception I believe, have called Shang a 'nephew' of Teh, overlooking the way in which the relationship between them is expressed in Chinese. Shang is always Teh's ###, and not simply###. Foreign students have overlooked the force of the phrase and, more fully, ###. Teh and Shang's father had the same grandfather, and were themselves the sons of brothers. They were therefore what we call first cousins, and Teh and Shang were second cousins. The point is unimportant, but it is well to be correct even in small matters. Not unimportant, however, is the error of Callery (Introduction,), who says, 'Le neveu, homme dépravé, beaucoup plus adonné aux plaigirs, qu'à 1'étude, retrancha encore davantage et fixa le nombre des chapitres à 46.' No such stigma rests on the character of Taî Shang, and I am sure translators have reason to be grateful to him for condensing, as he did, the result of his cousin's labours.

###.

ii. Significance of the Chinese Character Called LÎ. Meaning of the Title LÎ KÎ. Value of the Work.

Lî is a symbol of religious import.

1. The Chinese character Lî admits of a great variety of terms in translating a work where it abounds into any of our western languages. In order fully to apprehend its significance, we must try to get bold of the fundamental ideas which it was intended to convey. And these are two. First, when we consult the Shwo Wan, the oldest Chinese dictionary, we find Lî defined as 'a step or act; that whereby we serve spiritual beings and obtain happiness.' The character was to the author, Hsü Shan, an ideagram of religious import; and we can see that he rightly interpreted the intention of its maker or makers. It consists of two elements, separately called khih and lî. That on the left is the symbol,

determining the category of meaning to which the compound belongs. It was the earliest figure employed to indicate spiritual beings, and enters into characters denoting spirits, sacrifices, and prayer. That on the right, called lî, is phonetic, but even it is the symbol for (a vessel used in performing rites;' and if, as the Khang-hsî dictionary seems to say, it was anciently used alone for the present compound, still the spiritual significance would attach to it, and the addition of the khih to complete the character, whensoever it was made, shows that the makers considered the rites in which the vessel was used to possess in the first place a religious import.

Lî is a symbol for the feeling of propriety.

Next, the character is used, in moral and philosophical disquisitions, to designate one of the primary constituents of human nature. Those, as set forth by Mencius, are four; 'not fused into us from without,' not produced, that is, by any force of circumstances, but 'belonging naturally to us, as our four limbs do.' They are benevolence (zan), righteousness (î), propriety (lî), and understanding (kîh). Our possession of the first is proved by the feeling of distress at the sight of suffering; of the second, by our feelings of shame and dislike; of the third, by our feelings of modesty and courtesy; of the fourth, by our consciousness of approving and disapproving.

Thus the character lî, in the concrete application of it, denotes the manifestations, and in its imperative use, the rules, of propriety. This twofold symbolism of it — the religious and the moral — must be kept in mind in the study of our classic. A life ordered in harmony with it would realise the highest Chinese ideal, and surely a very high ideal, of human character.

But never and, nowhere has it been possible for men to maintain this high standard of living. In China and elsewhere the lî have become, in the usages of society in its various relationships, matters of course, forms without the spirit, and hence we cannot always translate the character by the same term. It would be easy to add to the number of words, more or less synonymous, in French or English or any other Aryan language, which Callery has heaped together in the following passage:— 'Autant que possible, j'ai traduit Lî par le mot Rite, dont le sens est susceptible à une grande étendue; mais il faut convenir que, suivant les circonstances où il est employé, il peut signifier — Cérémonial, Cérémonies, Pratiques cérémoniales, L'étiquette, Politesse, Urbanité, Courtoisie, Honnêteté, Bonnes manières, Égards, Bonne éducation, Bienséance, Les formes, Les convenances, Savoir-vivre, Décorum, Décence, Dignité personnelle, Moralité de conduite, Ordre Social, Devoirs de Société, Lois Sociales, Devoirs, Droit, Morale, Lois hiérarchiques, Offrande, Usages, Coutumes.' I have made little use in my translation of the word Rite or Rites, which Callery says he had

endeavoured to adhere to as much as possible, but I do not think I have allowed myself so much liberty in other terms in my English as he has done in his French. For the symbol in the title I have said ‘Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages.’

Translation of the title.

2. The meaning of the title — Lî Kî-need not take us so long. There is no occasion to say more on the significance of Lî; the other character, Kî, should have a plural force given to it. What unity belongs to the Books composing it arises from their being all, more or less, occupied with the subject of Lî. Each one, or at least each group, is complete in itself. Each is a Ki; taken together, they are so many Kîs. Only into the separate titles of seven of them, the 13th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 27th, and 29th, does the name of Kî enter. That character is the symbol for ‘the recording of things one by one,’ and is often exchanged for another Kî, in which the classifying element is sze, the symbol for ‘a packet of cocoons,’ the compound denoting the unwinding and arrangement of the threads. Wylie’s ‘Book of Rites’ and Callery’s ‘Mémorial des Rites’ always failed to give me a definite idea of the nature of our classic. Sze-mâ Khien’s work is called Sze Kî , or ‘Historical Records,’ and Lî Kî might in the same way be rendered ‘Ceremonial Records,’ but I have preferred to give for the title, ‘A Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages.’

The value of the Lî Kî.

3. The value of the work has been discussed fully by P. Callery in the sixth paragraph of the Introduction to his translation of an abbreviated edition of it, and with much of what he has said I am happy to feel myself in accord. I agree with him, for instance, that the book is ‘the most exact and complete monography which the Chinese nation has been able to give of itself to the rest of the human race.’ But this sentence occurs in a description of the Chinese spirit, which is little better than a caricature. ‘Le cérémonial,’ he says, ‘résume l’esprit Chinois. . . . Ses affections, si elle en a, sont satisfaites par le cérémonial; ses devoirs, elle les remplit au moyen du cérémonial; la vertu et le vice, elle les reconnait au cérémonial; en un mot, pour elle le cérémonial c’est l’homme, l’homme moral, l’homme politique, l’homme religieux, Dans ses multiples rapports avec la famille, la société, l’état, la morale et la religion.’

To all this representation the first sentence of our classic is a sufficient reply: — ‘Always and in everything let there be reverence.’ In hundreds of other passages the same thing is insisted on, — that ceremony without an inspiring reverence is nothing. I do not deny that there is much attention to forms in China with a forgetfulness of the spirit that should animate them. But where is the nation against whose people the same thing may not be charged? The treaties of

western nations with China contain an article stipulating for the toleration of Chinese Christians on the ground that, 'The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by.' Scores of Chinese, officers, scholars, and others, have, in conversations with myself, asked if such were indeed the nature of Christianity, appealing at the same time to certain things which they alleged that made them doubt it. All that can be said in the matter is this, that as the creeds Of men elsewhere are often better than their practice, so it is in China. Whether it be more so there or here is a point on which different conclusions will be come to, according to the knowledge and prejudices of the speculators.

More may be learned about the religion of the ancient Chinese from this classic than from all the others together. Where the writers got their information about the highest worship and sacrifices of the most ancient times, and about the schools of Shun, we do not know. They expressed the views, doubtless, that were current during the Han dynasty, derived partly from tradition, and partly from old books which were not gathered up, or, possibly, from both those sources. But let not readers expect to find in the Lî Kî anything like a theology. The want of dogmatic teaching of religion in the Confucian system may not be all a disadvantage and defect; but there is a certain amount of melancholy truth in the following observations of Callery:— 'Le Lî Kî, celui de tous les King où les questions religieuses auraient dû être traitées tout naturellement, à propos des sacrifices au Ciel, aux Dieux tutélaires, et aux ancêtres, glisse légèment sur tout ce qui est de pure spéculation, et ne mentionne ces graves matières qu'avec une extrême indifférence. Selon moi ceci prouve deux choses: la première, que dans les temps anciens les plus grand génies de la Chine n'ont possédé sur le créateur, sur la nature et les destinées de l'âme, que des notions obscures, incertaines et souvent contradictoires; la seconde, que les Chinois possèdent à un trés faible degré le sentiment religieux, et qu'ils n'éprouvent pas, comme les races de l'occident, le besoin impérieux de sonder les mystères du monde invisible.'

The number of the Kî that are devoted to the subject of the mourning rites shows how great was the regard of the people for the departed members of their families. The solidarity of the family, and even the solidarity of the race, is a sentiment which has always been very strong among them. The doctrine of filial piety has also the prominence in several Books which we might expect.

As to the philosophical and moral ideas which abound in the work, they are, as Callery says, 'in general, sound and profound.' The way in which they are presented is not unfrequently eccentric, and hedged about with absurd speculations on the course of material nature, but a prolonged study of the most

difficult passages will generally bring to light what Chinese scholars call a tâo-li, a ground of reason or analogy, which interests and satisfies the mind.

The Lî Kî as one of the Five King.

4. The position that came gradually to be accorded to the Lî Kî as one of 'The Five King,' par excellence, was a tribute to its intrinsic merit. It did not, like the Kâu Lî, treat of matters peculiar to one dynasty, but of matters important in all time; nor like the Î Lî, of usages belonging to one or more of the official classes, but of those that concerned all men. The category of 'Five King' was formed early, but the 'Three Rituals' were comprehended in it as of equal value, and formed one subdivision of it. So it was early in the Thang dynasty when the collection of 'The Thirteen King' was issued; but ere the close of that dynasty our classic had made good its eminence over the other two Rituals. In the 29th chapter of the Monographs of Thang, page 17, it is said, 'To the charge of each of the Five King two Great Scholars were appointed. The Yî of Kâu, the Shang Shû, the Shih of Mâo, the Khun Khiû, and the Lî Kî are the Five King.'

iii. Brief Notices of the Different Books which Make up the Collection.

BOOK I. KHÜ LÎ.

This first Book in the collection is also the longest, and has been divided because of its length into two Books. In this translation, however, it appears only as one Book in two Sections, which again are subdivided, after the Khien-lung editors, into five Parts and three Parts respectively.

The name Khü Lî is taken from the first two characters in the first paragraph, and the first sentence, 'The Khü Lî says, 'extends over all that follows to the end of the Book. P. Callery, indeed, puts only the first paragraph within inverted commas, as if it alone were from the Khü Lî, and the rest of the Book were by a different hand. He translates the title by 'Rites Divers,' and to his first sentence, 'Le Recueil des rites divers dit,' appends the following note:— 'This work, that for a very long time has been lost, was, so far as appears, one of those collections of proverbs and maxims with which philosophy has commenced among nearly all peoples. Although the author does not say so, it is probable that this chapter and the next contain an analysis of that ancient collection, for the great unconnectedness which we find in it agrees well with the variety indicated by the title Khü Lî.' My own inference from the text, however, is what I have stated above, that the Book is a transcript of the Khü Lî, and not merely a condensation of its contents, or a redaction of them by a different author.

It is not easy to translate the title satisfactorily. According to Kang Hsüan (or Kang Khang-khang), the earliest of all the great commentators on the Lî Kî, 'The Book is named Khü Lî, because it contains matters relating to all the five ceremonial categories. What is said in it about sacrifices belongs to the "auspicious ceremonies;" about the rites of mourning, and the loss or abandonment of one's state, to the "inauspicious;" about the payment of tributory dues and appearances at the royal court, to "the rites of hospitality;" about weapons, chariots, and banners, "to those of war;" and about serving elders, reverencing the aged, giving offerings or presents, and the marriage of daughters, to the "festive ceremonies."' On this view the title would mean 'Rules belonging to the different classes of ceremonies,' or, more concisely, the 'Rites Divers' of Callery; and Mr. Wylie has called the Book 'The Universal Ritual.'

But this rendering of the title does not suit the proper force of the character Khü, which is the symbol of 'being bent or crooked,' and is used, with substantival meaning, for what is small and appears irregularly. Mention is made in Book XXVIII, ii, 23, Of 'him who cultivates the shoots of goodness in his nature,' those 'shoots' being expressed by this character Khü; and in a note on the passage there I have quoted the words of the commentator Pâi Lü:— 'Put a stone on a bamboo shoot, or where the shoot would show itself, and it will travel round the stone, and come out crookedly at its side.' Thus Khü is employed for what is exhibited partially or in a small degree. Even Kang Hsüan on that passage explains it by 'very small matters;' and the two ablest in my opinion of all the Chinese critics and commentators., Kû Hsî and Wû Khang (of the Yüan dynasty, A.D. 1249-1333), take our title to mean 'The minuter forms and smaller points of ceremony.' P. Zottoli is not to be blamed for following them, and styling the Book— 'Minutiores Ritus.' Still even this does not satisfy my own mind. Great rites are mentioned in the treatise as well as small ones. Principles of ceremony are enunciated as well as details. The contents are marked indeed by the 'unconnectedness' which Callery mentions; but a translator cannot help that. The Book may not be as to method all that we could wish, but we must make the best we can of it as it stands; and I have ventured to call it 'A Summary of the Rules of Ceremony.' It occupies very properly the place at the beginning of the collection, and is a good introduction to the treatises that follow.

Among the Lî books in Lâo Hsin's Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Han, is a Treatise in nine chapters (phien), compiled by Hâu Zhang, and called Khü Thâi Ki, or 'Record made in the Khü Tower.' The Khü Tower was the name of an educational building, where scholars met in the time of the emperor Hsüan to discuss, questions about ceremonies and other matters connected with the ancient literature, and Hâu Zhang (mentioned in the preceding chapter) kept a

record of their proceedings. I should like to think that our Khü Lî is a portion of that Khü Thâi Kî, and am sorry not to be able to adduce Chinese authorities who take the same view. It would relieve us of the -difficulty of accounting for the use of Khü in the title.

BOOK II. THAN KUNG

The name Than Kung given to this Book is taken from the first paragraph in it, where the gentleman so denominated appears attending the mourning rites for an officer of the state of Lû. Nowhere else in the Treatise, however, is there any mention of him, or reference to him. There can be no reason but this, for calling it after him, that his surname and name occur at the commencement of it. He was a native, it is understood, of Lû; but nothing more is known of him.

The Than Kung, like the Khü Lî, is divided into two Books, which appear in this translation as two Sections of one Book. Each Section is subdivided into three Parts.

The whole is chiefly occupied with the observances of the mourning rites. It is valuable because of the information which it. gives about them, and the views prevailing at the time on the subject of death. It contains also many historical incidents about Confucius and others, which we are glad to possess. Some of the commentators, and especially the Khien-lung editors, reject many of them as legendary and fabulous. The whole Book is reduced to very small compass in the expurgated editions of the Lî Kî. We are glad, however, to have the incidents such as they are. Who would not be sorry to want the account of Confucius' death, which is given in I, ii, 20? We seem, moreover, to understand him better from accounts which the Book contains of his intercourse with his disciples, and of their mourning for him.

Dze-yû, an eminent member of his school, appears in the first paragraph much to his credit, and similarly afterwards on several occasions; and this has made the Khien-lung editors throw out the suggestion that the Book was compiled by his disciples. It may have been so.

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BOOK III. WANG KIH.

According to Lû Kih (died A.D. 192), the Wang Kih, or 'Royal Regulations,' was made by the Great Scholars of the time of the emperor Wan (B.C. 179-157), on the requisition of that sovereign. It professes to give the regulations of the early kings on the classes of the feudal nobles and officers and their emoluments,

on their sacrifices, and their care for the aged. The emperor ordered it to be compiled after the death of Kiâ Î, a Great scholar and highly esteemed by the sovereign, which event must have taken place about B.C. 170, when Kih was only thirty-three. The Book is said to have contained, when it first appeared, an account of the royal progresses and of the altars and ceremonies of investiture, of which we do not now find any trace. Parts of it are taken from Mencius, from the Shû, and from the Commentaries of Kung-yang and Zo on the Khun Khiû; other parts again are not easily reconciled with those authorities.

The Khien-lung editors deliver their judgment on it to the following effect: When it was made, the Î Lî must have appeared, but not the Kâu Lî. Hence the Banquet and Missions appear among the 'Six Subjects of Teaching,' and no mention is made of the minister of Religion, as one of the six great ministers, nor is anything said of the minister of War's management of the army. On a general view of it, many subjects are evidently based on Mencius, and whole paragraphs are borrowed from him. Nothing is said of the peculiar position of the son of Heaven, because in the Han dynasty, succeeding immediately to that of Khin, the emperor was to be distinguished from, and not named along with, the feudal princes. In what is said about the reports of the Income and fixing the Expenditure, only the Grand ministers of Instruction, War, and Works are mentioned, because these were the three ducal ministers of the Han dynasty, and the ancient arrangements were represented so as to suit what had come into existence. That nothing is said about altars and investitures arose from Wan's having disregarded in that matter the advice of Hsin-yüan Phing. It only shows how much the information of the compilers exceeded that of Shû-sun Thung and Sze-mâ Hsiang-zû. The Book was received into the collection of the Lî Kî, because it was made at no great distance from antiquity. It is foolish in later scholars to weigh and measure every paragraph of it by its agreement or disagreement with Mencius and the Kâu Lî.

This account of the Wang Kih must commend itself to unprejudiced readers. To myself, the most interesting thing in the Book is the information to be gathered from it about the existence of schools in the earliest times. We see at the very commencement of history in China a rudimentary education, out of which has come by gradual development the system of examinations of the present day.

See the 54th Book of the Biographies in the History of the Second Han Dynasty.

In B.C. 164. See the Mirror of History on that year.

A Tâoistic charlatan, honoured and followed for a few years by the emperor Wan; put to death in B.C. 163.

A scholar of Khin; was a counsellor afterwards of the first and second emperors of Han.

An officer and author. Died B.C. 126.

BOOK IV. YÜEH LING.

The Yüeh Ling, or 'Proceedings of Government in the different Months,' appears in the Khien-lung edition of the Lî Kî in six Sections; but it has seemed to me more in, harmony with the nature of the Book and more useful for the student to arrange it in four Sections, and each Section in three Parts, a Section thus comprehending a season of the year, and every month having a part to itself. There is also a short supplementary Section in the middle of the year, at the end of the sixth month, rendered necessary by the Tâoist lines on which the different portions are put together.

Zhâi Yung (A. D. 133-192) and Wang Sû, somewhat later (in our third century), held that the Book was the work of the duke of Kâu, and must be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century B.C. But this view of its antiquity may be said to be universally given up. Even King Hsüan saw in the second century that it was a compilation from the Khun Khiû of Lü Pû-Wei, still foolishly said by many Chinese writers to have been the real father of the founder of the Khin dynasty, and who died in B.C. 237. Lû Teh-ming, writing in our seventh century, said, 'The Yüeh Ling was originally part of Lü's Khun Khiû, from which some one subsequently compiled this Memoir. The Khien-lung editors unhesitatingly affirm this origin of the Yüeh Ling; as indeed no one, who has compared it with-thc work ascribed to Lü, can have any doubts on the matter. Of that work, Mayers says that 'it is a collection of quasi-historical notices, and, although nominally Lü's production, really compiled under his direction by an assemblage of scholars.' Mayers adds, that on the completion of the work, Lü Pû-wei suspended 1000 pieces of gold at the gate of his palace, which he offered as a reward to any one who could suggest an improvement of it by adding or expunging a single character.

Such was the origin of the Yüeh Ling. We do not know who compiled it from the Khun Khiu of Lü, but it was first received into the Lî Kî by Mâ Yung. It can be explained only by noting the Khin peculiarities in the names of titles and other things. It is in itself full of interest, throwing light on the ancient ways and religious views, and showing how the latter more especially came to be corrupted by the intrusion among them of Tâoistic elements.

The Book has sometimes been called 'A Calendar of the Months of Kâu.' Callery translates the name Yüeh Ling by 'Attributs des Mois.' My own

translation of it is after King Hsüan, who says, ‘The Book is called, Yüeh Ling, because it records the proceedings of Government in the twelve months of the year.’

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Mayers ‘Chinese Reader’s Manual, . The 1000 pieces of gold suspended at Lü’s gate are probably only a variation of what has been related in the preceding chapter of what was done by king Hsien of Ho-kien towards the recovery of the missing Book of the Kâu Kwan.

BOOK V. ZANG-DZE WAN.

This Book is named from the first three characters in it, meaning ‘The Questions of Zang-dze.’ Most of the different paragraphs or chapters in the two Sections of it commence in the same way. It is not found at all in the expurgated editions of the classic.

Zang-dze, or Mr. Zang, about fifty years younger than Confucius, was one of the chief disciples of his school, perhaps the ablest among them. He was distinguished for his filial piety, and straightforward, honest simplicity.

There is an interesting account of his death in Book II, i, Part i, 18. In the department of Liû Hsin’s Catalogue, which contains ‘Works of the Literati’ there are entered ‘18 Treatises (phien) of Zang-dze,’ but without any further specification of them. Ten of those treatises, or fragments of them, are found in the Lî of the Greater Tâi, but this Book is not among them, nor have I seen it anywhere ascribed to him as the writer of it. It must have been compiled, however, from memoranda left by him or some of his intimate disciples. The names of only two other disciples of the Master occur in it-those of Dze-yû and Dze-hsiâ. The reference to the disciples of the former in Section ii, 19, must be a note by the final compiler. The mention of Lâo-dze or Lâo Tan, and his views also, in Section ii, 22, 24, 28, strikes us as remarkable.

If it were necessary to devise a name for the Book, I should propose—‘Questions of Casuistry on the subject of Ceremonial Rites.’ Zang-dze propounds difficulties that have struck him on various points of ceremony, especially in connexion with the rites of mourning; and Confucius replies to them ingeniously and with much fertility. Some of the questions and answers, however, are but so much trifling. Khung Ying-tâ says that only Zang-dze could have proposed the questions, and only Confucius have furnished the answers. He

applies to the Book the description of the Yî in the third of the Appendixes to that classic, i, 40, as ‘Speaking of the most complex phenomena under the sky, and having nothing in it to awaken dislike, and of the subtlest movements under the sky, and having nothing in it to produce confusion.’

###; his name was (Shan, ###), and that which he received in his maturity, Dze-yü (###).

and ###.

BOOK VI. WAN WANG SHIH-DZE.

No hint is given, nothing has been suggested, as to who was the compiler of this Book, which the Khien-lung editors publish in two Sections. Its name is taken from the first clause of the first paragraph, which treats of king Win, the founder of the Kâu dynasty, as he demeaned himself in his youth, when he was Shih-dze, or son and heir of his father. This is followed by a similar account of his son, who became king Wû; and in paragraph 3 the writer goes on to the duke of Kâu’s training of king Khing, the young son of Wû. In the last paragraph of the second Section, the subject of king Wan as prince is resumed.

But the real subject-matter of the Book lies between those portions, and treats of three things.

First; Section i, paragraph 5 to the end, treats of the education and training of the eldest sons of the king and feudal princes, and of the young men of brightest promise throughout the kingdom, chosen to study with these. We learn much from it as to the educational institutions and methods of ancient times.

Second; in Section ii, paragraphs 1 to 15, we have the duties of the Shû-dze, the head of an official Section, belonging to the department of the premier, whose special business was with the direction of the young noblemen of the royal and feudal courts in all matters belonging to their instruction.

Third; from paragraph 17 to 23 of Section ii, we have an account of the various ceremonies or observances in the king’s feasting and cherishing of the aged, and of his care that a similar course should be pursued by all the princes in their states.

BOOK VII. LÎ YUN.

Lî Yun means, literally, ‘The Conveyance of Rites.’ P. Callery translates the name, not unsuccessfully, by ‘Phases du Cerémonial;’ but I prefer my own longer rendering of it, because it gives the reader a better idea of the contents of the Book. Kang Hsüan said it was called the Conveyance of Rites, because it

records how the five Tîs and three Kings made their several changes in them, and how the Yin and the Yang, or the twofold movement and operation of nature, produced them by their revolutions. The whole is difficult and deep; and no other portion of the collection has tasked the ablest commentators more. The Khien-lung editors say that we have in the Book a grand expression of the importance of ceremonial usages, and that, if we are on our guard against a small Tâoistic element in it, it is pure and without a flaw. That depraving element, they think, was introduced by the smaller Tâi, who ignorantly thought he could make the Treatise appear to have a higher character by surreptitiously mixing it up with the fancies of Lâo, and Kwang. But the Tâoistic admixture is larger than they are willing to allow.

Some have attributed the Book to Dze-yû, who appears, in the first of its Sections, three times by his surname and name of Yen Yen, as the questioner of Confucius, and thereby giving occasion to the exposition of the sage's views; others attribute it to his disciples. The second Section commences with an utterance of Confucius without the prompting of any interlocutor; and perhaps the compiler meant that all the rest of the Treatise should be received as giving not only the Master's ideas, but also his words. Whoever made the Book as we now have it, it is one of the most valuable in the whole work. Hwang Kan (in the end of the Sung dynasty) says of it, that notwithstanding the appearance, here and there, of Tâoistic elements, it contains many admirable passages, and he instances what is said about creation or the processes of nature, in iii, 2; about government, in ii, 18; about man, in iii, 1, 7; and about ceremonial usages, in iv, 6.

But the Tâoistic element runs through the whole Book, as it does through Book IV. There is an attempt to sew the fancies about numbers, colours, elements, and other things on to the common-sense and morality of Confucianism. But nevertheless, the Treatise bears important testimony to the sense of religion as the first and chief element of ceremonies, and to its existence in the very earliest times.

BOOK VIII. LÎ KHÎ

Book VII, it was said, has been attributed to Dze-yû. I have not seen this ascribed to any one; but it is certainly a sequel to the other, and may be considered as having proceeded from the same author. The more the two are studied together, the more likely will this appear.

Callery has not attempted to translate the title, and says that the two characters composing it give the sense of 'Utensils of Rites,' and have no

plausible relation with the scope of the Book in which there is no question in any way of the material employed either in sacrifices or in other ceremonies; and he contends, therefore, that they should not be translated, but simply be considered as sounds.

But the rendering which I have given is in accordance with an acknowledged usage of the second character, Khî. We read in the Confucian Analects, V, 3:— 'Dze-kung asked, "What do you say of me?" The Master answered, "You are a vessel." "What vessel?" "A sacrificial vessel of jade."' The object of the Book is to show how ceremonial usages or rites go to form 'the vessel of honour,' 'the superior man,' who is equal to the most difficult and important services. Kang Hsüan saw this clearly, and said, 'The Book was named Lî Khi, because it records how ceremonies cause men to become perfect vessels.' 'The former Book shows the evolution of Rites; this shows the use of them:' — such was the dictum in A.D. 1113 of Fang Küeh, a commentator often quoted by Khan Hâo and by the Khien-lung editors.

Throughout the Book it is mostly religious rites that are spoken of; especially as culminating in the worship of God. And nothing is more fully brought out than that all rites are valueless without truth and reverence.

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BOOK IX. KIÂO THEH SANG.

The name of the Book is made up of the three characters with which it commences, just as the Hebrew name for the Book of Genesis in our Sacred Scriptures is Beraishith (בְּרֵאשִׁית). From the meaning, however, of Kiâo Theh Sang the reader is led to suppose that he will find the Treatise occupied principally with an account of the great Border Sacrifice. But it is not so.

The main subject of the Book is sacrifice generally; and how that which is most valuable in it is the reverence and sincerity of the worshipper, finding its exhibition in the simplicity of his observances. In the preceding Book different conditions have been mentioned which are of special value in sacrifice and other ceremonies. Among them is the paucity of things (Section i, paragraph 8); and this consideration is most forcibly illustrated by 'the Single Victim' employed in the Border Sacrifice, the greatest of all ceremonies. At the same time various abuses of the ancient sincerity and simplicity are exposed and deplored.

The ceremonies of capping and marriage are dealt with in the third Section; and we are thankful for the information about them which it supplies. In the end the writer returns to the subject of sacrifices; and differences in the different

dynasties, from the time of Shun downwards, in the celebration of them are pointed out.

The Khien-lung editors say that this Book was originally one with the last, and 'was separated from it by some later hand.' I had come to the same conclusion before I noticed their judgment. Books VII, VIII, and IX must have formed, I think, at first one Treatise.

BOOK X. NÊI ZEH.

The title of this book, meaning 'The Pattern of the Family,' rendered by Callery, 'Réglements Intérieurs,' approximates to a description of its contents more than most of the titles in the Lî Kî. It is not taken, moreover, from any part of the text near the commencement or elsewhere. It is difficult to understand why so little of it is retained in the expurgated editions, hardly more than a page of P. Callery's work being sufficient for it.

Kang Hsüan says:— 'The Book takes its name of Nêi Zeh, because it records the rules for sons and daughters in serving their parents, and for sons and their wives in serving her parents-in-law in the family-home. Among the other Treatises of the Lî Kî, it may be considered as giving the Rules for Children. And because the observances of the harem are worthy of imitation, it is called Nêi Zeh, "the Pattern of the Interior."' Kû Hsî says, that 'it is a Book which was taught to the people in the ancient schools, an ancient Classic or Sacred Text.'

Because the name of Zang-dze and a sentence from him occur, the Khien-lung editors are inclined to ascribe the authorship to his disciples; but the premiss is too narrow to support such a conclusion.

The position of the wife, as described in Section i, will appear to western readers very deplorable. Much in this part of the Treatise partakes of the exaggeration that is characteristic of Chinese views of the virtue of filial piety.

The account in Section ii of the attention paid to the aged, and the nourishing of them, is interesting, but goes, as the thing itself did, too much into details. What is it to us at the present time how they made the fry, the bake, the delicacy, and the other dishes to tempt the palate and maintain the strength? The observances in the relation of husband and wife, on the birth of a child, and the education and duties of the young of both sexes, which the Section goes on to detail, however, are not wanting in attraction.

BOOK XI. YÜ ZÂO.

The name of the Book, Yü Zâo, is taken from the first clause of the first paragraph. The two characters denote the pendants of the royal cap worn on great occasions, and on which beads of jade were strung. There were twelve of those pendants hanging down, before and behind, from the ends of the square or rectangular top of the cap, as in the cardinal cap which is the crest of Christ Church, Oxford. But we read nothing more of this cap or its pendants after the first paragraph; and the contents of all the three Sections of the Book are so various, that it is impossible to give an account of them in small compass.

King Hsüan said that the Book was named Yü Zâo, because it recorded the dresses and caps warn by the son of Heaven; but it is not confined to the king, but introduces rulers also and officers generally. It treats also of other matters besides dress, which it would be difficult to speak of in so many categories. Much, moreover, of the second Section seems to consist of disjecta membra, and the paragraphs are differently arranged by different editors. Here and there the careful reader will meet with sentiments and sentences that will remain in his memory, as in reading Book I; but he will only carry away a vague impression of the Book as a whole.

BOOK XII. MING THANG WEI.

Readers will turn to this Book, as I did many years ago, expecting to find in it a full description of the Ming Thang, generally called by sinologists, ‘The Brilliant Hall,’ and ‘The Hall of Light;’ but they will find that the subject-matter is very different. I have here translated the name by ‘the Hall of Distinction,’ according to the meaning of it given in paragraph 5, taking ‘distinction’ in the sense of separation or discrimination.

The Treatise commences with, but does not fairly describe, the great scene in the life of the duke of Kâu, when a regent of the kingdom, he received all the feudal lords and the chiefs of the barbarous tribes at the capital, on occasion of a grand audience or durbar. The duke was the ancestor of the lords or marquises of the state of Lû, — part of the present province of Shantung. He was himself, indeed, invested with that fief by his nephew, king Khang, though, remaining for reasons of state at the royal court, he never took possession of it in person, but sent his son Po-khin to do so in his room. Because of his great services in the establishment and consolidation of the new dynasty, however, various privileges were conferred on the rulers of Lû above the lords of other states. These are much exaggerated in the Book; and after the sixth paragraph, we hear no more of the Hall of Distinction. All that follows is occupied with the peculiar privileges said to have been claimed, and antiques reported to have been possessed, by the

marquises of Lû. What is said has no historical value, and the whole Book is excluded from the expurgated editions.

The Khien-lung editors say that its author must have been an ignorant and vainglorious scholar of Lû in the end of the Kâu dynasty. Some have imagined that it was handed on, with additions of his own, by Mâ Yung to Kang Hsüan; but the latter says nothing about the other in his brief prefatory note.

The Hall of Distinction was a royal structure. Part of it was used as a temple, at the sacrifices in which peculiar honour was done to king Wan (The Shih, IV, i, 7). It was also used for purposes of audience, as on the occasion referred to in this Book; and governmental regulations were promulgated from it (Mencius, I, ii, 5). To this third use of it would belong the various references to it in Book IV of this collection.

The principal Hall was in the capital; but there were smaller ones with the same name at the four points where the kings halted in their tours of inspection to receive the feudal lords of the different quarters of the kingdom. It was one of these which Mencius had in his mind in the passage referred to above.

In the 67th Book of the Lî of the Greater Tâi there, is a description of the building and its various parts; and among the 'Books of Kâu' said to have been found in A.D. 279 in the grave of king Hsiang of Wei, the 55th chapter has the title of Ming Thang, but it is little more than a rifacimento of the first four paragraphs of this Book of the Lî Kî.

In Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, vol. i, , there is a ground-plan of the Hall according to a common representation of it by Chinese authorities.

BOOK XIII. SANG FÛ HSIÂO KÎ.

This 'Record of Smaller Points in connexion with the Dress of Mourning,' is the first of the many treatises in our collection, devoted expressly to the subject of the mourning rites, and especially of the dress worn by the mourners, according to the degree of their relationship. The expurgated editions do not give any part of it; and it is difficult — I may say impossible — to trace any general plan on which the compiler, who is unknown, put the different portions of it together. Occasionally two or three paragraphs follow one another on the same subject) and I have kept them together after the example of Khung Ying-tâ; but the different notices are put down as if at random, just as they occurred to the writer.

Kû Hsî says that Dze-hsiâ made a supplementary treatise to the 11th Book of the Î Lî, and that we have here an explanation of many points in that Book. It is so; and yet we may not be justified in concluding that this is a remnant of the production of Dze-hsiâ.

BOOK XIV. TÂ KWAN.

This Book, ‘the Great Treatise,’ has been compared to the Hsî Zhze, the longest and most important of the Appendixes to the Yî King, which is also styled Tâ Kwan.

It is short, however, as compared with that other; nor is it easy to understand, the subjects with which it deals being so different in the conceptions of Chinese and western minds. ‘It treats,’ said Khan Hsiang-tâo (early in the Sung dynasty), ‘of the greatest sacrifice, — that offered by the sovereign to all his ancestors; of the greatest instance of filial piety, — that of carrying back to his forefathers the title gained by the sacrificer; of the greatest principle in the regulation of the family, — that expressed by the arrangement of the names of its members according to their relations to one another; and of the course of humanity as the greatest illustration of propriety and righteousness. On account of this it is called The Great Treatise.’

From this summary of its contents the importance of the Book will be seen. We know nothing either of its author or of the date of its compilation.

BOOK XV. SHÂO Î.

The Shâo Î, or ‘Smaller Rules of Conduct,’ is akin to much of the first Book in our collection, ‘the Summary of the Rules of Ceremony.’ Shâo means ‘few,’ and often ‘few in years,’ or ‘young;’ and hence some have thought that the subject of the Book is ‘Rules for the Young.’ So Callery, who gives for the title, ‘Règles de Conduite des Jeunes Gens.’

But the contents cannot be so restricted; and since the time of King Hsüan, shâo has been taken by most Chinese commentators as equivalent to hsiâo, which occurs in the title of Book XIII. The difference between the two Chinese characters is not so great as that between these alphabetic exhibitions of their names. Lû Teh-ming says, ‘Shâo is here equivalent to hsiâo;’ and Kang says, that the Book is named Shâo Î ‘because it records the small rules of demeanour at interviews and in bringing in the provisions for a feast.’ But the observances described are very various, and enable us to form a life-like picture of manners in those early days.

According to Kû Hsi, the Book was intended to be a branch of the smaller learning, or lessons for youth; but was extended to a variety of subjects in daily life and the intercourses of society. When and by whom it was compiled is not known.

and ###.

BOOK XVI. HSIO KÎ

The Hsio Kî, or ‘Record of Studies,’ is a treatise of very considerable interest and importance. Khang-dze, whom Kû Hsî was accustomed to call his ‘Master,’ considered it to be, after Books XXVIII and XXXIX, the Kung Yung and Tâ Hsio, the most correct and orthodox Book in the Lî Kî.

The Khien-lung editors say that in paragraphs 4 and 5 we have the institutions of the ancient kings for purposes of education; in 6 to 19, the laws for teachers; and in what follows, those for learners. The summary is on the whole correct, but the compiler (who is unknown) did not always keep his subjects distinct. In the three commencing paragraphs the importance of education to the moral well-being of the people is strikingly exhibited. The whole displays an amount of observation and a maturity of reflection on the subject, which cannot but be deemed remarkable. The information about ancient schools and higher institutions may be found in the earlier Books, but we are glad to have this repetition of it.

BOOK XVII. YO KÎ

The Yo Kî, or ‘Record of Music,’ will be found to have more interest for general readers than most of the other Books of the Lî. Khang-dze speaks of it in terms similar to those quoted from him in the preceding notice about the Hsio Kî. That, so far as correctness and orthodoxy are concerned, is next to the Kung Yung and Tâ Hsio; this is near to them. Its introduction into our collection is ascribed to Mâ Yung.

The old documents on music that, had been recovered during the earlier Han dynasty, appear in Liû Hsin’s Catalogue after those of the Lî, amounting in all to 165 phien, distributed in, six collections. The first of these was the Yo Kî, in 23 phien; the second, the Kî of Wang Yü, in 24 phien. Khung Ying-tâ, deriving his information from a note in Hsin’s Catalogue and other sources, sums up what he has to say about this Book in the following way: — On the rise of the Han dynasty, the treatises of former times on music, as well as the practice of the art, were in a state of special dilapidation. In the time of the emperor Wû, his brother Teh, with the help of many scholars, copied out all that remained on the subject of music, and made a Yo Kî, or ‘Record of Music,’ in 24 phien or books, which Wang Yü presented to the court in the time of the emperor Khang (B.C. 32-7); — but it was afterwards hardly heard of. When Liû Hsiang (died B.C. 9) examined the books in the Imperial library, he found a ‘Record of Music’ in 23 phien, different from that which Wang Yü had presented. Our present Yo Kî

contains eleven of those phien, arranged with the names of their subjects. The other twelve are lost, though their names remain.

Most of the present text is found in Sze-mâ Khien's Monograph on Music; and as he was so long before Liû Hsiang (Khien died between B.C. 90 and 80), the Khien-lung editors suppose that it is one of the portions of Khien's work, supplied by Khû Shâo-sun, who was a contemporary of Hsiang.

Kû Hsî had a great admiration of many passages in the Yo Kî, and finds in them the germs of the views on the constitution of humanity, and on the action and interaction of principle and passion, reason and force, in the economy of what we call Providence, on which he delighted to dwell in his philosophical speculations. We expect from the title, as Hwang Kan-hsing (Ming dynasty) says, that music will be the chief subject of the Treatise, but everywhere we find ceremonial usages spoken of equally and in their relation to it; for, according to the view of the author, the framework of society is built on the truth underlying ceremonies, and music is the necessary expression of satisfaction in the resulting beauty and harmony.

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BOOK XVIII. ZÂ KÎ.

Book XVII is given nearly complete in the expurgated edition translated by Callery, while the 18th or 'Miscellaneous Records,' happily rendered by him by the one French word 'Mélanges,' is reduced to about a third of its length in the Chinese text. Notwithstanding its name of 'Miscellanies,' the greater part is occupied with the observances of the Mourning Rites. Interesting questions concerning them are discussed, and information is given on customs which we do not find in such detail elsewhere, — such, for instance, as those relating to the gifts of grave-clothes and other things for the burial of the dead. Towards the end other customs, besides those of the mourning rites, are introduced. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that this is done to justify the name of Miscellaneous Records given to the whole. It is a peculiarity of many of the other Books that the writer, or writers, seem to get weary of confining themselves to one subject or even to a few subjects, and introduce entries of quite a different nature for no reason that we can discover but their arbitrary pleasure.

The correctness and integrity of many paragraphs have been justly called in question. The authority of the Book does not rank high. It must be classed in this respect with the Than Kung.

BOOK XIX. SANG TÂ KÎ.

Book XIII deals with smaller points in connexion with the dress of mourning; Book XVIII, with miscellaneous points in mourning; and this Book with the greater points, especially with the two dressings of the dead, the coffining, and the burial. Beginning with the preparations for death in the case of a ruler, a Great officer, or an ordinary officer, it goes methodically over all the observances at and after death, until the burial has taken place. It takes us into the palace, the mansion, and the smaller official residence, and shows us what was done at the different steps that intervened between death and the committing of the coffin to the grave. Some of the observances differ in minor points from details in those other Books, and in the Than Kung or Book II; but taking them all together, we get from them a wonderfully minute account of all the rites of mourning in ancient China. Wû Khang says, 'This Book relates the greater rules observed in each event which it mentions.' It was not, intended to supplement the information elsewhere given about smaller details; and hence it is named 'The Greater Record of Mourning Rites.'

BOOK XX. KÎ FÂ.

Ki Fâ, so named from the first two characters in the Book, and meaning 'Laws or Rules of Sacrifices,' is the first of three treatises, all on the subject of sacrifices, that come together at this part of the collection of the Lî. They were not, perhaps, the production of the same hand; but the writer of this one evidently had before him the 17th article in the first Part of the Narratives connected with the state of Lû, which form the second Section of 'the Narratives of the States.' That article contains an exposition of the subject of sacrifices by a Ken Khin, in deprecation of a sacrifice ordered by Zang Wan-kang, who had been for about fifty years one of the ministers of Lû. Zang died in B.C. 617.

Difficulties attach to some of the historical statements in the Book, which cannot be cleared up from our want of sufficient documents. The whole consists of two Parts, — paragraphs 1-8, and paragraph 9. All the former is excluded from the expurgated editions; but in it, as well as in the other, the sacrifices are mainly those to departed worthies. There is no idea of deprecation in them; much less of atonement. They are expressions of gratitude, and commemorative of men whose laws and achievements were beneficial to their own times, and helped on the progress of civilisation, so that they would be beneficial also to all ages.

In the conclusion, the sacrifices to the sun, moon, and other parts of nature appear; and it is said that they were instituted because the action of those bodies contributed to promote the comfort and agency of men. So far those sacrifices were a species of nature-worship; but the question arises whether they were not really offered to the spirits under whose guardianship those objects operated.

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BOOK XXI. KÎ Î.

The Kî Î, or 'The Meaning of Sacrifices,' 'Sens des Sacrifices' in Callery, embraces a wider extent of subjects than the last Book. It treats first of the sacrifices to Heaven, and to the sun and moon in connexion with it, as well as of those in the ancestral temple, though the latter are the principal subject. The writer, whoever he was, goes fully into the preparations of the sacrificer, and the spirit of reverence in which the services should be conducted.

No idea of deprecation or expiation is expressed as belonging to the sacrifices. It is said, indeed, in Section i, A, that the sacrifice in the suburb of the capital was the great expression of gratitude to Heaven.

In Section ii other subjects besides sacrifice are treated of. It commences with a remarkable conversation between Confucius and his disciple Zâi Wo, on the constitution of man, as comprehending both the Kwei and Shin, the former name denoting the animal soul, which, with the bones and flesh, 'moulders below and becomes the dust of the fields;' while the latter denotes the intelligent soul or spirit, which issues forth at death, and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness.

The ploughing of the special fields by the king and rulers of states, and the regulations for the nourishment of silkworms and the preparation of silk by their wives, are set forth, both operations being to provide the sacrificial grain and robes.

After this we have the views of Zang-dze and one of his disciples on filial piety, which subject again passes into the submission of the younger brother to the elder, and the respect to be paid generally by juniors to their elders.

BOOK XXII. KÎ THUNG.

The 'Summary Account of Sacrifices' is the last and longest, and, it may be added, the most interesting, of the treatises, specially on that subject. We find nothing in it, any -more than in the others, of the idea of propitiation; but it gives many details of the purposes which the institution of sacrifices served in the

Chinese state. The old commentators took the character Thung in the sense of ‘Root’ or ‘Origin,’ and hence some English sinologists have named the book ‘The Origin of Sacrifices,’ and P. Zottoli gives for the title ‘Sacrificii Principium.’ Callery calls it, better, ‘Généralités sur les Sacrifices.’ The very able commentator Khan Hsiang tâo compares the Treatise to ‘the large rope which controls the meshes of a net,’ saying, that it commences with sacrifice as coming from the feeling of the heart, and ends with the display of its influence in the conduct of government.

The concluding. paragraph shows that it was written while the state of Lû still had an existence; and if the whole Book proceeded from the same hand, it must have been composed some time after the death of Confucius and before the extinction of Lû, which was consummated by Khû in B.C. 248. I think we may refer it to the fourth century B.C.

The doctrine of Filial Piety occupies a prominent place in it. Paragraph 13 and the ten that follow, on the connexion between sacrifice and the ten relationships of men, are specially instructive. The author writes forcibly and often subtilely; and can hardly do himself justice in the expression of his ideas. What he says on the subject of Inscriptions towards the conclusion is interesting. He was a true Lû man, and his views on the sacrifices of his state are contrary to the standard of Chinese orthodoxy about them.

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BOOK XXIII. KING KIEH.

King Kieh has been translated ‘Explanations of the Classics,’ and Callery gives for the title ‘Sens Général des Livres Canoniques.’ A slight attention to the few paragraphs which compose the Book, however, will satisfy the reader that these translations of the name are incorrect. No explanation is attempted of passages in the different King. The true meaning of King Kieh was given by Hwang Khan in A.D. 538. ‘Kieh,’ he says, ‘is to be taken in the sense of “separation” or “division;” and the Treatise describes the difference between the subjects dealt with in the different King.’

The Book, though ingenious, is not entitled to much attention. The first two paragraphs, assigned to Confucius, could not have come from him. They assume that there were six King; but that enumeration of the ancient writings originated with the scholars of the Han dynasty. And among the six is the Khun Khiû “the work of Confucius himself, which he compiled only a year or two before his death. It was for posterity, and not for him, to raise it to the rank of a King, and

place it on the same level with the Shû, the Shih, and the Yî. It may be doubted, moreover, if there were ever a Yo King, or 'Classic of Music.' Treatises on music, no doubt, existed under the Kâu dynasty, but it does not appear that there was any collection of them made till the attempts that have been referred to in the introductory notice to Book XVII.

Who the ingenious, but uncritical, compiler of the King Kieh was is unknown.

BOOK XXIV. ÂI KUNG WAN.

'Questions of Duke Âi' is a translation of the three characters with which the Book commences, and which mean there 'Duke Âi asked;' and the title is so far descriptive of the contents of the Book, — two conversations on ceremonies and the practice of government between the marquis Ziang of Lû, posthumously called duke Âi, and Confucius. The sage died in the sixteenth year of Ziang's marquisate. As an old minister of the state, after he had retired from public. life, he had a right of entrance to the court, which, we know, he sometimes exercised. He may have conversed with the marquis on the subjects discussed in this Treatise; but whether he held the particular conversations here related can only be determined by the consideration of their style and matter. I am myself disposed to question their genuineness.

There are other recensions of the Treatise. It forms the third of the Books in the current editions of 'the Lî of the Greater Tâi,' purporting to be the forty-first of those which were in his larger collection; and is the same as in our Lî Kî, with hardly a variation. The second conversation, again, appears . as the fourth article in the collection called the 'Narratives of the School,' but with considerable and important variations, under the title of Tâ Hwan, 'The Grand Marriage.' The first conversation is found also in the same collection, as part of the sixth article, called Wan Lî, or 'Questions about Ceremonies.' There are also variations in, it; but the questioner in both articles is duke Âi.

The most remarkable passages of the Book are some paragraphs of the second conversation towards its conclusion. P. Callery translates Thien Tâo, 'the Way of Heaven,' in paragraph 16, by 'La Vérité Céleste,' and says in a note that Confucius speaks of this Tâo in a way not unlike Lâo-dze in the Tâo Teh King, adding that 'these two fathers of Chinese philosophy had on this mysterious Being ideas nearly similar.' But a close examination of the passage, which is itself remarkable, shows that this resemblance between it and passages of the Tâoist classic does not exist. See my concluding note on the Book. If there were a Tâoist semblance in the phraseology, it would make us refer the composition

of the Treatise to the time of Khin or the early days of Han, when Tâoism had taken a place in the national literature which it had not had under the dynasty of Kâu.

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BOOK XXV. KUNG-NÎ YEN KÜ.

The title of this Book is taken from the four characters with which it commences. Confucius has returned from his attendance at the court of Lû, and is at home in his own house. Three of his disciples are sitting by him, and his conversation with them flows on till it has reached the subject of ceremonial usages. In reply to their questions, he discourses on it at length, diverging also to the subjects of music and the practice of government in connexion with ceremonies, in a familiar and practical manner.

He appears in the title by his designation, or name as married, Kung-nî, which we find also two or three times in Book XXVIII, which is received as the composition of his grandson Khung Kî, or Dze-sze. This Treatise, however, is much shorter than that, and inferior to it. The commentator Wang of Shih-liang, often quoted by Khan Hâo, says, that though this Treatise has a beginning and end, the style and ideas are so disjected and loose, that many of the utterances attributed to Confucius cannot be accepted as really his.

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BOOK XXVI. KHUNG-DZE HSIEN KÜ.

The title of this Book is akin to that of the last, the characters of that leading us to think of Confucius as having returned from court to ‘his case,’ and those of this suggesting nothing of his immediate antecedents, but simply saying that he was ‘at home and at leisure.’ Instead of being called, as there, by his designation, he appears here as Khung-dze, ‘the philosopher Khung,’ or’ Mr. Khung.’

The Book also relates a conversation, but only one disciple is present, and to him the Master discourses on the description of a sovereign as ‘the parent of the people,’ and on the virtue of the founders of the three dynasties of Hsiâ, Shang, and Kâu, illustrating his views by quotations from the Book of Poetry. His language is sometimes strange and startling, while the ideas underlying it are subtle and ingenious. And the poetical quotations are inapplicable to the subjects in connexion with which they are introduced. If the commentator Wang could not adopt the speeches attributed to Confucius in the last Book as really his, much less can we receive those in this as such.

From their internal analogies in form and sentiment, I suppose that the two Books were made by the same writer; but I have met with no guess even as to who he was.

BOOK XXVII. FANG KÎ.

'The Dykes,' which is the meaning of the title of this Book, is suggestive of its subject-matter. We have in it the rules or usages of ceremony presented to us under the figure of dykes, dams, or barriers; defensive structures made to secure what is inside them from escaping or dispersion, and to defend it against inundation or other injurious assault and invasion from without. The character, called fang, is used for the most part with verbal force, 'acting as a dyke or barrier;' and it would often be difficult to say whether the writer was thinking of the particular institution or usage spoken of as fulfilling the purpose of defence against peril from within, or violence from without.

The illustrations are numerous, and they are all given as if they came from the lips of Confucius himself; but we cannot suppose that they were really from him. They are not in his style, and the reasonings are occasionally unworthy of him. Many paragraphs carry on their front a protest against our receiving them as really his. Nevertheless, the Book, though sometimes tedious, is on the whole interesting, and we like the idea of looking on the usages as 'dykes.' We do not know to whom we are indebted for it. One of the famous brothers Khang of the Sung dynasty has said:-We do not know who wrote the Treatise. Since we find such expressions in it As "The Lun Yü says," it is plainly not to be ascribed to Confucius. Passages in the Han scholars, Kiâ Î and Tung Kung-shû, are to the same effect as what we find here; and perhaps this memoir was their production.'

BOOK XXVIII. KUNG YUNG.

The Kung Yung would be pronounced, I think, by Chinese scholars to be the most valuable of all the Treatises in the Lî Kî; and from an early time it asserted a position peculiar to itself. Its place in the general collection of Ritual Treatises was acknowledged by Mâ Yung and his disciple Kang Hsüan; but in Liû Hsin's Catalogue of the Lî Books, we find an entry of 'Observations on the Kung Yung, in two phien;' so early was the work thought to be deserving of special treatment by itself. In the records of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-617), in the Catalogue of its Imperial library, there are the names of three other special works upon it, one of them by the emperor Wû (A. D. 502-549) of the Liang dynasty.

Later on, under the Sung dynasty, the Kung Yung, the Tâ Hsio, or 'Great Learning,' which is also a portion of the Lî Kî, the Confucian Analects, or the Lun Yü, and the works of Mencius, were classed together as 'The Four Books,' which have since that time formed so important a division of Chinese literature; and ' the Kung Yung, in chapters and sentences, with a digest of commentaries on it,' was published by Kû Hsî early in A.D. 1189. About 125 years afterwards, the fourth emperor of the Yüan dynasty enacted that Kû's edition and views should be the text-book of the classic at the literary examinations. From that time merely the name of the Kung Yung was retained in editions of the Lî Kî, until the appearance of the Imperial edition of the whole collection in the Khien-lung period of the present dynasty. There the text is given in two Sections according to the old division of it, with the ancient commentaries from the edition of 'The Thirteen King' of the Thang dynasty, followed at the end of each paragraph by the Commentary of Kû.

The authorship of the Kung Yung is ascribed to Khung Kî, better known as Dze-sze, the grandson of Confucius. There is no statement to this effect, indeed, in the work itself; but the tradition need not be called in question. It certainly existed in the Khung family. The Book must have been written in the fifth century B.C., some time, I suppose, between 450 and 400. Since A.D. 1267, the author has had a place in the temples of Confucius as one of 'The Four Assessors,' with the title of 'The Philosopher Dze-sze, transmitter of the Sage.' I have seen his tomb-mound in the Confucian cemetery, outside the city of Khü-fû in Shantung, in front of those of his father and grandfather. There is a statue of him on it, bearing the inscription, 'Duke (or Prince) of the State of Î.'

It is not easy to translate the name of the Treatise, Kung Yung. It has been represented by 'Juste Milieu;' 'Medium Constans vel Sempiternurn;' 'L'Invariable Milieu;' 'The Constant Medium.' 'The Golden Medium;' 'The True Medium,' and otherwise. I called it, in 1861, 'The Doctrine of the Mean,' which I have now changed for 'The State of Equilibrium and Harmony,' the reasons for which will be found in the notes on the first chapter of the present version.

I do not here enter on an exhibition of the scope and value of the Book. It gives the best account that we have of the Confucian philosophy and morals, and will amply repay careful study, and hold its place not only in China, but in the wider sphere beyond it. The writer had an exaggerated conception of the sage; but he deserves well of his own country and of the world.

BOOK XXIX. PIÂO KÎ.

The character called Piâo is the symbol for the outer garments, and is used to indicate whatever is external in opposition to what is internal; the outside of things, what serves to mark them out and call attention to them. Hence comes its use in the sense which it bears in the title of this Book, for what serves as an exàmple or model. Callery renders that title by 'Mémoire sur l'Exemple;' Wylie, by 'The Exemplar Record.'

Piâo is also used for the gnomon of a dial; and the Khien-lung editors fix on this application of the character in explaining the name of the Book. 'Piâo,' they say, 'is the gnomon of a dial, by which the movement of the sun is measured; it rises up in the Centre, and all round is regulated by it. The Fang Kî shows men what they ought to be on their guard against; the Piâo Kî, what they should take as their pattern.' Then they add— 'Of patterns there is none so honourable as benevolence (or humanity proper), and to aid that there is righteousness, while, to complete it, there is sincerity or good faith, and reverence is that by which the quest for humanity is pursued.' This second sentence may be considered a summary of the contents of the Book, which they conclude by saying, they have divided into eight chapters after the example of the scholar Hwang; meaning, I suppose, Hwang Khan, who has been already mentioned as having published his work on our classic in A. D. 538.

That division into eight chapters lies on the face of the Treatise. We have eight paragraphs commencing with the characters which I have rendered by 'These were the words of the Master;' and these are followed by a number of others, more or fewer as the case may be, in which the words of the Master ('The Master said') are adduced to substantiate what has been stated in that introductory passage. The arrangement is uniform, excepting in one instance to which I have called attention in a note, and suitably divides the whole into eight chapters.

But no one supposes that 'the words of the Master' are really those of Confucius, or were used by him in the connexion which is here given to them. They were invented by the author of the Treatise, or applied by him, to suit his own purpose; and scholars object to many of them as contrary to the sentiments of the sage, and betraying a tendency to the views of Tâoism. This appears, most strikingly perhaps, in the fifth chapter. On the statement, for instance', in paragraph 32, that the methods of Yin and Kâu were not equal to the correction of the errors produced by those of Shun and Hsîa, the Khien-lung editors say:— 'How could these words have come from the mouth of the Master? The disciples of Lâo-dze despised forms and prized the unadorned simplicity, commended what was ancient, and condemned all that was of their own time. In the beginning of the Han dynasty, the principles of Hwang and Lâo were widely

circulated; students lost themselves in the stream of what they heard, could not decide upon its erroneousness, and ascribed it to the Master. Such cases were numerous, and even in several paragraphs of the Lî Yun (Book VII) we seem to have some of them. What we find there was the utterance, probably, of some disciple of Lâo-dze.'

No one, so far as I have noticed, has ventured to assign the authorship of this Book on example. I would identify him, myself, with the Kung-sun Nî-dze, to whom the next is ascribed.

BOOK XXX. DZE Î

It is a disappointment to the reader, when he finds after reading the title of this Book, that it has nothing to do with the Black Robes of which he expects it to be an account. That phrase occurs in the second paragraph, in a note to which its origin is explained; but the other name Hsiang Po, which is found in the same paragraph, might with equal appropriateness, or rather inappropriateness, have been adopted for the Treatise.

It is really of the same nature as the preceding, and contains twenty-four paragraphs, all attributed to 'the Master,' and each of which may be considered to afford a pattern for rulers and their people. It ought to form one Book with XXIX under the title of 'Pattern Lessons.' I have pointed out in the notes some instances of the agreement in their style and phraseology, and the intelligent reader who consults the translation with reference to the Chinese text will discover more. Lû Teh-ming (early in the Thang dynasty) tells us, on the authority of Liû Hsien, that the Dze Î was made by a Kung-sun Ni-dze. Liû Hsien was a distinguished scholar of the early Sung dynasty, and died about A. D. 500; but on what evidence he assigned the authorship of the Book to Kung-sun Ni-dze does not, in the present state of our knowledge, appear. The name of that individual is found twice in Liû Hsin's Catalogue, as belonging to the learned school, and among 'the Miscellaneous writers,' with a note that he was 'a disciple of the seventy disciples of the Master.' The first entry about him precedes that about Mencius, so that he must be referred to the closing period of the Kâu dynasty, the third century B.C. He may, therefore, have been the author of 'The Black Robes,' and of the preceding Book as well, giving his own views, but attributing them, after the fashion of the time, to Confucius; but, as the commentator Fang Î (? Ming dynasty) observes:— 'Many passages in the Book are made to resemble the sayings of a sage; but the style is not good and the meaning is inferior.'

BOOK XXXI. PAN SANG

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This Book refers to a special case in connexion with the mourning rites, that of an individual who has been prevented, from taking part with the other relatives in the usual observances at the proper time. It might be that he was absent from the state, charged by his ruler with public business, or he might be in the same state but at a distance, and so occupied that he had been unable to take part in the mourning services.

But they were too sacred to be entirely neglected, and we have here the rules applicable to such a case, in a variety of circumstances and different degrees of consanguinity. Some other matter, more or less analogous, is introduced towards the end.

We have seen how the first of the 'Three Rituals' recovered in the Han dynasty was seventeen Books that now form the Î Lî. Kang Hsüan supposed that the Pan Sang had been another Book of that collection, and was afterwards obtained from the tablets found in the village of Yen-kung in Lû. It has been decided, however, that the style determines it to be from another hand than the Î Lî.

Here it is, and we have only to make the best of it that we can, without knowing who wrote it or when it came to light. The Khien-lung editors say:—'Anciently, in cases of mourning for a year or shorter period even, officers left their charges and hurried to the rites. In consequence of the inconvenience arising. from this, it was enacted that officers should leave their charge only on the death of a parent. It was found difficult, however, to enforce this. The rule is that a charge cannot be left, without leave asked and obtained.'

BOOK XXXII. WAN SANG.

The Wan Sang, or 'Questions about Mourning Rites,' is a short Treatise, which derives its name from inquiries about the dressing of the corpse, the putting off the cap and replacing it by the cincture, and the use of the staff in mourning. Along with those inquiries there are accounts of some of the rites, condensed and imperfect. The Book should be read in connexion with the other Books of a similar character, especially XIII.

Much cannot be said in favour of the style, or of the satisfactoriness of the replies to the questions that arc propounded. The principal idea indeed in the mind of the author, whoever he was, was that the rites were the outcome of the natural feelings of men, and that mourning was a manifestation of filial piety. The most remarkable passage is that with which the Treatise concludes, that the use of the staff was not to be sought in any revelation from heaven or earth, but

was simply from the good son's filial affection. The way in which the sentiment is expressed has often brought to my mind the question of the Apostle Paul about faith, in Romans x. 6-8.

BOOK XXXIII. FÛ WAN.

Like the last two Books and the two that follow, the Fû Wan is omitted in the expurgated editions. It is still shorter than the Wan Sang, and treats also of the mourning rites, and specially of the dress in it, and changes in it, which naturally gave rise to questioning.

The writer, or compiler, often quotes from what he calls the Kwan, a name which has sometimes been translated by 'Tradition.' But the Chinese term, standing alone, may mean what is transmitted by writings, as well as what is handed down by oral communication. It is used several times in Mencius in the sense of 'Record' and 'Records.' I have called it here 'The Directory of Mourning.' Wû Khang says rightly that the Book is of the same character as XIII; that the mourning rites were so many, and some of them so peculiar, that collisions between different rites must have been of frequent occurrence. The Fû Wan takes up several such cases and tells us how they were met satisfactorily, or, as we may think, unsatisfactorily.

BOOK XXXIV. KIEN KWAN.

The Kien Kwan is a Treatise on subsidiary points in the mourning rites, It is not easy to render the name happily in English. I have met with it as 'The Intermediate Record.' Kwan is the character spoken of in the preceding notice; Kien is the symbol for the space between two things, suggesting the idea of distinction or difference. Kang Hsüan says that 'the name has reference to the distinctions suitably made in mourning, according as it was lighter or more important.'

However we translate or explain the name, we find the Book occupied with the manifestations of grief in the bearing of the mourners; in the modulation of their voices; in their eating and drinking; in their places; in the texture of their dress; and in the various changes which were made in it till it was finally put off. Some points in it are difficult to understand at this distance of time, and while we are still imperfectly acquainted with the mourning usages of the people at the present day.

BOOK XXXV. SAN NIEN WAN.

The ‘Questions about the Mourning for three years’ is occupied principally with the mourning for parents for that period, but it touches on all the other periods of mourning as well, explaining why one period differs in its duration from the others.

Mourning, it is said, is the outcome of the relative feeling proper to man; the materials of the dress, the duration of the rites, and other forms are from the ancient sages and legislators, to regulate and direct the expression of the feeling.

What is said in paragraph 4 about the mourning of birds and beasts is interesting, but fantastical. Though the mourning for a parent is said to last for three years, the western reader is not to suppose that it continues to the end of that time, but simply that it extends into the third year. Virtually it terminates with the twenty-fifth month, and positively with the twenty-seventh. It is the eastern mode in speaking of time to say that it lasts for three years. Similarly, I have often been told that a child, evidently not more than six months, was two years old, when a little cross-questioning has brought out the fact that it had been born towards the end of the previous year, that it had. lived in two years, and was, therefore, spoken of as two years old.

BOOK XXXVI. SHAN Î.

The Shan Î is what we should expect from the name, a description of the dress so-called. It was the garment of undress, worn by all classes of the people, from the highest to the lowest, when they were at home and at ease. What distinguished it from other dresses was that in those the jacket or upper garment was in one piece, and the skirt or lower garment in another, whereas in this they were joined together, so that it could be put on and off with ease.

In the Khien-lung edition of the Lî Kî, chapter 29, second collection of Plates, there are pictures of the Shan Î, taken from Kû Hsî’s ‘Rules for the Family,’ but they do not correspond with the description here. More accurate plates are to be found in a monograph on the subject by Yung Kiang, a senior licentiate of the present dynasty, which forms the 251st chapter in the ‘Explanations of the Classics under the Imperial dynasty of Khing.’ The proper meaning of Shan Î is ‘The Deep Dress;’ but the garment was also called ‘The Long Dress,’ which suits our nomenclature better; and ‘The Inner Dress,’ when it was worn under another.

The reasons assigned for fashioning it after the description in paragraphs 3 and 4 are of course fanciful; but M. Callery is too severe on the unknown author, when he says:-’On est tenté de rire en voyant les rapprochements que Pauteur cherche à établir entre la forme de cet habit et les principes les plus abstraits de

la morale. Je suis porté à croire que toutes ces allegories ont été imaginées après coup; car si elles avaient dirigé la coupe primitive du Shan Î, il faudrait dire que les ateliers des anciens tailleurs de la Chine étaient des écoles de mysticisme.'

BOOK XXXVII. THÂU HO.

The Thâu Hû, or 'Pitching into a jar,' gives the description of a game, played anciently, and probably at the present day also, at festal entertainments. It was a kind of archery, with darts instead of arrows, and the hand instead of a bow; 'the smallest,' as Kang says, 'of all the games of archery,' and yet lessons for the practice of virtue and for judging of character might be learned from it. It is interesting to us, however, simply as a game for amusement, and a sufficient idea of it may be gained from this Book.

Two might play at it, or any number. The host and guest in the text are the representatives of two sides or parties. It was a contest at pitching darts into the mouth of a pot or vase, placed at a short distance from the players, — too short a distance, it appears to us. There was nothing peculiar in the form of the vase of which we have an account in paragraph 10. We are surprised to read the description of it in the late Dr. Williams' Syllabic Dictionary, under the character for Hû:— 'One ancient kind (of vase) was made with tubes on each side of the mouth, and a common game, called Thâu Hû, was to pitch reeds into the three orifices.' This would have been a different jar, and the game would have been different from that here described, and more difficult.

The style of the Treatise is like that of the Î Lî, in the account of the contests of archery in Books VIII-XI, to which we have to refer to make out the meaning of several of the phrases.

The Book should end with paragraph 10. The three paragraphs that follow seem to have been jotted down by the compiler from some memoranda that he found, that nothing might be lost which would throw light on the game.

Then follows a paragraph, which may be pronounced unintelligible. The whole Book is excluded from the expurgated editions.

BOOK XXXVIII. ZÛ HSING.

The Zû Hsing, or 'Conduct of the Scholar,' professes to be a discourse delivered to duke Âi of Lû on the character and style of life by which scholars, or men claiming to possess literary acquirements, ought to be, and were in a measure, distinguished. Even so far back, such a class of men there was in China. They had certain peculiarities of dress, some of which are alluded to in Odes of the

Shih. The duke, however, had not been accustomed to think highly of them; and struck by something in the dress of Confucius, he asks him if he wore the garb of a scholar. The sage disclaims this; and being questioned further as to the conduct of the scholar, he proceeds to dilate on that at great length, and with a remarkable magnificence of thought and diction. He pourtrayed to his ruler a man sans peur et sans reproche, strong in principle, of cultivated intelligence, and animated by the most generous, patriotic, and benevolent spirit. We are told in the conclusion that the effect on duke Âi was good and great. It made him a better man, and also made him think more highly of the class of scholars than he had done. The effect of the Book on many of the literati must have been great in the ages that have intervened, and must still be so.

But did such a conversation really take place between the marquis of Lû and the sage? The general opinion of' Chinese scholars is that it did not do so. Lü Tâ-lin (of the eleventh century, and a contemporary of the brothers Khang), as quoted by the Khien-lung editors, while cordially approving the sentiments, thinks the style too grandiloquent to allow of our ascribing it to Confucius. Another commentator of the Sung period, one of the Lîs, holds that the language is that of some ambitious scholar of the period of the Warring States, who wished. to stir up the members of his order to a style of action worthy of it. P. Callery appends to his translation the following note:— 'In general, the maxims of this chapter are sufficiently profound to justify us in ascribing them to Confucius, in preference to so many other passages which the author of this work places to the credit of the great philosopher. We find nevertheless in it some ideas of which the really authentic works of Confucius do not offer any trace.'

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BOOK XXXIX. TÂ HSIO.

Like the Kung Yung (XXVIII), the Tâ Hsio has long been published separately from the other Books of the Lî Kî, and is now. the first of the well-known 'Four Books.' As it appears in this translation, we follow the arrangement of the text given by the Khien-lung editors from that in the Thirteen King published by Khung Ying-tâ, who himself simply followed King Hsüan. Early in the Sung dynasty the brothers Khang occupied themselves with the Treatise; and thinking that errors had crept into the order of the paragraphs, and that portions were missing, made various alterations and additions. Kû Hsî entered into their labours, and, as he thought, improved on them. It is now current in the Four Books, as he published it in 1189, and the difference between his arrangement

and the oldest one may be seen by comparing the translation in the first volume of my Chinese Classics and that in the present publication.

Despite the difference of arrangement, the substance of the work is the same.

There can be no doubt that the Tâ Hsio is a genuine monument of the Confucian teaching, and gives us a sufficient idea of the methods and subjects in the great or higher schools of antiquity. The enthusiasm of M. Pauthier is not to be blamed when he says:— 'It is evident that the aim of the Chinese philosopher is to exhibit the duties of political government as the perfecting of self and the practice of virtue by all men.'

Pauthier adopts fully the view of Kû, that the first chapter is a genuine relic of Confucius himself, for which view there really is no evidence. And he thinks also that all that follows should be attributed to the disciple, Zang-dze, which is contrary to the evidence which the Treatise itself supplies.

If it were necessary to assign an author for the work, I should adopt the opinion of Kiâ Kwei (A.D. 30-101), and assign it to Khung Kî, the grandson of Confucius, and author of the Kung Yung. 'When Khung Kî,' said Kiâ, 'was still alive, and in straits, in Sung, being afraid that the lessons of the former sage (or sages) would become obscure, and the principles of the ancient Tîs and Kings fall to the ground, he made the Tâ Hsio, as the warp of them, and the Kung Yung as the woof.' This would seem to have been the opinion of scholars in that early time, and the only difficulty in admitting it is that Kang Hsüan does not mention it. Notwithstanding his silence, the conviction that Khung Ki wrote both treatises has become very strong in my mind. There is that agreement in the matter, method, and style of the two, which almost demands for them a common authorship.

BOOK XL. KWAN Î

A fuller account of the ceremony of capping is obtained from portions of the ninth and other Books, where it comes in only incidentally, than from this Book in which we might expect from the title to find all the details of it brought together. But the object of the unknown writer was to glorify the rite as the great occasion when a youth stepped from his immaturity into all the privileges and responsibilities of a man, and to explain some of the usages by which it had been sought from the earliest times to mark its importance. This intention is indicated by the second character in the title called Î, which we have met with only once before in the name of a Book,-in Kî Î, 'the Meaning of Sacrifices,' the title of XXI. It is employed in the titles of this and the five Books that follow, and always with the same force of 'meaning,' 'signification,' 'ideas underlying the

ceremony.' Callery renders correctly Kwan Î by 'Signification de la Prise du Chapeau Viril.'

The Chinese cap of manhood always suggests the toga virilis of the Romans; but there was a difference between the institutions of the two peoples. The age for assuming the toga was fourteen; that for receiving the cap was twenty. The capped Chinese was still young, but he had grown to man's estate; the gowned Roman might have reached puberty, but he was little more than a boy.

Until the student fully understands the object of the Treatise, the paragraphs seem intricate and heavy, and the work of translation is difficult.

BOOK XLI. HWAN Î.

After capping comes in natural order the ceremony of marriage; and we are glad to have, in the first portion of this Book, so full an account of the objects contemplated in marriage, the way in which the ceremony was gone about, and the subsequent proceedings by which the union was declared to be established.

The writer made much use of the chapters on marriage in the Î Lî. Nothing is said of the age at which it was the rule for a young man to marry; and this, we have seen, is put down, in other parts of this collection, as thirty. The same age is mentioned in the Kâu Lî, XIII, 55, on the duties of the marriage-contractor. But marriage, we may assume from the case of Confucius himself, actually took place earlier in ancient times, as it does now. The Dze, or name of maturity, which was given at the capping, is commonly said to be the name taken at marriage, as in Morrison's Dictionary, I, i, page 627.

The duties set forth in the Book, however, are not those of the young husband, but those of the wife, all comprised in the general virtue of 'obedience.' After the tenth paragraph, the author leaves the subject of marriage, and speaks of the different establishments of the king and queen and of their functions. So far what is said on these topics bears on marriage as it sets forth, mystically, that union as analogous to the relations of heaven and earth, the sun and moon, and the masculine and feminine energies of nature; and the response made by these to the conduct of the human parties in their wedded union.

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BOOK XLII. HSIANG YIN KIÛ Î

Hsiang was anciently the name for the largest territorial division of the state. Under the dominion of Kâu, from the hamlet of five families, through the lü, the zû, the tang, and the kâu, we rise to the hsiang, nominally containing 12,000

families, and presided over by a ‘Great officer.’ The royal domain contained six hsiang, and a feudal state three.

In more than one of these territorial divisions, there were festive meetings at regular intervals, all said to be for the purpose of ‘drinking.’ There was feasting at them too, but the viands bore a small proportion to the liquor, called by the name of Kiû, which has generally been translated wine, though the grape had nothing to do with it, and whether it was distilled or merely fermented is a disputed point.

The festivity described in this Book was at the true Hsiang meeting, celebrated once in three years, under the superintendence of ‘the Great officer’ himself, when, in the, principal school or college of the district, he assembled the gentlemen of accomplishments and virtue, and feasted them. His object was to select, especially from among the young men, those who were most likely to prove useful to the government in various departments of service. There was in the celebration the germ of the competitive examinations which have been for so long a characteristic feature of the Chinese nation.

The writer had before him the sixth and seventh Books of the Î Lî on the same subject, or their equivalents. He brings out five things accomplished by the ceremony, all of a moral and social nature; but in trying to explain the arrangements, he becomes allegorical or mystical, and sometimes absurd.

BOOK XLIII. SHÊ Î

There were various games or competitions of archery; at the royal court, at the feudal courts, at the meetings in the country districts which form the subject of the last Book, and probably others of a less public and distinguished character. We have references in this Book to at least one of the archery trials at the royal court; to that at the feudal courts; and to one presided over by Confucius himself, of which it is difficult to assign the occasion. The object of the author is to show the attention paid to archery in ancient times, and how it was endeavoured to make it subservient to moral and educational purposes.

He had before him the accounts of the archery for officers in Books VIII, IX, and X of the Î Lî; but he allows himself more scope, in his observations on them, than the authors of the two preceding Books, and explains several practices in his own way, — unsatisfactorily, as I have pointed out in my notes.

BOOK XLIV. YEN Î

The Yen Î, or ‘Meaning of the Banquet,’ is a fragment of only five paragraphs, which, moreover, are inartistically put together, the first having no connexion with the others. The Book should begin with paragraph 2, commencing: ‘The meaning of the Banquet at the feudal courts was this.’ It was of this banquet that the compiler intended to give his readers an idea.

The greatest of all the ancient banquets was that which immediately followed the sacrifices in the ancestral temple, given to all the kindred of the same surname as the ruler, and to which there are several references in the Shih King. Thang San-zhâi (Ming dynasty) specifies four other occasions for the banquet besides this: — It, might be given by a feudal prince, without any special occasion, — like that described in the second of the Praise Songs of Lû; or to a high dignitary or Great officer, who had been engaged in the royal service, — like that in the Minor Odes of the Kingdom, iii, 3; or when a high dignitary returned from a friendly mission, — like that also in the Minor Odes, i, 2; or when an officer came from one state to another on a friendly mission. Many other occasions, however, can be imagined on which public banquets were appropriate and might be given. The usages at them would, for the most part, be of the same nature.

The eleventh and twelfth chapters of the Î Lî are occupied with the ceremony of the banquet. The author of this Treatise quotes passages here and there from them, and appends his own explanation of their educational significance. Two lessons, be says, were especially illustrated in them: — the right relations to be maintained between superiors and inferiors, and the distinction between the noble and the mean.

BOOK XLV. PHING Î

The subject of the Phing Î is the interchange of missions between the ancient feudal states. It was a rule of the kingdom that those states should by such interchange maintain a good understanding with one another, as a means of preventing both internal disturbances and aggression from without. P. Callery gives for the title:— ‘Signification (du Rite) des Visites.’ I have met with it rendered in English by ‘The Theory of Embassies;’ but the Phing was not an embassy on any great state occasion, nor was it requisite that it should be sent at stated intervals. It could not be long neglected between two states without risk to the good fellowship between them, but events might at any time occur in any one state which would call forth such an expression of friendly sympathy from others.

A mission occasioned a very considerable expenditure to the receiving state, and the author, with amusing ingenuity, explains this as a device to teach the princes and their peoples ‘to care little for such outlay in comparison with the maintenance of the custom and its ceremonies.

Those visits are treated with all the necessary details in the Î Lî, Books XV-XVIII; and though the extracts from them are not many, we get from the author a sufficiently intelligible account of the nature of the missions and the way in which they were carried through.

In paragraph 11, however, be turns to another subject, and writes at some length about archery, while the concluding paragraphs (12 and 13) give a conversation between Confucius and his disciple Dze-kung on the reasons why jade is thought so much of. The three paragraphs have no connexion with those that precede on the subject of the missions; and the question arises-Whence were they derived? The previous paragraphs, taken from or based on the Î Lî, are found in one of the surviving Treatises of the larger collection of the Greater Tâi, the thirty-sixth Book, called Khâo-sze, in consequence of which the Khien-lung editors suggest that these concluding paragraphs were an addition made by his relative, Tâi Shang. It may have been so, but we should not thereby be impressed with a high idea of the skill or judgment with which Shang executed his work.

BOOK XLVI. SANG FÛ SZE KIH.

This Book, with which the collection of the Lî Kî concludes, is an attempt to explain the usages of the mourning rites, and especially of the dress, wherein they agree, and wherein they differ, by referring them to the four constituents of man’s nature, — love, righteousness, the sentiment of propriety, and knowledge, in harmony with the operations of heaven and earth in the course of nature. We do not know who was the author of it, but the Khien-lung editors contend that it could not have been in the original compilation of the Smaller Tâi, and owes its place in the collection to Kang Hsüan.

The greater part of it is found in the thirty-ninth, or last but one, of the Books still current as the Lî of the Greater Tâi; and another part in the ‘Narratives of the School,’ the third article in the sixth chapter of that Collection, the compilation of which in its present form is attributed to Wang Sû in the first half of our third century. But this second fragment must have existed previously, else Kang himself could not have seen it. The argument of those editors, therefore, that some scholar, later than the Smaller Tâi, must have incorporated it with what we find in the Greater Tâi, adding a beginning and ending of his own, so as to form a Book like one of those of Tâi Shang, and that Kang thought it worth his while

to preserve it as the last portion of Shang's collection, — this argument is inconclusive. The fragment may originally have formed part of Tâi Teh's thirty-ninth Book or of some other, and the whole of this Book have been arranged, as we now have it by Shang himself, working, as he is reported to have done, on the compilation or digest of his cousin. However this be, the views in the Book are certainly ingenious and deserve to be read with care.

A few lines in Callery's work are sufficient to translate all of the Book which is admitted into the expurgated editions.

BOOK 1. KHÜ LÎ.

Summary of the Rules of Propriety.

Section I. Part I.

[On the names of the whole work and of this book, see the Introduction, p-12 and 15-17.

Part I is occupied with general principles and statements about Propriety rather than with the detail of particular rules. It may be divided into seven chapters, containing in all thirty-one paragraphs,

Ch. 1. 1, tells how reverence and gravity, with careful speech, are essential in Propriety; and shows its importance to a community or nation. 2. 2, specifies habits or tendencies incompatible with Propriety. 3. 3-5, gives instances of Propriety in superior men, and directions for certain cases. 4. 6, 7, states the rules for sitting, standing, and a mission to another state. 5. 8-22, sets forth how indispensable Propriety is for the regulation of the individual and society, and that it marks in fact the distinction between men and brutes. 6. 23-26, indicates how the rules, unnecessary in the most ancient times, grew with the progress of society, and were its ornament and security. 7. 27-31, speaks of the different stages of life, as divided into decades from ten years to a hundred; and certain characteristics belonging to them.]

Ch. 1. 1. The Summary of the Rules of Propriety says:-Always and in everything let there be reverence; with the deportment grave as when one is thinking (deeply), and with speech composed and definite. This will make the people tranquil.

2. 2. Pride should not be allowed to grow; the desires should not be indulged; the will should not be gratified to the full; pleasure should not be carried to excess.

3. 3. Men of talents and virtue can be familiar with others and yet respect them; can stand in awe of others and yet love them. They love others and yet acknowledge the evil that is in them. They accumulate (wealth) and yet are able to part with it (to help the needy); they rest in what gives them satisfaction and yet can seek satisfaction elsewhere (when it is desirable to do so). 4. When you find wealth within your reach, do not (try to) get it by improper means; when you meet with calamity, do not (try to) escape from it by improper means. Do not seek for victory in small contentions; do not seek for more than your proper

share. 5. Do not positively affirm what you have doubts about; and (when you have no doubts), do not let what you say appear (simply) as your own view.

4. 6. If a man be sitting, let him do so as a personator of the deceased; if he be standing, let him do so (reverently), as in sacrificing. 7. In (observing) the rules of propriety, what is right (for the time and in the circumstances) should be followed. In discharging a mission (to another state), its customs are to be observed.

5. 8. They are the rules of propriety, that furnish the means of determining (the observances towards) relatives, as near and remote; of settling points which may cause suspicion or doubt; of distinguishing where there should be agreement, and where difference; and of making clear what is right and what is wrong. 9. According to those rules, one should not (seek to) please others in an improper way, nor be lavish of his words, 10. According to them, one does not go beyond the definite measure, nor encroach on or despise others, nor is fond of (presuming) familiarities. 11. To cultivate one's person and fulfil one's words is called good conduct. When the conduct is (thus) ordered, and the words are accordant with the (right) course, we have the substance of the rules of propriety. 12. I have heard that it is in accordance with those rules that one should be chosen by others (as their model); I have not heard of his choosing them (to take him as such). I have heard in the same way of (scholars) coming to learn; I have not heard of (the master) going to teach. 13. The course (of duty), virtue, benevolence, and righteousness cannot be fully carried out without the rules of propriety; 14. nor are training and oral lessons for the rectification of manners complete; 15. nor can the clearing up of quarrels and discriminating in disputes be accomplished; 16. nor can (the duties between) ruler and minister, high and low, father and son, elder brother and younger, be determined; 17. nor can students for office and (other) learners, in serving their masters, have an attachment for them; 18. nor can majesty and dignity be shown in assigning the different places at court, in the government of the armies, and in discharging the duties of office so as to secure the operation of the laws; 19. nor can there be the (proper) sincerity and gravity in presenting the offerings to spiritual Beings on occasions of supplication, thanksgiving, and the various sacrifices. 20. Therefore the superior man is respectful and reverent, assiduous in his duties and not going beyond them, retiring and yielding;-thus illustrating (the principle of) propriety. 21. The parrot can speak, and yet is nothing more than a bird; the ape can speak, and yet is nothing more than a beast. Here now is a man who observes no rules of propriety; is not his heart that of a beast? But if (men were as) beasts, and without (the principle of) propriety, father and son might have the same mate. 22. Therefore, when the sages arose, they framed the rules of propriety in order

to teach men, and cause them, by their possession of them, to make a distinction between themselves and brutes.

6. 23. In the highest antiquity they prized (simply conferring) good; in the time next to this, giving and repaying was the thing attended to. And what the rules of propriety value is that reciprocity. If I give a gift and nothing comes in return, that is contrary to propriety; if the thing comes to me, and I give nothing in return, that also is contrary to propriety. 24. If a man observe the rules of propriety, he is in a condition of security; if he do not, he is in one of danger. Hence there is the saying, 'The rules of propriety should by no means be left unlearned.' 25. Propriety is seen in humbling one's self and giving honour to others. Even porters and pedlers are sure to display this giving honour (in some cases); how much more should the rich and noble do so (in all)! 26. When the rich and noble know to love propriety, they do not become proud nor dissolute. When the poor and mean know to love propriety, their minds do not become cowardly.

7. 27. When one is ten years old, we call him a boy; he goes (out) to school. When he is twenty, we call him a youth; he is capped. When he is thirty, we say, 'He is at his maturity;' he has a wife. When he is forty, we say, 'He is in his vigour;' he is employed in office. When he is fifty, we say, 'He is getting grey;' he can discharge all the duties of an officer. When he is sixty, we say, 'He is getting old;' he gives directions and instructions. When he is seventy, we say, 'He is old;' he delegates his duties to others. At eighty or ninety, we say of him, 'He is very old.' When he is seven, we say that he is an object of pitying love. Such a child and one who is very old, though they may be chargeable with crime, are not subjected to punishment. At a hundred, he is called a centenarian, and has to be fed. 28. A great officer, when he is seventy, should resign (his charge of) affairs. 29. If he be not allowed to resign, there must be given him a stool and staff. When travelling on service, he must have the attendance of his wife; and when going to any other state, he will ride in an easy carriage. 30. (In another state) he will, style himself 'the old man;' in his own state, he will call himself by his name. 31. When from another they ask (about his state), he must tell them of its (old) institutions.

The text in the second part of this sentence is not easily translated and interpreted. I have followed in my version the view of Kang, Kû Hsi,.and the Khien-lung editors. Callery gives for'the whole sentence, ' Ne donnez pas comme certain ce qui est douteux, mais exposez-le clairement sans arrière-pensée.' Zottoli's view of the meaning is probably the same as mine: 'Dubiu's rerurn noli praesumere, sed sincerus ne tibi arroges.'

On the personator of the deceased, see vol. iii, p, 301, According to the ritual of Kau, the representatives of the dead always sat, and bore themselves with the utmost gravity.

Four religious acts are here mentioned, in connexion with which the offerings to spiritual Beings were presented. What I have called ‘various sacrifices’ is in Chinese Kî sze. Wû Khang says: ‘Kî means sacrificial offerings to the spirit (or spirits) of Earth, and sze those to the spirits of Heaven. Offerings to the manes of men are also covered by them when they are used together.’

We know that the parrot and some other birds can be taught to speak; but I do not know that any animal has been taught to enunciate words even as these birds do. Williams (Dict. og) thinks that the shang shang mentioned here may be the rhinopithecus Roxellana of P. David, found in Sze-khüan; but we have no account of it in Chinese works, so far as I know, that is not evidently fabulous.

Compare with this paragraph the state of ‘the highest antiquity’ described in the Tâo Teh King, chapters 18, 19, *et al.*

When it is said that at thirty a man has a wife, the meaning must be that he ought not to reach that age without being married. Early marriages were the rule in ancient China, as they are now. Confucius was married when barely twenty. In the same way we are to understand the being in office at forty. A man might take office at thirty; if he reached forty before he did so, there was something wrong in himself or others.

Perhaps we should translate here in the plural— ‘his women,’ which would include his wife.

An ‘easy carriage’ was small. Its occupant sat in it, and did not stand.

It is supposed here that the foreign envoys first question the ruler, who then calls in the help of the aged minister.

Part ii

[Part II enters more into detail about the rules of Propriety. It has been divided into seven chapters, containing in all thirty-two paragraphs.

Ch. 1. 1, speaks of a junior consulting an elder. 2. 2, describes services due from all sons to their parents. 3. 3, shows a filial son when raised to higher rank than his father. 4. 4-16, contains rules for a son in various circumstances, especially with reference to his father. 5. 17-26, gives the rules for younger men in their intercourse with their teachers and elders generally, and in various cases. 6. 27, is the rule for an officer in entering the gate of his ruler or coming out by it. 7. 28-32, deals with a host and visitor, and ceremonious visiting and intercourse generally.

1. 1. In going to take counsel with an elder, one must carry a stool and a staff with him (for the elder's use). When the elder asks a question, to reply without acknowledging one's incompetency and (trying to) decline answering, is contrary to propriety.

2. 2. For all sons it is the rule: — In winter, to warm (the bed for their parents), and to cool it in summer; in the evening, to adjust everything (for their repose), and to inquire (about their health) in the morning; and, when with their companions, not to quarrel.

3. 3. Whenever a son, having received the three (first) gifts (of the ruler), declines (to use) the carriage and horses, the people of the hamlets and smaller districts, and of the larger districts and neighbourhoods, will proclaim him filial; his brothers and relatives, both by consanguinity and affinity, will proclaim him loving; his friends who are fellow-officers will proclaim him virtuous; and his friends who are his associates will proclaim him true.

4. 4. When he sees an intimate friend of his father, not to presume to go forward to him without being told to do so; nor to retire without being told; nor to address him without being questioned: — this is the conduct of a filial son, 5. A son, when he is going abroad, must inform (his parents where he is going); when he returns, he must present himself before them. Where he travels must be in some fixed (region); what he engages in must be some (reputable) occupation. 6. In ordinary conversation (with his parents), he does not use the term 'old' (with reference to them). 7. He should serve one twice as old as himself as he serves his father, one ten years older than himself as an elder brother; with one five years older he should walk shoulder to shoulder, but (a little) behind him. 8. When five are sitting together, the eldest must have a different mat (by himself). 9. A son should not occupy the south-west corner of the apartment, nor sit in the

middle of the mat (which he occupies alone), nor walk in the middle of the road, nor stand in the middle of the doorway. 10. He should not take the part of regulating the (quantity of) rice and other viands at an entertainment. 11. He should not act as personator of the dead at sacrifice. 12. He should be (as if he were) hearing (his parents) when there is no voice from them, and as seeing them when they are not actually there. 13. He should not ascend a height, nor approach the verge of a depth; he should not indulge in reckless reviling or derisive laughing. A filial son will not do things in the dark, nor attempt hazardous undertakings, fearing lest he disgrace his parents. 14. While his parents are alive, he will not promise a friend to die (with or for him), nor will he have wealth that he calls his own. 15. A son, while his parents are alive, will not wear a cap or (other) article of dress, with a white border. 16. An orphan son, taking his father's place, will not wear a cap or (other article of) dress with a variegated border.

5. 17. A boy should never be allowed to see an instance of deceit. 18. A lad should not wear a jacket of fur nor the skirt . He must stand straight and square, and not incline his head in hearing. 19. When an elder is holding him with the hand, he should hold the elder's hand with both his hands. When the elder has shifted his sword to his back and is speaking to him with the side of his face bent, down, he should cover his mouth with his hand in answering. 20. When he is following his teacher 4, he should not quit the road to speak with another person. When he meets his teacher on the road, he should hasten forward to him, and stand with his hands joined across his breast. If the teacher speak to him, he will answer; if he do not, he will retire with hasty steps. 21. When, following an elder, they ascend a level height, he must keep his face towards the quarter to which the elder is looking. 22. When one has ascended the wall of a city, he should not point, nor callout. 23. When he intends to go to a lodging-house, let it not be with the feeling that he must get whatever he asks for. 24. When about to go up to the hall (of a house), he must raise his voice. When outside the door there are two (pairs of) shoes, if voices be heard, he. enters; if voices be not heard, he will not enter. 25. When about to enter the door, he must keep his eyes cast down. As he enters, he should (keep his hands raised as high as if he were) bearing the bar of the door. In looking down or up, he should not turn (his head). If the door were open, he should leave it open; if it were shut, he should shut it again. If there be others (about) to enter after him, while he (turns to) shut the door, let him not do so hastily. 26. Let him not tread on the shoes (left outside the door), nor stride across the mat (in going to take his seat); but let him hold up his dress, and move hastily to his corner (of the mat). (When seated), he must be careful in answering or assenting.

6. 27. A great officer or (other) officer should go out or in at the ruler's doors, on the right of the middle post, without treading on the threshold.

7. 28. Whenever (a host has received and) is entering with a guest, at every door he should give place to him. When the guest arrives at the innermost door (or that leading to the feast-room), the host will ask to be allowed to enter first and arrange the mats. Having done this, he will come out to receive the guest, who will refuse firmly (to enter first). The host having made a low bow to him, they will enter (together). 29. When they have entered the door, the host moves to the right, and the guest to the left, the former going to the steps on the cast, and the latter to those on the west. If the guest be of the lower rank, he goes to the steps of the host (as if to follow him up them). The host firmly declines this, and he returns to the other steps on the west. 30. They then offer to each other the precedence in going up, but the host commences first, followed (immediately) by the other. They bring their feet together on every step, thus ascending by successive paces. He who ascends by the steps on the cast should move his right foot first, and the other at the western steps his left foot. 31. Outside the curtain or screen (a visitor) should not walk with the formal hasty steps, nor above in the hall, nor when carrying the symbol of jade. Above, in the raised hall, the foot-prints should be alongside each other, but below it free and separate. In the apartment the elbows should not be held out like wings in bowing. 32. When two (equals) are sitting side by side, they do not have their elbows extended crosswise. One should not kneel in handing anything to a (superior) standing, nor stand in handing it to him sitting.

The reply of Tsang Shan to Confucius, as related in vol. iii, p, 466, is commonly introduced in illustration of this second sentence.

The gifts of distinction, conferred by the sovereign on officers, ministers, and feudal princes, were nine in all; and the enumerations of them are not always the same. The three intended here are the appointment to office, or rank; the robes belonging to it; and the chariot and horses. We must suppose that the rank placed the son higher than the father in social position, and that he declines the third gift from humility, — not to parade himself as superior to his father and others in his circle.

Some understand the rule to be that the son is not to speak of himself as old; but the meaning in the translation is the more approved.

Four men were the proper complement for a mat; the eldest of the five therefore was honoured with another mat for himself.

The father is supposed to be alive; the south-west part of an apartment was held to be the most honourable, and must be reserved for him. So of the other things.

This was in the ancestral worship. A son, acting such a part, would have to receive the homage of his father.

I have known instances of Chinese agreeing to die with or for a friend, who wished to avenge a great wrong. See the covenant of the three heroes of the ‘romance of the Three Kingdoms,’ near the beginning.

White was and is the colour worn in mourning.

The son here is the eldest son and heir; even after the regular period of mourning is over, he continues to wear it in so far. The other sons were not required to do so.

This maxim deserves to be specially noted. It will remind the reader of Juvenal’s lines: —

‘Maxima debetur puero, reverentia. Si quid Turpe paras, nec tu pueri contempseris annos.’

To make him handy, and leave him free to execute any service required of him.

2. The second sentence here is difficult to construe, and the critics differ much in dealing with it. Zottoli’s version is— ‘Si e dorso vel latere transverso ore (superior) eloquatur ei, tunc obducto ore respondebit.’

3. ‘Teacher’ is here I the one born before him,’ denoting I an old man who teaches youth.’

4. And thus make himself an object of general observation.

1. It was the custom in China, as it still is in Japan, to take off the shoes, and leave them outside the door on entering an apartment. This paragraph and the next tell us how a new-comer should not enter an apartment hastily, so as to take those already there by surprise.

2. It is necessary to translate here in the plural. Anciently, as now, the palace, mansion, or public office was an aggregate of courts, with buildings in them, so that the visitor passed from one to another through a gateway, till he reached the inner court which conducted to the hall, behind which again were the family apartments. The royal palace had five courts and gates; that of a feudal lord had three. Each gate had its proper name. The whole assemblage of buildings was much deeper than it was wide.

1. The host here is evidently of high dignity, living in a mansion.

2 The screen was in front of the raised hall, in the courtyard; until they passed it visitors might not be in view of their host, and could feel at ease in their carriage and movements.

Part iii.

[Part III continues to lay down the rules for various duties and classes of duties. It extends to sixty-seven paragraphs, which may be comprised in twenty-one chapters.

Ch. 1. 1-4, describes a youth's ways in sweeping for an elder and in carrying and placing his mats. 2. 5-7, relates to host and guest. 3. 8-19, is about a youth, especially a pupil, in attendance on his elders. 4. 20-26, is about his ways in serving a superior. 5. 27-29, is about the shoes in visiting. 6. 30-39, gives rules about not interfering with people's private affairs, and avoiding, between male and female, what would cause suspicion. 7. 40, is a message of congratulation to a friend on his marriage. 8: 41, is about consideration for the poor and the old. 9. 42-46, gives rules for the naming of sons and daughters. 10. 47-51, describes the arrangement of the dishes, and the behaviour of the host and guests, at an entertainment. 11. 52, we have a youth and his host eating together. 12. 53, shows how people, eating together, ought to behave. 13. 54-58, is about things to be avoided in eating. 14. 59, shows us host and guest at the close of the entertainment. In 15. 6o, we have a youth and elder drinking together. 16. 6 1, is about a gift from an elder. 17. 62, shows how the kernel of a fruit given by an elder is to be dealt with in his presence. 18. 63, 64, relates to gifts at a feast from the ruler, and how they are to be used. 19. 65, is about a ruler asking an attendant to share in a feast. 20. 66, is about the use of chopsticks with sou. 67, gives the rules for paring a melon for the ruler and others.]

1. In all cases of (a lad's) carrying away the dirt that has been swept up from the presence of an elder, it is the rule that he (place) the brush on the basket, keeping his sleeve before it as he retires. The dust is not allowed to reach the elder, because he carries the basket with its mouth turned towards himself. 2. He carries the (elder's) mat in his arms like the cross-beam of a shadoof 3. If it be a mat to sit on, he will ask in what direction (the elder) is going to turn his face; if it be to sleep on, in what direction he is going to turn his feet. 4. If a mat face the south or the north, the seat on the west is accounted that of honour; if it face the east or the west, the seat on the south.

2. 5. Except in the case of guests who are there (simply) to eat and drink, in spreading the mats a space of ten cubits should be left between them. 6. When the host kneels to adjust the mats (of a visitor), the other should kneel and keep hold of them, declining (the honour). When the visitor (wishes to) remove one or more, the host should firmly decline to permit him to do so. When the visitor steps on his mats, (the host) takes his seat. 7. If the host have not put some question, the visitor should not begin the conversation.

3. 8. When (a pupil) is about to go to his mat, he should not look discomposed. With his two hands he should hold up his lower garment, so that

the bottom of it may be a cubit from the ground. His clothes should not hang loosely about him, nor should there be any hurried movements of his feet. 9. If any writing or tablets of his master, or his lute or cithern be in the way, he should kneel down and remove them, taking care not to disarrange them. 10. When sitting and doing nothing, he should keep quite at the back (of his mat); when eating, quite at the front of it . He should sit quietly and keep a watch on his countenance. If there be any subject on which the elder has not touched, let him not introduce it irregularly. 11. Let him keep his deportment correct, and listen respectfully. Let him not appropriate (to himself) the words (of others), nor (repeat them) as (the echo does the) thunder. If he must (adduce proofs), let them be from antiquity, with an appeal to the ancient kings. 12. When sitting by his side, and the teacher puts a question, (the learner) should not reply till (the other) has finished. 13. When requesting (instruction) on the subject of his studies, (the learner) should rise; when requesting further information, he should rise. 14. When his father calls, (a youth) should not (merely) answer 'yes,' nor when his teacher calls. He should, with (a respectful) 'yes,' immediately rise (and go to them). 15. When one is sitting in attendance on another whom he honours and reveres, he should not allow any part of his mat to keep them apart, nor will he rise when he sees others (come in) of the same rank as himself. 16. When the torches come, he should rise; and also when the viands come in, or a visitor of superior rank. 17. The torches should not (be allowed to burn) till their ends can be seen. 18. Before an honoured visitor we should not shout (even) at a dog. 19. When declining any food, one should not spit.

4. 20. When one is sitting in attendance on another of superior character or rank, and that other yawns or stretches himself, or lays hold of his staff or shoes, or looks towards the sun to see if it be early or late, he should ask to be allowed to leave. 21. In the same position, if the superior man put a question on a new subject, he should rise up in giving his reply. 22. Similarly, if there come some one saying (to the superior man), 'I wish, when you have a little leisure, to report to you,' he should withdraw to the left or right and wait. 23. Do not listen with the head inclined on one side, nor answer with a loud sharp voice, nor look with a dissolute leer, nor keep the body in a slouching position. 24. Do not saunter about with a haughty gait, nor stand with one foot raised. Do not sit with your knees wide apart, nor sleep on your face. 25. Have your hair gathered up, and do not use any false hair. 26. Let not the cap be laid aside; nor the chest be bared, (even) when one is toiling hard; nor let the lower garment be held up (even) in hot weather.

5. 2 7. When (going to) sit in attendance on an elder, (a visitor) should not go up to the hall with his shoes on, nor should he presume to take them off in front

of the Steps. 28. (When any single visitor is leaving), he will go to his shoes, kneel down and take them up, and then move to one side. 29. (When the visitors retire in a body) with their faces towards the elder, (they stand) by the shoes, which they then, kneeling, remove (some distance), and, stooping down, put on.

6. 30. When two men are sitting or standing together, do not join them as a third. When two are standing together, another should not pass between them. 31. Male and female should not sit together (in the same apartment), nor have the same stand or rack for their clothes, nor use the same towel or comb, nor let their hands touch in giving and receiving. 32. A sister-in-law and brother-in-law do not interchange inquiries (about each other). None of the concubines in a house should be employed to wash the lower garment (of a son). 33. Outside affairs should not be talked of inside the threshold (of the women's apartments), nor inside (or women's) affairs outside it. 34. When a young lady is; promised in marriage, she wears the strings (hanging down to her neck); and unless there be some:great occasion, no (male) enters the door of her apartment. 35. When a married aunt, or sister, or daughter returns home (on a visit), no brother (of the family) should sit with her on the same mat or eat with her from the same dish. (Even) the father and daughter should not occupy the same mat. 36. Male and female, without the intervention of the matchmaker, do not know each other's name. Unless the marriage presents have been received, there should be no communication nor affection between them. 37. Hence the day and month (of the marriage) should be announced to the ruler, and to the spirits (of ancestors) with purification and fasting; and (the bridegroom) should make a feast, and invite (his friends) in the district and neighbourhood, and his fellow-officers: — thus giving its due importance to the separate position (of male and female). 38. One must not marry a wife of the same surname with himself. Hence, in buying a concubine, if he do not know her surname, he must consult the tortoiseshell about it. 39. With the son of a widow, unless he be of acknowledged distinction, one should not associate himself as a friend.

7. 40. When one congratulates (a friend) on his marrying, his messenger says, 'So and So has sent me. Having heard that you are having guests, he has sent me with this present.'

8. 41. Goods and wealth are not to be expected from the poor in their discharge of the rules of propriety; nor the display of sinews and strength from the old.

9. 42. In giving a name to a son, it should not be that of a state, nor of a day or a month, nor of any hidden ailment, nor of a hill or river. 43. Sons and daughters should have their (relative) ages distinguished. 44. A son at twenty is capped, and receives his appellation. 45. Before his father a son should be called by his

name, and before his ruler a minister. 46. When a daughter is promised in marriage, she assumes the hair-pin, and receives her appellation.

10. 47. The rules for bringing in the dishes for an entertainment are the following: — The meat cooked on the bones is set on the left, and the sliced meat on the right; the rice is placed on the left of the parties on the mat, and the soup on their right; the minced and roasted meat are put outside (the chops and sliced meat), and the pickles and sauces inside; the onions and steamed onions succeed to these, and the drink and syrups are on the right. When slices of dried and spiced meat are put down, where they are folded is turned to the left, and the ends of them to the right. 48. If a guest be of lower rank (than his entertainer), he should take up the rice, rise and decline (the honour he is receiving). The host then rises and refuses to allow the guest (to retire). After this the guest will resume his seat. 49. When the host leads on the guests to present an offering (to the father of cookery), they will begin with the dishes which were first brought in. Going on from the meat cooked on the bones they will offer of all (the other dishes). 50. After they have eaten three times, the host will lead on the guests to take of the sliced meat, from which they will go on to all the other dishes. 51. A guest should not rinse his mouth with spirits till the host has gone over all the dishes.

11. 52. When (a youth) is in attendance on an elder at a meal, if the host give anything to him with his own hand, he should bow to him and eat it. If he do not so give him anything, he should eat without bowing.

12. 53. When eating with others from the same dishes, one should not try to eat (hastily) to satiety. When eating with them from the same dish of rice, one should not have to wash his hands.

13. 54. Do not roll the rice into a ball; do not bolt down the various dishes; do not swill down (the soup). 55. Do not make a noise in eating; do not crunch the bones with the teeth; do not put back fish you have been eating; do not throw the bones to the dogs; do not snatch (at what you want). 56. Do not spread out the rice (to cool); do not use chopsticks in eating millet. 57. Do not (try to) gulp down soup with vegetables in it, nor add condiments to it; do not keep picking the-teeth, nor swill down the sauces. If a guest add condiments, the host will apologise for not having had the soup prepared better. If he swill down the sauces, the host will apologise for his poverty. 58. Meat that is wet (and soft) may be divided with the teeth, but dried flesh cannot be so dealt with. Do not bolt roast meat in large pieces.

14. 59. When they have done eating, the guests will kneel in front (of the mat), and (begin to) remove the (dishes) of rice and sauces to give them to the

attendants. The host will then rise and decline this service from the guests, who will resume their seats.

15. 60. If a youth is in attendance on, and drinking with, an elder, when the (cup of) spirits is brought to him, he rises, bows, and (goes to) receive it at the place where the spirit-vase is kept. The elder refuses (to allow him to do so), when he returns to the mat, and (is prepared) to drink. The elder (meantime) lifts (his cup); but until he has emptied it, the other does not presume to drink his.

16. 61. When an elder offers a gift, neither a youth, nor one of mean, condition, presumes to decline it.

17. 62. When a fruit is given by the ruler and in his presence, if there be a kernel in it, (the receiver) should place it in his bosom.

18. 63. When one is attending the ruler at a meal, and the ruler gives him anything that is left, if it be in a vessel that can be easily scoured, he does not transfer it (to another of his own); but from any other vessel he should so transfer it.

19. 64. Portions of (such) food should not be used as offerings (to the departed). A father should not use them in offering even to a (deceased) son, nor a husband in offering to a (deceased) wife.

20. 65. When one is attending an elder and (called to) share with him (at a feast), though the viands may be double (what is necessary), he should not (seek) to decline them. If he take his seat (only) as the companion of another (for whom it has been prepared), he should not decline them.

21. 66. If the soup be made with vegetables, chopsticks should be used; but not if there be no vegetables.

22. 67. He who pares a melon for the son of Heaven should divide it into four parts and then into eight, and cover them with a napkin of fine linen. For the ruler of a state, he should divide it into four parts, and cover them with a coarse napkin. To a great officer he should (present the four parts) uncovered. An inferior officer should receive it (simply) with the stalk cut away. A common man will deal with it with his teeth.

To allow space and freedom for gesticulation.

Two or more mats might be placed over each other in honour of the visitor.

The dishes were placed before the mats.

Here, and in some other places, we find the second personal pronoun; as if the text were made up from different sources. I have translated, however, as if we had only the third person.

He should sit on the front of his mat, to be as near the other as possible.

The torches were borne by boys. They were often changed, that the visitors might not be aware how the time was passing.

The style and form of 23-26 differ from the preceding. Perhaps they should form a paragraph by themselves.

Which women were accustomed to do.

The host would be seeing the visitors off, and therefore they would keep their faces towards him.

Concubines might be employed to wash clothes; delicacy forbade their washing the lower garments of the sons.

Those strings were symbolic of the union with and subjection to her husband to which she was now pledged.

Great sickness or death, or other great calamity, would be such ant occasion.

This is pushing the rule to an extreme. The sentence is also (but wrongly) understood of father and son.

Not to find out what her surname is, but to determine whether it be the same as that of the gentleman or not.

Such names were so common, that if it became necessary to avoid them, as it might be, through the death of the party or on other grounds, it would be difficult and inconvenient to do so.

As primus, prima; secundus, secunda, &c.

The appellation was thus the name given (at a family meeting) to a youth who had reached man's estate. Morrison (Dict. i. 627) calls it the name taken by men when they marry. Such a usage testifies to the early marriages in ancient China, as referred to in note 2, .

There might be some meaning in the appellation which would seem to place its bearer on the level of his father or his ruler.

The rice is called 'the principal article in a feast.' Hence the humbler guest takes it up, as symbolical of all the others.

This paragraph refers to a practice something like our 'saying grace.' According to Khung Ying-tâ, a little was taken from all the dishes, and placed on the ground about them as an offering to 'the father of cookery.'

As all ate from the same dish of rice without chopsticks or spoons, it was necessary they should try to keep their hands clean. Some say the 'washing' was only a rubbing of the hands with sand.

A spoon was the proper implement in eating millet.

The sauce should be too strong to be swallowed largely and hurriedly.

Lest he should seem to throw away anything given by the ruler.

A vessel of potter's ware or metal can be scoured, and the part which his mouth has touched be cleansed before the ruler uses it again.

The meaning of this paragraph is not clear.

Part IV.

[Part IV contains fifty-two paragraphs, which have been arranged in ten chapters, stating the rules to be observed in a variety of cases.

Ch. 1. 1, 2, treats of the ways of a young man who is sorrowful in consequence of the illness or death of a parent. 2. 3-26, treats of the rules in giving and receiving, and of messages connected therewith. The presentations mentioned are all from inferiors to superiors. 3. 27, 28, does not lay down rules, but gives characteristics of the superior man, and the methods by which he preserves his friendships unbroken. 4. 29, 30, refers to the arrangement of the tablets in the ancestral temple, and to the personators of the dead. 5. 31, tells how one fasting should keep himself from being excited. 6. 32-34, sets forth cautions against excess in the demonstrations of mourning. 7. 35, 36, speaks of sorrowing for the dead and condoling with the living. 8. 37, 38, gives counsels of prudence for one under the influence of sympathy and benevolent feeling. 9. 39-48, describes rules in connexion with mourning, burials, and some other occasions. 10. 49-52, describes gradations in ceremonies and in the penal statutes; and how a criminal who has been punished should never be permitted to be near the ruler.

1. When his father or mother is ill, (a young man) who has been capped should not use his comb, nor walk with his elbows stuck out, nor speak on idle topics, nor take his lute or cithern in hand. He should not eat of (different) meats till his taste is changed, nor drink till his looks are changed. He should not laugh so as to show his teeth, nor be angry till he breaks forth in reviling. When the illness is gone, he may resume his former habits. 2. He who is sad and anxious should sit with his mat spread apart from others; he who is mourning (for a death) should sit on a single mat.

2. 3. When heavy rains have fallen, one should not present fish or tortoises (to a superior). 4. He who is presenting a bird should turn its head on one side; if it be a tame bird, this need not be done. 5. He who is presenting a carriage and horses should carry in his hand (to the hall) the whip, and strap for mounting by. 6. He who is presenting a suit of mail should carry the helmet (to the hall). He who is presenting a staff should hold it by its end. 7. He who is presenting a captive should hold him by the right sleeve. 8. He who is presenting grain unhulled should carry with him the left side of the account (of the quantity); if the hull be off, he should carry with him a measure-drum. 9. He who is presenting cooked food, should carry with him the sauce and pickles for it. 10. He who is presenting fields and tenements should carry with him the writings about them, and give them up (to the superior). 11. In every case of giving a bow

to another, if it be bent, the (string of) sinew should be kept upwards; but if unbent, the horn. (The giver) should with his right hand grasp the end of the bow, and keep his left under the middle of the back. The (parties, without regard to their rank as) high and low, (bow to each other) till the napkins (at their girdles) hang down (to the ground). If the host (wish to) bow (still lower), the other moves on one side to avoid the salutation. The host then takes the bow, standing on the left of the other. Putting his hand under that of the visitor, he lays hold of the middle of the back, having his face in the same direction as the other; and thus he receives (the bow). 12. He who is giving a sword should do so with the hilt on his left side. 13. He who is giving a spear with one hook should do so with the metal end of the shaft in front, and the sharp edge behind. 14. He who is presenting one with two hooks, or one with a single hook and two sharp points, should do so with the blunt shaft in front. 15. He who is giving a stool or a staff should (first) wipe it. 16. He who is presenting a horse or a sheep should lead it with his right hand. 17. He who is presenting a dog should lead it with his left hand. 18. He who is carrying a bird (as his present of introduction) should do so with the head to the left. 19. For the ornamental covering of a lamb or a goose, an embroidered cloth should be used. 20. He who receives a pearl or a piece of jade should do so with both his hands. 21. He who receives a bow or a sword should do so (having his hands covered) with his sleeves. 22. He who has drunk from a cup of jade should not (go on to) shake it out. 23. Whenever friendly messages are about to be sent, with the present of a sword or bow, or of (fruit, flesh, and other things, wrapped in) matting of rushes, with grass mats, and in baskets, round and square, (the messenger) has these things (carried with him, when he goes) to receive his commission, and deports himself as when he will be discharging it. 24. Whenever one is charged with a mission by his ruler, after he has received from him his orders, and (heard all) he has to say, he should not remain over the night in his house. 25. When a message from the ruler comes (to a minister), the latter should go out and bow (to the bearer), in acknowledgment of the honour of it. When the messenger is about to return, (the other) must bow to him (again), and escort him outside the gate. 26. If (a minister) send a message to his ruler, he must wear his court-robes when he communicates it to the bearer; and on his return, he must descend from the hall, to receive (the ruler's) commands.

3. 27. To acquire extensive information and remember retentively, while (at the same time) he is modest; to do earnestly what is good, and not become weary in so doing: — these are the characteristics of him whom we call the superior man. 28. A superior man does not accept everything by which another would

express his joy in him, or his devotion to him; and thus he preserves their friendly intercourse unbroken.

4. 29. A rule of propriety says, ‘A superior man may carry his grandson in his arms, but not his son.’ This tells us that a grandson may be the personator of his deceased grandfather (at sacrifices), but a son cannot be so of his father. 30. When a great officer or (other) officer sees one who is to personate the dead (on his way to the ancestral temple), he should dismount from his carriage to him. The ruler himself, when he recognises him, should do the same. The personator (at the same time) must bow forward to the cross-bar. In mounting the carriage, he must use a stool.

5. 31. One who is fasting (in preparation for a sacrifice) should neither listen to music nor condole with mourners.

6. 32. According to the rules for the period of mourning (for a father), (a son) should not emaciate himself till the bones appear, nor let his seeing and hearing be affected (by his privations). He should not go up to, nor descend from, the hail by the steps on the east (which his father used), nor go in or out by the path right opposite to the (centre of the) gate. 33. According to the same rules, if he have a scab on his head, he should wash it; if he have a sore on his body, he should bathe it. If he be ill, he should drink spirits, and eat flesh, returning to his former (abstinence) when he is better. If he make himself unable to perform his mourning duties, that is like being unkind and unfilial. 34. If he be fifty, he should not allow himself to be reduced (by his abstinence) very much; and, if he be sixty, not at all. At seventy, he will only wear the unhemmed dress of sackcloth, and will drink and eat flesh, and occupy (the usual apartment) inside (his house).

7. 35. Intercourse with the living (will be continued) in the future; intercourse with the dead (friend) was a thing of the past. 36. He who knows the living should send (a message of) condolence; and he who knew the dead (a message also of his) grief. He who knows the living, and did not know the dead, will send his condolence without (that expression of) his grief; he who knew the dead, and does not know the living, will send the (expression of) grief, but not go on to condole.

8. 37. He who is condoling with one who has mourning rites in band, and is not able to assist him with a gift, should put no question about his expenditure. He who is enquiring after another that is ill, and is not able to send (anything to him), should not ask what he would like. He who sees (a traveller), and is not able to lodge him, should not ask where he is stopping. 38. He who would confer something on another should not say, ‘Come and take it;’ he who would give something (to a smaller man), should not ask him what he would like.

9. 39. When one goes to a burying-ground, he should not get up on any of the graves. When assisting at an interment, one should (join in) holding the rope attached to the coffin. 40. In a house of mourning, one should not laugh. 41. In order to bow to another, one should leave his own place. 42. When one sees at a distance a coffin with the corpse in it, he should not sing. When he enters among the mourners, he should not keep his arms stuck out. When eating (with others), he should not sigh. 43. When there are mourning rites in his neighbourhood, one should not accompany his pestle with his voice. When there is a body shrouded and coffined in his village, one should not sing in the lanes. 44. When going to a burying-ground, one should not sing, nor on the same day when he has wailed (with mourners). 45. When accompanying a funeral, one should not take a by-path. When taking part in the act of interment, one should not (try to) avoid mud or pools. When presenting himself at any mourning rite, one should have a sad countenance. When holding), the rope, one should not laugh, 46. When present on an occasion of joy, one should not sigh. 47. When wearing his coat of mail and helmet, one's countenance should say, 'Who dares meddle with me?' 48. Hence the superior man is careful to maintain the proper expression of his countenance before others.

10. 49. Where the ruler of a state lays hold of the cross-bar, and bends forward to it, a great officer will descend from his carriage. Where a great officer lays bold of the bar and bends forward, another officer will descend. 50. The rules of ceremony do not go down to the common people. 51. The penal statutes do not go up to great officers. 52. Men who have suffered punishment should not (be allowed to) be by the side of the ruler.

Does the rule about eating mean that the anxious son should restrict himself to a single dish of meat?

Grief is solitary. A mourner afflicts himself.

Because the fish in such a case are so numerous as not to be valuable, or because the fish at the time of the rains are not clean. Other reasons for the rule have been assigned.

The whip and strap, carried up to the hall, represented the carriage and horses, left in the courtyard.

For convenience; and because the end, going into the mud, was not so honourable.

So that he could not attempt any violence.

The account was in duplicate, on the same tablet. The right was held to be the more honourable part. 'Drum' was the name of the measure.

That the receiver may take it with his right hand.

Compare paragraph 4. In this case the bird was carried across the body of the donor with its head on his left.

A different case from that in paragraph 11. It is supposed that here the two things were presented together, and received as on a cushion.

Because of the risk to a thing so valuable.

A rehearsal of what he would have to do.

E. g., it is said, festive entertainments and gifts.

The tablets of a father and son should not be in the same line of shrines in the ancestral temple; and the fact in the paragraph — hardly credible — seems to be mentioned as giving a reason for this.

The personator had for the time the dignity of the deceased whom he represented.

The fasting and vigil extended to seven days, and were intended to prepare for the personating duty. What would distract the mind from this must be eschewed.

This gives the reasons for the directions in the next paragraph.. We condole with the living — to console them; for the dead, we have only to express our grief for our own loss. P. Zottoli's translation is:— 'Vivis computatur subsequens dies; mortuo computatur praecedens dies;' and he says in a note:— 'Vivorum luctus incipit quarta a morte die, et praecedente die seu tertia fit mortui in feretrum depositio; luctus igitur et depositio, die intercipiuntur; haec precedit ille subsequetur.' This is after many, critics, from Kang Khang-khang downwards; but it does great violence to the text. I have followed the view of the Khien-lung editors.

The rope here may also be that, or one of those, attached to the low car on which the coffin was drawn to the grave. Compare paragraph 45.

Not that the common people are altogether freed from the rules. But their occupations are engrossing, and their means small. Much cannot be expected from them.

It may be necessary to punish them, but they should be beyond requiring punishment. The application of it, moreover, will be modified by various considerations. But the regulation is not good.

To preserve the ruler from the contamination of their example, and the risk of their revenge.

Part v.

[Part V contains forty-eight paragraphs, which may be arranged in ten chapters.

Ch. 1. 1-10, relates to carriages, especially to war chariots, and the use of them with their banners and other things in an expedition. 2. 10, gives the rules in avenging the deaths of a father, brother, and friend. 3. 11, shows the responsibility of ministers and officers generally in maintaining the defence and the cultivation of their country. 4. 12-14, relates to sacrifices, — the sacrificers, their robes, the victims, &c. 5. 15-21, gives rules about avoiding the mention of certain names. 6. 22-27, is on the subject of divination, — of divining, especially, about the days for contemplated undertakings. 7. 28-33, describes the yoking the horses to a ruler's chariot, his taking his seat, and other points. 8. 34-35, is about the strap which the driver banded to parties who wished to mount the carriage. 9. 36, gives three prohibitive rules: — about a visitor's carriage; a woman riding in a carriage; and dogs and horses. 10. 37-48, relates various rules about driving out, for the ruler and people generally.]

1. 1. A fighting chariot has no cross-board to assist its occupants in bowing; in a war chariot the banner is fully displayed; in a chariot of peace it is kept folded round the pole. 2. A recorder should carry with him in his carriage his implements for writing; his, subordinates the (recorded) words (of former covenants and other documents). 3. When there is water in front, the flag with the green bird on it should be displayed. 4. When there is (a cloud of) dust in front, that with the screaming kites. 5. For chariots and horsemen, that with wild geese in flight. 6. For a body of troops, that with a tiger's (skin). 7. For a beast of prey, that with a leopard's (skin). 8. On the march the (banner with the) Red Bird should be in front; that with the Dark Warrior behind; that with the Azure Dragon on the left; and that with the White Tiger on the right; that with the Pointer of the Northern Bushel should be reared aloft (in the centre of the host): — all to excite and direct the fury (of the troops). 9. There are rules for advancing and retreating; there are the various arrangements on the left and the right, each with its (proper) officer to look after it.

2. 10. With the enemy who has slain his father, one should not live under the same heaven. With the enemy who has slain his brother, one should never have his sword to seek (to deal vengeance). With the enemy who has slain his intimate friend, one should not live in the same state (without seeking to slay him).

3. 11. Many ramparts in the country round and near (a capital) are a disgrace to its high ministers and great officers. Where the wide and open country is greatly neglected and uncultivated, it is a disgrace to the officers (in charge of it).

4. 12. When taking part in a sacrifice, one should not show indifference. 13. When sacrificial robes are worn out, they should be burnt: sacrificial vessels in

the same condition should be buried, as should the tortoiseshell and divining stalks, and a victim that has died. 14. All who take part with the ruler in a sacrifice must themselves remove the stands (of their offerings).

5. 15. When the ceremony of wailing is over, a son should no longer speak of his deceased father by his name. The rules do not require the avoiding of names merely similar in sound to those not to be spoken. When (a parent had) a double name, the avoiding of either term (used singly) is not required. 16. While his parents (are alive), and a son is able to serve them, he should not utter the names of his grandparents; when he can no longer serve his parents (through their death), he need not avoid the names of his grandparents. 17. Names that would not be spoken (in his own family) need not be avoided (by a great officer) before his ruler; in the great officer's, however, the names proper to be sup pressed by the ruler should not be spoken. 18. In (reading) the books of poetry and history, there need be no avoiding of names, nor in writing compositions. 19. In the ancestral temple there is no such avoiding. 20. Even in his presence, a minister need not avoid the names improper to be spoken by the ruler's wife. The names to be avoided by a wife need not be unspoken outside the door of the harem. The names of parties for whom mourning is worn (only) nine months or five months are not avoided. 21. When one is crossing the boundaries (of a state), he should ask what are its prohibitory laws; when he has fairly entered it, he should ask about its customs; before entering the door (of a house), he should ask about the names to be avoided in it.

6. 22. External undertakings should be commenced on the odd days, and internal on the even. 23. In all cases of divining about a day, whether by the tortoiseshell or the stalks, if it be beyond the decade, it is said, 'on such and such a distant day,' and if within the decade, 'on such and such a near day.' For matters of mourning a distant day is preferred; for festive matters a near day. 24. It is said, 'For the day we depend on thee, O great Tortoiseshell, which dost give the regular indications; we depend on you, O great Divining Stalks, which give the regular indications.' 25. Divination by the shell or the stalks should not go beyond three times. 26. The shell and the stalks should not be both used on the same subject. 27. Divination by the shell is called pû; by the stalks, shih. The two were the methods by which the ancient sage kings made the people believe in seasons and days, revere spiritual beings, stand in awe of their laws and orders; the methods (also) by which they made them determine their perplexities and settle their misgivings. Hence it is said, 'If you doubted, and have consulted the stalks, you need not (any longer) think that you will do wrong. If the day (be clearly indicated), boldly do on it (what you desire to do).'

7. 28. When the ruler's carriage is about to have the horses put to it, the driver should stand before them, whip in hand. 29. When they are yoked, he will inspect the linch pin, and report that the carriage is ready. 30. (Coming out again), he should shake the dust from his clothes, and mount on the right side, taking hold of the second strap. he should (then) kneel in the carriage. 31. Holding his whip, and taking the reins separately, he will drive the horses on five paces, and then sto. When the ruler comes out and approaches the carriage, the driver should take all the reins in one hand, and (with the other) hand the strap to him. The attendants should then retire out of the way. 33. They should follow quickly as the carriage drives on. When it reaches the great gate, the ruler will lay his hand on that of the driver (that he may drive gently), and, looking round, will order the warrior for the seat on the right to come into the carriage. In passing through the gates (of a city) or village, and crossing the water-channels, the pace must be reduced to a walk.

8. 34. In all cases it is the rule for the driver to hand the strap (to the person about to mount the carriage). If the driver be of lower rank (than himself) that other receives it. If this be not the case, he should not do so. 35. If the driver be of the lower rank, the other should (still) lay his own hand on his (as if to stop him). If this be not the case (and the driver will insist on handing it), the other should take hold of the strap below (the driver's hand).

9. 36. A guest's carriage does not enter the great gate; a woman does not stand up in her carriage dogs and horses are not taken up to the hall.

10. 37. Hence, the ruler bows forward to his cross-board to (an old man of) yellow hair; he dismounts (and walks on foot) past the places of his high nobles (in the audience court) . He does not gallop the horses of his carriage in the capital; and should bow forward on entering a village. 38. When called by the ruler's order, though through a man of low rank, a great officer, or (other) officer, must meet him in person, 39. A man in armour does not bow, he makes an obeisance indeed, but it is a restrained obeisance. 40, When the carriage of a deceased ruler is following at his interment, the place on the left should be vacant. When (any of his ministers on other occasions) are riding in (any of) the ruler's carriages, they do not presume to leave the seat on the left vacant, but he who occupies it should bend forward to the cross-board. 41. A charioteer driving a woman should keep his left hand advanced (with the reins in it), and his right hand behind him. 42. When driving the ruler of a state, (the charioteer) should have his right hand advanced, with the left kept behind and the head bent down. 43. The ruler of a state should not ride in a one-wheeled carriage. In his carriage one should not cough loudly, nor point with his hand in an irregular way. 44. Standing (in his carriage) one should look (forward only) to the distance of five

revolutions of the wheels. Bending forward, he should (do so only till he) sees the tails of the horses. He should not turn his head round beyond the (line of the) naves. 45. In the (streets of the) capital one should touch the horses gently with the brush-end of the switch. He should not urge them to their speed. The dust should not fly beyond the ruts. 46. The ruler of a state should bend towards the cross-board when he meets a sacrificial victim, and dismount (in passing) the ancestral temple. A great officer or (other) officer should descend (when he comes to) the ruler's gate, and bend forward to the ruler's horses. 47. (A minister) riding in one of the ruler's carriages must wear his court robes. He should have the whip in the carriage with him, (but not use it). He should not presume to have the strap handed to him. In his place on the left, he should bow forward to the cross-board. 48. (An officer) walking the ruler's horses should do so in the middle of the road. It he trample on their forage, he should be punished, and also if he look at their teeth, (and go on to calculate their age).

The original character denotes what is now used for 'pencils;' but the ordinary pencil had not yet been invented.

Some kind of water-bird.

A flock of geese maintains a regular order in flying, and was used to symbolise lines of chariots and horsemen. Khung Ying-tâ observes that chariots were used in the field before cavalry, and that the mention of horsemen here looks like the close of the Kin dynasty. One of the earliest instances of riding on horseback is in the Zo Kwan under the year B.C. 517.

'The Red Bird' was the name of the seven constellations of the southern quarter of the Zodiac; 'the Dark Warrior' embraced those of the northern; 'the Azure Dragon,' those of the eastern; and 'the Tiger,' those of the western. These flags would show the direction of the march, and seem to suggest that all heaven was watching the progress of the expedition.

As showing that they had not been able to keep invaders at a distance.

After the burial. Till then they would not allow themselves to think of the departed as dead.

As, in the first place, for uncles; and in the second, for cousins and grand-uncles.

The odd days are called 'strong,' as belonging to the category of yang; the even days 'weak,' as of the category of yin.

'A distant day' gave a longer period for cherishing the memory of the departed; 'a near day' was desired for festive celebrations, because at them the feeling of I respect' was supposed to predominate.

To reverse by the one the indication of the other.

In a carriage the ruler occupied the seat on the left side; the driver avoided this by mounting on the right side. Each carriage was furnished with two straps to assist in mounting; but the use of one was confined to the chief occupant.

But only till the ruler had taken his seat.

This spearman occupied the seat on the right; and took his place as they were about to pass out of the palace precincts.

That is, I suppose, he wishes the driver to let go the strap that he may take hold of it himself.

The carriage halted outside in testimony of the guest's respect. A man stood up in the carriage; a woman, as weaker, did not do so. For horses, see the rules in Part IV, 5. Dogs were too insignificant to be taken up.

We do not see the connexion indicated by the 'hence.'

Leaving the palace, he walks past those places to his carriage. Returning, he dismounts before he comes to them.

The first sentence of this paragraph has in the original only four characters; as P. Zottoli happily renders them in Latin, 'Fausti currus vacante sinistra;' but they form a complete sentence. The left seat was that of the ruler in life, and was now left vacant for his spirit. Khung Ying-tâ calls the carriage in question, 'the Soul Carriage' (hwan kü). A ruler had five different styles of carriage, all of which might be used on occasions of state; as in the second sentence.

The woman was on the driver's left, and they were thus turned from each other as much as possible.

Common so long ago as now, but considered as beneath a ruler's dignity. So, Wang Tâo. See also the Khang-hsî dictionary ### under (kî).

The text says that the ruler should dismount before a victim, and bow before the temple. The verbal characters have been misplaced, as is proved by a passage of the commentary on the Official Book of Kâu, where one part is quoted. The Khien-lung editors approve of the alteration made in the version above.

Section ii. Part I.

[This Part I contains thirty-three paragraphs, which have been arranged in sixteen chapters.

Ch. 1. 1-5, describes the manner of carrying things belonging to superiors, and standing before them. 2. 6, relates to the not calling certain parties by their names. 3. 7, 8, to designations of themselves to be avoided or used by certain other parties. 4. 9, prescribes modesty in answering questions. 5. 10, 11, gives rules about the practice of ceremonies in another state. 6. 12, is a rule for an orphan son. 7. 13, 14, is for a son in mourning for his father, and other points. 8.

15-17, describes certain offences to be punished, and things to be avoided in the palace; and in private. 9. 18, shows us a superior man in building, preparing for sacrifice and cognate matters; 10. 19-21, a great or other officer, leaving his own state to go to another, and in that other 22, 23, officers in interviews with one another and with rulers. 12. 24-26, gives the rules for the spring hunting; for bad years; and for the personal ornaments of a ruler, and the music of officers. 13. 27, is about the reply of an officer to a question of his ruler; 14. 28, about a great officer leaving his state on his own business. 15. 29, tells how parties entreat a ruler, and others, not to abandon the state. 16. 30-33, gives rules relating to the king: his appellations, designations of himself, &c.]

1. When a thing is carried with both hands, it should be held on a level with the heart; when with one hand, on a level with the girdle. 2. An article belonging to the son of Heaven should be held higher than the heart; one belonging to a ruler of a state, on a level with it; one belonging to a Great officer, lower than it; and one belonging to an (inferior) officer should be carried lower still. 3. When one is holding an article belonging to his lord, though it may be light, he should seem unable to sustain it. In the case of a piece of silk, or a rank-symbol of jade, square or round, he should keep his left hand over it. He should not lift his feet in walking, but trail his heels like the wheels of a carnage. 4. (A minister) should stand (with his back) curved in the manner of a sounding-stone, and his girdle-pendants hanging down. Where his lord has his pendants hanging at his side, his should be hanging down in front; where his lord has them hanging in front, his should descend to the ground. 5. When one is holding any symbol of jade (to present it), if it be on a mat, he leaves it so exposed; if there be no mat, he covers it with (the sleeve of) his outer robe.

2. 6. The ruler of a state should not call by their names his highest ministers, nor the two noble ladies of her surname, who accompanied his wife to the harem. A Great officer should not call in that way an officer who had been employed by his father, nor the niece and younger sister of his wife (members of his harem). (Another) officer should not call by name the steward of his family, nor his principal concubine.

3. 7. The son of a Great officer (of the king, him self equal to) a ruler, should not presume to speak of himself as ‘I, the little son. The son of a Great officer or (other) officer (of a state) should not presume to speak of himself as ‘I, the inheriting son, so-and-so.’ They should not so presume to speak of themselves as their heir-sons do. 8. When his ruler wishes an officer to take a place at an archery (meeting), and he is unable to do so, he should decline on the round of being, ill, and say, ‘I, so-and-so, am suffering from carrying firewood.’

4. 9. When one, in attendance on a superior man, replies to a question without looking round to see (if any other be going to answer), this is contrary to rule.

5. 10. A superior man, in his practice of ceremonies (in another state), should not seek to change his (old) customs. His ceremonies in sacrifice, his dress during the period of mourning, and his positions in the wailing and weeping, will all be according to the fashions of-his former (state). He will carefully study its rules, and carry them exactly into practice. 11. (But) if he (or his descendants) have been away from the state for three generations, and if his dignity and emoluments be (still) reckoned to him (or his representative) at the court, and his outgoings and incomings are announced to the state, and if his brothers or cousins and other members of his house be still there, he should (continue to) send back word about himself to the representative of his ancestor. (Even) after the three generations, if his dignity and emoluments be not reckoned to him in the court, and his outgoings and incomings are (no longer) announced in the state, it is only on the day of his elevation (to official rank) that he should follow the ways of his new state.

6. 12. A superior man, when left an orphan, will not change his name. Nor will he in such a case, if he suddenly become noble, frame an honorary title for his father.

7. 13. When occupied with the duties of mourning and before the interment of (a parent), (a son) should study the ceremonies of mourning, and after the interment, those of sacrifice. When the mourning is over, let him resume his usual ways, and study the pieces of music. 14. When occupied with the duties of mourning, one should not speak of music. When sacrificing, one should not speak of what is inauspicious. In the ruler’s court, parties should not speak of wives and daughters.

8. 15. For one to have to dust his (collection of). written tablets, or adjust them before the ruler, is a punishable offence; and so also is it to have the divining stalks turned upside down or the tortoiseshell turned on one side, before him. 16. One should not enter the ruler’s gate, (carrying with him) a tortoiseshell or divining stalks, a stool or a staff, mats or (sun-)shades, or having his upper and lower garments both of white or in a single robe of fine or coarse hempen cloth. Nor should he do so in rush sandals, or with the skirts of his lower garment tucked in at his waist, or in the cap worn in the shorter periods of mourning. Nor, unless announcement of it has been made (and permission given), can one take in the square tablets with the written (lists of articles for a funeral), or the frayed sackcloth, or the coffin and its furniture. 17. Public affairs should not be privately discussed.

9. 18. When a superior man, (high in rank), is about to engage in building, the ancestral temple should have his first attention, the stables and arsenal the next, and the residences the last. In all preparations of things by (the head of) a clan, the vessels of sacrifice should have the first place; the victims supplied from his revenue, the next; and the vessels for use at meals, the last. Those who have no revenue from lands do not provide vessels for sacrifice. Those who have such revenue first prepare their sacrificial dresses. A superior man,. though poor, will not sell his vessels of sacrifice; though suffering from cold, he will not wear his sacrificial robes; in building a house, he will not cut down the trees on his grave-mounds.

10. 19. A Great or other officer, leaving his state, should not take his vessels of sacrifice with him across the boundary. The former will leave his vessels for the time with another Great officer, and the latter his with another officer. 20. A Great or other officer, leaving his state, on crossing the boundary, should prepare a place for an altar, and wail there, looking in the direction of the state. He should wear his upper garment and lower, and his cap, all of white; remove his (ornamental) collar, wear shoes of untanned leather, have a covering of white (dog's-fur) for his cross-board, and leave his horses manes undressed. He should not trim his nails or beard, nor make an offering at his (spare) meals. He should not say to any one that he is not chargeable with guilt, nor have any of his women approach him. After three months he will return to his usual dress. 21. When a Great or other officer has an interview with the ruler of the state (to whom he has been sent), if the ruler be condoling with him on the toils of his journey, he should withdraw on one side to avoid (the honour), and then bow twice with his head to the ground. If the ruler meet him (outside the gate) and bow to him, he should withdraw on one side to avoid (the honour), and not presume to return the bow.

11. 22. When Great or other officers are having interviews with one another, though they may not be equal; in rank, if the host reverence (the greater worth of) the guest, he should first bow to him; and if the guest reverence the (greater worth of the) host, he should first bow. 23. In all cases but visits of condolence on occasion of a death, and seeing the ruler of one's state, the parties should be sure to return the bow, each of the other. When a Great officer has an interview with the ruler of (another) state, the ruler should bow in acknowledgment of the honour (of the message he brings); when an officer has an interview with a Great officer (of that state), the latter should bow to him in the same way. When two meet for the first time in their own state, (on the return of one from some mission), the other, as host, should bow in acknowledgment (of the service). A ruler does not bow to a (simple) officer; but if it be one of a different state, he

should bow to his bow. A Great officer should return the bow of any one of his officers, however mean may be his rank. Males and females do (? not) bow to one another.

12. 24. The ruler of a state, in the spring hunting, will not surround a marshy thicket, nor will Great officers try to surprise a whole herd, nor will (other) officers take young animals or eggs. 25. In bad years, when the grain of the season is not coming to maturity, the ruler at his meals will not make the (usual) offering of the lungs, nor will his horses be fed on grain. His special road will not be kept clean and swept, nor when at sacrifices will his musical instruments be suspended on their stands. Great officers will not eat thc large grained millet; and (other) officers will not have music (even) at their drinking. 26. Without some (sad) cause, a ruler will not let the gems (pendent from his girdle) leave his person, nor a Great officer remove his music-stand, nor an (inferior) officer his lutes.

13. 27. When an officer presents anything to the ruler of his state, and another day the ruler asks him, 'Where did you get that?' he will bow twice with his head to the ground, and afterwards reply.

14. 28. When a Great officer wishes to go beyond the boundaries (of the state) on private business, he must ask leave, and on his return must present some offering. An (inferior) officer in similar circumstances, must (also) ask leave, and when he comes back, must announce his return. If the ruler condole with them on their toils, they should bow. if he ask about their journey, they should bow, and afterwards reply.

15. 29. When the ruler of a state (is proposing to) leave it, they should (try to) stop him, saying, 'Why are you leaving the altars of the spirits of the land and grain?' (In the similar case of) a Great officer they should say, 'Why are you leaving your ancestral temple?' In that of an (inferior) officer, they should say, 'Why are you leaving the graves (of your ancestors)?' A ruler should die for his altars; a Great officer, with the host (he commands); an inferior officer, for his charge.

16. 30. As ruling over all, under the sky, (the king) is called 'The son of Heaven.' As receiving at court the feudal princes, assigning (to all) their different offices, giving out (the laws and ordinances of) the government, and employing the services of the able, he styles himself, 'I, the one man.' 31. When he ascends by the eastern steps, and presides at a sacrifice, if it be personal to himself and his family, his style is, 'I, so-and-so, the filial king;' if it be external to himself, 'I, so-and-so, the inheriting king.' When he visits the feudal princes, and sends to make announcement (of his presence) to the spirits (of their hills and streams), it is said, 'Here is he, so-and-so, who is king by (the grace of)

Heaven.' 32. His death is announced in the words, 'The king by (the grace of) Heaven has fallen.' In calling back (his spirit), they say, 'Return, O son of Heaven.' When announcement is made (to all the states) of the mourning for him, it is said, 'The king by (the grace of) Heaven has gone far on high.' When his place is given to him in the ancestral temple, and his spirit-tablet is set up, he is styled on it, 'the god.' 33. The son of Heaven, while he has not left off his mourning, calls himself, 'I, the little child.' While alive, he, is so styled; and if he die (during that time), he continues to be so designated.

The sounding-stone which the writer had in mind could not have been so curved as it is ordinarily represented to be in pictures, or the minister must have carried himself as Scott in his 'Fortunes of Nigel,' ch. 10, describes Andrew the Scrivener.

p. Zottoli translates this paragraph by.— 'Deferens gemmas, si eae habent sustentaculum, tunc apertam indues diploidem; si non habent sustentaculum, tunc clausam.' The text is not easily construed; and the commentaries, very diffuse,.are yet not clear.

When a feudal prince married, two other states, of the same surname as the bride, sent each a daughter or their ruling house to accompany her to the new harem. These are 'the noble ladies' intended here.

The bride (what we may call the three brides in the preceding note) was accompanied by a niece and a younger sister to the harem.

This would be the younger sister of the wife, called in the text the oldest concubine.'

So the young king styled himself during mourning.

The proper style for the orphan son of such officer was, 'I, the sorrowing son.'

Mencius on one occasion (I. ii. 2. 1) thus excused himself for not going to court. The son of a peasant or poor person might speak so; others, of higher position, adopted the style in mock humility.

The action of Dze-lû in Analects 9, 5. 4, is referred to as an instance in point of this violation of rule.

The 'superior man' here must be an officer, probably the head of a clan or family. Does not the spirit of this chapter still appear in the unwillingness of emigrants from China to forget their country's ways, and learn those of other countries?

The honorary title properly belonged to men of position, and was intended as a condensed expression of their character and deeds. A son in the position described would be in danger of styling his father from his own new standpoint.

These things indicated a want of due preparation and care.

All these things were, for various reasons, considered inauspicious.

A death had in this case occurred in the palace, and the things mentioned were. all necessary to prepare for the interment; but still they could not be taken in without permission asked and granted.

And expecting to return.

This is in case of exile.

The text says that they do bow to one another; but it is evident that Kang Khang-Khang understood it as saying the very opposite. Lû Teh-ming had seen a copy which had the character for ‘not.’

The offering here intended was to ‘the father of cookery;’ see the first note on . Such offering, under the Kâu dynasty, was of the lungs of the animal which formed the principal dish. It was not now offered, because it was not now on the ground, even the ruler not indulging himself in such a time of scarcity.

The road was left uncared for that vegetables might be grown on it, available to the poor at such a time.

The offering must have been rare and valuable. The officer had turned aside at the time of presenting it to avoid an), compliment from his ruler.

Meaning, ‘Heaven-sonned; constituted by Heaven its son, its firstborn.’

An expression of humility as used by himself, ‘I, who am but a man;’ as used of him, ‘He who is the one man.’

In the ancestral temple.

At the great sacrifices to Heaven and Earth.

On his tours of inspection.

A great landslip from a mountain is called pang, which I have rendered ‘has fallen.’ Like such a disaster was the death of the king.

This ancient practice of calling the dead back is still preserved in China; and by the people generally. There are many references to it in subsequent Books.

The body and animal soul went downward, and were in the grave; the intelligent soul (called ‘the soul and spirit,’ ‘the essential breath’) went far on high. Such is the philosophical account of death; more natural is the simple style of the text.

The spirit-tablet was a rectangular piece of wood, in the case of a king, a cubit and two inches long, supposed to be a resting-place for the spirit at the religious services in the temple. Mang says that the deceased king was now treated as ‘a heavenly spirit,’ — he was now deified. p. Zottoli translates the character here — Tî — by imperator; but there was in those times no ‘emperor’ in China.

Part ii.

[Part II consists of twenty-one paragraphs, which are distributed in eight chapters.

Ch 1, describes the members of the royal harem. 2. 2-6, relates to the various ministers and officers appointed by the king with their departments and duties. 3. 7-10, gives the names and titles, applied to, and used by, the chiefs of regions, provinces, and of the barbarous tribes. 4. 11-16, is about audiences, meetings, and covenants, and the designations of the princes and others in various circumstances. 5. 17, is about the demeanour of the king and others. 6. 18, 19, is about the inmates of the harems, and how they designated themselves. 7. 20, is about the practice of sons or daughters, and various officers, in designating themselves. 8. 21, is about certain things that should not be said of the king, of princes, and of superior men.

1. The son of Heaven has his queen, his helpmates, his women of family, and his ladies of honour. (These) constituted his wife and concubines.

2. 2. The son of Heaven appoints the officers of Heaven's institution, the precedence among them belonging to the six grandees: — the Grand-governor; the Grand-minister of the ancestral temple; the Grand-historiographer; the Grand-minister of prayers; the Grand-minister of justice; and the Grand-divine These are the guardians and superintendents of the six departments of the statutes. 3. The five (administrative) officers of the son of Heaven are: — the minister of instruction; the minister of war; the minister of works; the minister of offices; and the minister of crime. These preside over the multitude in (each of) their five charges. 4. The six treasuries of the son of Heaven are under the charge of the superintendent of the land; the superintendent of the woods; the superintendent of the waters; the superintendent of the grass; the superintendent of articles of employment; and the superintendent of wares. These preside over the six departments of their charges. 5. The six manufactures of the son of Heaven are under the care of (the superintendents of) the workers in earth; the workers in metal; the workers in stone; the workers in wood; the workers in (the skins of) animals; and the workers in twigs. These preside over the six departments of stores. 6. When the five officers give in their contributions, they are said to 'present their offerings.'

3. 7. Chief among the five officers are the presidents, to whom belong the oversight of quarters (of the kingdom). In any message from them transmitted to the son of Heaven, they are styled 'ministers of the son of Heaven.' If they are of the same surname as he, he styles them 'paternal uncles;' if of a different surname, 'maternal uncles.' To the feudal princes, they designate themselves, 'the ancients of the son of Heaven.' Outside (their own states), they are styled 'duke;' in their states, 'ruler.' 8. The head prince in each of the nine provinces,

on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled ‘pastor.’ If he be of the same surname as himself, the son of Heaven calls him ‘my paternal uncle;’ if he be of a different surname, ‘my maternal uncle.’ Outside(his own state) he is called ‘marquis;’ in it, ‘ruler,’ 9. The (chiefs) among (the wild tribes of) the Î on the east, the Tî on the north, the Zung on the west, and the Man on the south, however great (their territories), are called ‘counts.’ In his own territories each one calls himself. ‘the unworthy one;’ outside them, ‘the king’s ancient.’ 10. Any of the princelets of their various tracts, on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled, ‘Such and such a person.’ Outside it he is called ‘count,’ and calls himself ‘the solitary.’

4. 11. When the son of Heaven stands with his back to the screen with axe-head figures on it, and the princes present themselves before him with their faces to the north, this is called kin (the autumnal audience). When he stands at the (usual) point (of reception) between the door and the screen, and the dukes have their faces towards the east, and the, feudal princes theirs towards the west, this is called Khâo (the spring audience). 12. When feudal, princes see one another at a place and time not agreed on beforehand, the interview is called ‘a meeting.’ When they do so in some open place agreed on beforehand, it is called ‘an assembly.’

When one prince sends a great officer to ask about another, it is called ‘a message of friendly inquiry.’ When there is a binding to mutual faith, it is called ‘a solemn declaration.’ When they use a victim, it is called ‘a covenant.’ 13. When a feudal prince is about to be introduced to the son of Heaven, he is announced as ‘your subject so-and-so, prince of such-and-such a state.’ He speaks of himself to the people as ‘the man of little virtue.’ 14. If he be in mourning (for his father), he is styled ‘the rightful eldest son, an orphan;’ if he be taking part at a sacrifice in his ancestral temple, ‘the filial son, the prince of such-and-such a state, the prince so-and-so.’ If it be another sacrifice elsewhere, the style is, ‘so-and-so, prince of such-and-such a state, the distant descendant.’ 15. His death is described by the character hung (disappeared). In calling back (his spirit), they say, ‘Return, sir so-and-so.’ When he has been interred and (his son) is presented to the son of Heaven, the interview, (though special), is said to be ‘of the same kind as the usual interviews.’ The honorary title given to him is (also) said to be ‘after the usual fashion.’ 16. When one prince sends a message to another, the messenger speaks of himself as ‘the ancient of my poor ruler.’

5. 17. The demeanour of the son of Heaven should be characterised by majesty; of the princes, by gravity; of the Great officers, by a regulated composure; of (inferior) officers, by an easy alertness; and of the common people, by simplicity and humility.

6. 18. The partner of the son of Heaven is called ‘the queen;’ of a feudal prince, ‘the helpmate;’ of a Great officer, ‘the attendant;’ of an (inferior) officer, ‘the serving woman;’ and of a common man ‘ ‘the mate.’ 19. A duke and (one of) the feudal princes had their helpmate, and their honourable women, (which) were their mates and concubines. The helpmate called herself, before the son of Heaven, ‘the aged servant;’ and before the prince (of another state), ‘the small and unworthy ruler.’ To her own ruler she called herself ‘the small maid.’ From the honourable women downwards (each member of the harem) called herself ‘your handmaid.’

7. 20. To their parents, sons and daughters called themselves by their names. A Great officer any of the states, entering the state of the son Heaven, was called ‘the officer of such-and-such state)’ and styled himself ‘your subsidiary minister.’ Outside (his own state), he was called ‘sir;’ and in that state, ‘the ancient of our poor ruler.’ A messenger (to any state) called himself ‘so-and-so.’

8. 21. The son of Heaven should not be spoken of as ‘going out (of his state).’ A feudal prince should not be called by his name, while alive. (When either of these things is done), it is because the superior man will not show regard for wickedness. A prince who loses his territory is named, and also one who extinguishes (another state ruled by) lords of the same surname as himself.

See the very different translation of this paragraph by p. Zottoli in his Cursus, iii. . It is confessed out of place here, should belong to paragraph 18, and is otherwise incomplete.

So described, as ‘Powers that be ordained’ by the will of Heaven, equally with the king, though under him these grandees are not all in the Kâu Kwan.

Who are the five officers here? Those of paragraph 3? Or the feudal dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons? Both views have their advocates. The next paragraph favours the second view.

Such presidents were the dukes of Kâu and Shâo, at the commencement of the Kâu dynasty.

It is held, and I think correctly, that these princelets were the chiefs of the wild tribes.

There were other audiences called by different names at the other two seasons.

Here should come in paragraph 1.

All the states are his. Wherever he may flee, he is still in what is his own land.

This ‘superior man’ would be an upright and impartial historiographer, superior to the conventions of his order.

Part III.

[Part III contains twenty paragraphs, which may be comprised in eleven chapters.

Ch. 1. 1, 2, contains the rules for a minister and a son in remonstrating with a ruler or parent; and also in seeing about their medicine when ill. 2. 3, gives the rule in making comparisons. 3. 4, 5, gives the rules to be observed in asking about the age and wealth of different parties from the king downwards. 4. 6-10, is about sacrifices: those of different parties, the sacrificial names of different victims, &c. 5. 11, 12, gives the terms in which the deaths of different men, and of animals, are described. 6. 13, 14, gives the names of near relatives, when they are sacrificed to, and when they are alive. 7. 15, tells how different parties should look at others. 8. 16, 17, is about executing a ruler's orders, and things to be avoided in the conduct of business. 9. 18, is about great entertainments. 10. 19, is about presents of introduction. 11. 20, contains the language used in sending daughters to different harems.]

1. 1. According to the rules of propriety for a minister, he should not remonstrate with his ruler openly. If he have thrice remonstrated and is still not listened to, he should leave (his service). In the service of his parents by a son, if he have thrice remonstrated and is still not listened to, he should follow (his remonstrance) with loud crying and tears. 2. When a ruler is ill, and has to drink medicine, the minister first tastes it. The same is the rule for a son and an ailing parent. The physic of a doctor in whose family medicine has not been practised for three generations at least, should not be taken.

2. 3. In comparing (different) men, we can only do so when their (circumstances and conditions) are of the same class.

3. 4. When one asks about the years of the son of Heaven, the reply should be — 'I have heard that he has begun to wear a robe so many feet long.' To a similar question about the ruler of a state, the reply should be— 'He is able to attend to the services in the ancestral temple, and. at the altars of the spirits of the land and grain,' if he be grown up; and, if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to attend to the services in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the spirits of the land and grain.' To a question about the son of a Great officer, — the reply, if he be grown up, should be— 'He is able to drive;' and, if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to drive.' To a question about the son of an (ordinary) officer, the reply, if he be grown up, should be— 'He can manage the conveying of a salutation or a message;' and, if he be still young, 'He cannot yet manage such a thing.' To a question about the son of a common man, the reply, if he be grown up, should be— 'He is able to carry (a bundle of) firewood;' and, if he be

still young, ‘He is not yet able to carry (such a bundle).’ 5. When one asks about the wealth of the ruler of a state, the reply should be given by telling the extent of his territory, and the productions of its hills and lakes. To a similar question about a Great officer, it should be said, ‘He has the lands allotted to him, and is supported by the labour (of his people). He needs not to borrow the vessels or dresses for his sacrificial occasions.’ To the same question about an (ordinary) officer, the reply should be by giving the number of his carriages; and to one about a common man, by telling the number of the animals that he keeps.

4. 6. The son of Heaven sacrifices (or presents oblations) to Heaven and Earth; to the (spirits presiding over the) four quarters; to (the spirits of) the hills and rivers; and offers the five sacrifices of the house, — all in the course of the year. The feudal princes present oblations, each to (the spirit presiding over) his own quarter; to (the spirits of) its hills and rivers; and offer the five sacrifices of the house,-all in the course of the year. Great officers present the oblations of the five sacrifices of the house, — all in the course of the year. (Other) officers present oblations to their ancestors. 7. There should be no presuming to resume any sacrifice which has been abolished (by proper authority), nor to abolish any which has been so established. A sacrifice which it is not proper to offer, and which yet is offered, is called a licentious sacrifice. A licentious sacrifice brings no blessing. 8. The son of Heaven uses an ox of one colour, pure and unmixed; a feudal prince, a fatted ox; a Great officer, an ox selected for the occasion; an (ordinary) officer, a sheep or a pig. 9. The son of an inferior member of the harem cannot offer the sacrifice (to his grandfather or father); if (for some reason) he have to do so, he must report it to the honoured son, (the head of the family). 10. According to the ‘rules for all sacrifices in the ancestral temple, the ox is called ‘the creature with the large foot;’ the pig, ‘the hard bristles;’ a sucking-pig, ‘the fatling;’ a sheep, ‘the soft hair;’ a cock, ‘the loud voice;’ a dog, ‘the soup offering;’ a pheasant, ‘the wide toes;’ a hare, ‘the clear seer;’ the stalks of dried flesh, ‘the exactly cut oblations;’ dried fish, ‘the well-considered oblation;’ fresh fish, ‘the straight oblation.’ Water is called ‘the pure cleanser;’ spirits, ‘the clear cup;’ millet, ‘the fragrant mass;’ the large-grained millet, ‘the fragrant (grain);’ the sacrificial millet, ‘the bright grain;’ paddy, ‘the admirable vegetable;’ scallions, ‘the rich roots;’ salt, ‘the saline, briny substance;’ jade, ‘the admirable jade;’ and silks, ‘the exact silks.’

5. 11. The death of the son of Heaven is expressed by pang (has fallen); of a feudal prince, by hung (has crashed); of a Great officer, by zû (has ended); of an (ordinary) officer, by pû lû (is now unsalaried); and of a common man, by sze (has deceased). (The corpse) on the couch is called shih (the laid-out), when it is put into the coffin, that is called kiû (being in the long home). 12. (The death of)

a winged fowl is expressed by hsiang (has fallen down); that of a quadruped, by zhze (is disorganised). Death from an enemy in fight is called ping (is slain by the sword).

6. 13. In sacrificing to them, a grandfather is called ‘the sovereign grandfather;’ a grandmother,’ the sovereign grandmother;’ a father, ‘the sovereign father;’ a mother, ‘the sovereign mother; a husband, ‘the sovereign pattern.’ 14. While (they are) alive, the names of father (fû), mother (mû), and wife (khî) are used; when they are dead, those of ‘the completed one (khâo),’ ‘the corresponding one (pî),’ and ‘the honoured one (pin).’ Death in old age is called ‘a finished course (zû);’ an early death, ‘being unsalaried (pû lû).’

7. 15. The son of Heaven does not look at a person above his collar or below his girdle; the ruler of a state looks at him a little lower (than the collar); a Great officer, on a line with his heart; and an ordinary officer, not from beyond a distance of five paces. In all cases looks directed above to the face denote pride, and below the girdle grief; directed askance, they denote villainy.

8. 16. When the ruler orders (any special business) from a Great officer or (other) officer, he should assiduously discharge it; in their offices speaking (only) of the official business; in the treasury, of treasury business; in the arsenals, of arsenal business; and in the court, of court business. 17. At court there should be no speaking about dogs and horses. When the audience is over, and one looks about him, if he be not attracted by some strange thing, he must have strange thoughts in his mind. When one keeps looking about him after the business of the court is over, a superior man will pronounce him uncultivated. At court the conversation should be according to the rules of propriety; every question should be so proposed, and every answer so returned.

9. 18. For great entertainments there should be no consulting the tortoiseshell, and no great display of wealth.

10. 19. By way of presents of introduction, the son of Heaven uses spirits of black millet; feudal princes, their symbols of jade; a high minister, a lamb; a Great officer, a goose; an (ordinary) officer, a pheasant; a common man, a duck. Lads should bring their article, and withdraw. In the open country, in the army, they do not use such presents; — a tassel from a horse’s breast, an archer’s armlet, or an arrow may serve the purpose. For such presents women use the fruits of the hovenia dulcis, or of the hazel tree, strings of dried meat, jujube dates, and chestnuts.

11. 20. In presenting a daughter for (the harem of) the son of Heaven it is said, ‘This is to complete the providers of sons for you;’ for that of the ruler of a state, ‘This is to complete the providers of your spirits and sauces;’ for that of a

Great officer, ‘This is to complete the number of those who sprinkle and sweep for you.’

BOOK II. THE THAN KUNG.

[On the name and divisions of this Book, see the Introduction, pp., 17, 18.

Section I. Part I.

1. At the mourning rites for Kung-î Kung-dze, Than Kung (was there), wearing the mourning cincture for the head, Kung-dze had passed over his grandson, and appointed one of his (younger) sons as his successor (and head of the family). Than Kung said (to himself), 'How is this? I never heard of such a thing;' and he hurried to Dze-fû Po-dze at the right of the door, and said, ' How is it that Kung-dze passed over his grandson, and made a (younger) son his successor?' Po-dze replied, 'Kung-dze perhaps has done in this, like others, according to the way of antiquity. Anciently, king Wan passed over his eldest son Yî-khâo, and appointed king Wû; and the count of Wei passed over his grandson Tun, and made Yen, his (own) younger brother, his successor. Kung-dze perhaps did also in this according to the way of antiquity.' Dze-yû asked Confucius (about the matter), and he said, 'Nay, (the rule is to) appoint the grandson.'

2. In serving his father, (a son) should conceal (his faults), and not openly or strongly remonstrate with him about them; should in every possible way wait on and nourish him, without being tied to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and then complete the mourning for him for three' years. In serving his ruler, (a minister), should remonstrate with him openly and strongly (about his faults), and make no concealment (of them); should in every possible way wait on and nourish him, but according to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and should then wear mourning for him according to rule for three years. In serving his master, (a learner) should have nothing to do with openly reproving him or with concealing (his faults); should in every possible way wait upon and serve him, without being tied to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and mourn for him in heart for three years.

3. Kî Wû-dze had built a house, at the bottom of the western steps of which was the grave of the Tû family. (The head of that) asked leave to bury (some member of his house) in it, and leave was granted to him to do so. (Accordingly) he entered the house (with the coffin), but did not dare to wail (in the usual fashion). Wû-dze said to him, 'To bury in the same grave was not the way of antiquity. It was begun by the duke of Kâu, and has not been changed since. I

have granted you the great thing, and why should I not grant the less?' (With this) he ordered him to wail.

4. When Dze-shang's mother died, and he did not perform any mourning rites for her, the disciples of (his father) Dze-sze asked him, saying, 'Did your predecessor, the superior man, observe mourning for his divorced mother?' 'Yes,' was the reply. (And the disciples went on), 'Why do you not make Pâi also observe the mourning rites (for his mother)?' Dze-sze said, 'My progenitor, a superior man, never failed in pursuing the right path. When a generous course was possible, he took it and behaved generously; and when it was proper to restrain his generosity, he restrained it. But how can I attain to that? While she was my wife, she was Pâi's mother; but when she ceased to be my wife, she was no longer his mother.' It was in this way that the Khung family came not to observe mourning for a divorced mother; the practice began from Dze-Sze.

5. Confucius said, 'When (the mourner) bows to (the visitor), and then lays his forehead to the ground, this shows the predominance of courtesy. When he lays his forehead to the ground, and then bows (to his visitor), this shows the extreme degree of his sorrow. In the three years' mourning, I follow the extreme (demonstration).'

6. When Confucius had succeeded in burying (his mother) in the same grave (with his father) at Fang, he said, 'I have heard that the ancients made graves (only), and raised no mound over them. But I am a man, who will be (travelling) east, west, south, and north. I cannot do without something by which I can remember (the place).' On this, he (resolved to) raise a mound (over the grave) four feet high. He then first returned, leaving the disciples behind. A great rain came on; and when they rejoined him, he asked them what had made them so late. 'The earth slipped,' they said, 'from the grave at Fang.' They told him this thrice without his giving them any answer. He then wept freely, and said, 'I have heard that the ancients did not need to repair their graves.'

7. Confucius was wailing for Dze-lû in his courtyard. When any came to condole with him, he bowed to them. When the wailing was over, he made the messenger come in, and asked him all about (Dze-lû's death). 'They have made him into pickle,' said the messenger; and forthwith Confucius ordered the pickle (in the house) to be thrown away.

8. Zang-dze said, 'When the grass is old on the grave of a friend, we no (longer) wall for him.'

9. Dze-sze said, 'On the third day of mourning, when the body is put into the coffin, (a son) should exercise sincerity and good faith in regard to everything that is placed with it, so that there shall be no occasion for repentance. In the third month when the body is interred, he should do the same in regard to

everything that is placed with the coffin in the grave, and for the same reason. Three years are considered as the extreme limit of mourning; but though (his parents) are out of sight, a son does not forget them. Hence a superior man will have a lifelong grief, but not one morning's trouble (from without); and thus on the anniversary of a parent's death, he does not listen to music.'

10. Confucius, being quite young when he was left fatherless, did not know (his father's) grave. (Afterwards) he had (his mother's) body coffined in the street of Wû-fû. Those who saw it all thought that it was to be interred there, so carefully was (everything done), but it was (only) the coffining. By inquiring of the mother of Man-fû of Zâu, he succeeded in burying it in the same grave (with his father) at Fang.

11. When there are mourning rites in the neighbourhood, one should not accompany his pestle with his voice. When there is a body shrouded and coffined in his village, one should not sing in the lanes. For a mourning cap the ends of the ties should not hang down.

12. (In the time of Shun) of Yü they used earthenware coffins; under the sovereigns of Hsiâ, they surrounded these with an enclosure of bricks. The people of Yin used wooden coffins, the outer and inner. They of Kâu added the surrounding curtains and the feathery ornaments. The people of Kâu buried those who died between 16 and 19 in the coffins of Yin; those who died between 12 and 15 or between 8 and 11 in the brick enclosures of Hsiâ; and those who died (still younger), for whom no mourning is worn, in the earthenware enclosures of the time of the lord of Yü.

13. Under the sovereigns of Hsiâ they preferred what was black. On great occasions (of mourning), for preparing the body and putting it into the coffin, they used the dusk; for the business of war, they used black horses in their chariots; and the victims which they used were black. Under the Yin dynasty they preferred what was white. On occasions of mourning, for coffining the body, they used the midday; for the business of war they used white horses; and their victims were white. Under the Kâu dynasty they preferred what was -red. On occasions of mourning, they coffined the body at sunrise; for the business of war they used red horses, with black manes and tails; and their victims were red.

14. When the mother of duke Mû of Lû died, he sent to ask Zang-dze what (ceremonies) he should observe. Zang-dze said, 'I have heard from my father that the sorrow declared in the weeping and wailing, the feelings expressed in the robe of sackcloth with even or with frayed edges, and the food of rice made thick or in congee, extend from the son of Heaven to all. But the tent-like covering (for the coffin) is of (linen) cloth in Wei, and of silk in Lû.'

15. Duke Hsien of Sin, intending to put to death his heir-son Shan-shang, another son, Khung-r, said to the latter, ‘Why should you not tell what is in your mind to the duke?’ The heir-son said, ‘I cannot do so. The ruler is happy with the lady Kî of Lî. I should (only) wound his heart.’ ‘Then,’ continued the other, ‘Why not go away?’ The heir son replied, ‘I cannot do so. The ruler says that I wish to murder him. Is there any state where the (sacredness) of a father is not recognised? Where should I go to obviate this charge?’ (At the same time) he sent a man to take leave (for him) of Hû Tû, with the message, ‘I was wrong in not thinking (more) of your words, my old friend, and that neglect is occasioning my death. Though I do not presume to grudge dying, yet our ruler is old, and his (favourite) son is (quite) young. Many difficulties are threatening the state, and you, old Sir, do not come forth (from your retirement), and consult for (the good of) our ruler. If you will come forth and do this, I will die (with the feeling that I) have received a (great) favour from you.’ He (then) bowed twice, laying his head to the ground, after which he died (by his own hand). On this account he became (known in history as)’the Reverential Heir-son’.’

16. There was a man of La, who, after performing in the morning the ceremony which introduced the 25th month of his mourning, began to sing in the evening. Dze-lû laughed at him, (but) the Master said, ‘Yû, will you never have done with your finding fault with people? The mourning for three years is indeed long.’ When Dze-lû went out, the Master said, ‘Would he still have had to wait long? In another month (he might have sung, and) it would have been well.’

17. Duke Kwang of Lû fought a battle with the men of Sung at Shang-khiû. Hsien Pan-fû was driving, and Pû Kwo was spearman on the right. The horses got frightened, and the carriage was broken, so that the duke fell down. They handed the strap of a relief chariot (that drove up) to him, when he said, ‘I did not consult the tortoise-shell (about the movement).’ Hsien Pân-fû said, ‘On no other occasion did such a disaster occur; that it has occurred to-day is owing to my want of courage. Forthwith he died (in the fight). When the groom was bathing the horses, a random arrow was found (in one of them), sticking in the flesh under the flank; and (on learning this), the duke said, ‘It was not his fault; and he conferred on him an honorary name. The practice of giving such names to (ordinary) officers began from this.

18. Zang-dze was lying in his chamber very ill. Yo-kang Dze-khun was sitting by the side of the couch; Zang Yüan and Zang Shan were sitting at (their father’s) feet; and there was a lad sitting in a corner holding a torch, who said, ‘How beautifully coloured and bright! Is it not the mat of a Great officer?’ Dze-khun (tried to) stop him, but Zang-dze had heard him, and in a tone of alarm called him, when he repeated what he had said. ‘Yes,’ said Zang-dze, ‘it was the

gift of Kî-sun, and I have not been able to change it. Get up, Yüan, and change the mat.' Zang Yüan said, 'Your illness is extreme. It cannot now be changed. If you happily survive till the morning, I will ask your leave and reverently change it! Zang-dze said, 'Your love of me is not equal to his. A superior man loves another on grounds of virtue; a little man's love of another is seen in his indulgence of him. What do I seek for? I want for nothing but to die in the correct way.' They then raised him up, and changed the mat. When he was replaced on the new one, before he could compose himself, he expired.

19. When (a father) has just died, (the son) should appear quite overcome, and as if he were at his wits' end; when the corpse has been put into the coffin, he should cast quick and sorrowful glances around, as if he were seeking for something and could not find it; when the interment has taken place, he should look alarmed and. restless, as if he were looking for some one who does not arrive; at the end of the first year's mourning, he should look sad and disappointed; and at the end of the second year's, he should have a vague and unreliant look.

20. The practice in Kû-lü of calling the (spirits of the dead) back with arrows took its rise from the battle of Shang-hsing. That in Lû of the women making their visits of condolence (simply) with a band of sackcloth round their hair took its rise from the defeat at Ha-thâi.

21. At the mourning for her mother-in-law, the Master instructed (his niece), the wife of Nan-kung Thâo, about the way in which she should tie up her hair with sackcloth, saying, 'Do not make it very high, nor very broad. Have the hair-pin of hazel-wood, and the hair-knots (hanging down) eight inches.'

22. Mang Hsien-dze, after the service which ended the mourning rites, had his instruments of music hung on their stands,. but did not use them; and when he might have approached the inmates of his harem, he did not enter it. The Master said, 'Hsien-dze is a degree above other men.'

23. Confucius, after the service at the close of the one year's mourning, in five days more (began to) handle his lute, but brought no perfect sounds from it; in ten days he played on the organ and sang to it.

24. Yû-dze, it appears, after the service of the same period of mourning, wore shoes of (white) silk, and had ribbons of (white) silk for his cap-strings.

25. There are three deaths on which no condolence should be offered: — from cowardice; from being crushed (through heedlessness); and from drowning.

26. When Dze-lû might have ended his mourning for his eldest sister, he still did not do so. Confucius said to him, 'Why do you not leave off your mourning?' He replied, 'I have but few brothers, and I cannot bear to do so.' Confucius said, 'When the ancient kings framed their rules, (they might have

said that) they could not bear (to cease mourning) even for (ordinary) men on the roads.' When Dze-lû heard this, he forthwith left off his mourning.

27. Thâi-kung was invested with his state, (and had his capital) in Ying-khiû; but for five generations (his descendants, the marquises of Khî) were all taken back and buried in Kâu. A superior man has said, 'For music, we use that of him from whom we sprang; in ceremonies, we do not forget him to whom we trace our root.' The ancients had a saying, that a fox, when dying, adjusts its head in the direction of the mound (where it was whelped); manifesting thereby (how it shares in the feeling of) humanity.

28. When the mother of Po-yü died, he kept on wailing for her after the year. Confucius heard him, and said, 'Who is it that is thus wailing?' The disciples said, 'It is Lî.' The Master said, 'Ah! (such a demonstration) is excessive.' When Po-yü heard it, he forthwith gave up wailing.

29. Shun was buried in the wilderness of Zhang-wû, and it would thus appear that the three ladies of his harem were not buried in the same grave with him. Kî Wû-dze said, 'Burying (husband and wife) in the same grave appears to have originated with the duke of Kâu.'

Important as showing the rule of succession to position and property. We must suppose that the younger son, who had been made the head of the family, was by a different mother, and one whose position was inferior to that of the son, the proper heir who was dead. Of course the succession should have descended in the line of the rightful heir. Po-dze evaded the point of Than Kung's question; but Confucius did not hesitate to speak out the truth. On other matters which the paragraph might suggest we need not enter.

On differences in the services rendered to a parent, a ruler, and a master or instructor.

This Wû-dze was a great-grandson of Kî Yû, the third son (by an inferior wife) of duke Kwang of Lû (B.C. 693-662), and the ancestor of the. Ki-sun, one of the three famous families of U. It would appear that he had appropriated to himself the burying ground of the Tû family.

Dze-shang, by name, Pâi, was the son of Dze-sze, and great-grandson of Confucius. What is related here is important as bearing on the question whether Confucius divorced his wife or not. If I am correct in translating the original text by 'your predecessor, the superior man,' in the singular and not in the plural, and supposing that it refers to Confucius, the paragraph has been erroneously supposed to favour the view that he did divorce his wife.

In the former case the mourner first thought of his visitor; in the latter, of his dead and his own loss. The bow was made with the hands clasped, and held very low, the head being bowed down to them. They were then opened, and placed

forward on the ground, on each side of the body, while the head was stretched forward between them, and the forehead made to touch the ground. In the second case the process was reversed.

Dze-lû had died in peculiar circumstances in the state of Wei, through his hasty boldness, in B.C. 480. It was according to rule that the Master should wail for him. The order about the pickled meat was natural in the circumstances.

The characters in the text imply that a year had passed since the friend's death.

The graveclothes and coverlet. The things placed in the grave with the coffin were many, and will by-and-by come before the reader at length.

This paragraph is generally discredited. The Khien-lung editors say it is not to be relied on.

These two rules are in Book I, i. Pt. iv, 43, page 89.

In a still earlier time, according to the third Appendix of the Yî (vol. xvi,), they merely covered the body on the ground with faggots.

Duke Mû was marquis of Lû from B.C. 409 to 376.

This was not the disciple of Confucius, but his son, also named Shin like him; but the characters for the names are different.

The marquis of Zin, who is known to us as duke Hsien, ruled from B.C. 676 to 651. Infatuated by his love for a barbarian captive from among the Lî, he behaved recklessly and unnaturally to his children already grown up. One very tragical event is the subject of this paragraph.

The text would seem to say here that the army of the duke was defeated; but the victory was with the duke. See the Zo Kwan, under B.C. 684, and there was a different reading, to which Lû Teh-ming refers on the passage, that leaves us free to translate as I have done.

See , par. 32; , par. 15; and often, farther on.

In B.C. 638. See the Zo Kwan of that year.

See in the Zo Kwan, under B.C. 569.

This must have been the Nan Yung of the Analects, V, 1, 2.

The sacrificial service on the final putting off of the mourning dress; and to which reference is here made, was called than (###). It will come several times before us hereafter. It is celebrated at the end of the 'three years' mourning' for a parent; that is, at the end of twenty-seven months from the death: see the Introduction, . Wang Sû of the Wei dynasty contended that the mourning was put off at the end of twenty-five months, and the editors of the Khang-hsî dictionary rather approve of his decision: see their note under the character than. I do not think the controversy as to the exact time when the mourning ceased can

be entirely cleared up. Confucius praised Hsien-dze, because he could not forget his grief, when the outward sign of it was put off.

The sacrificial service here is called by a different name from than; it is hsiang (###); and in mourning for parents there was 'the small hsiang,' at the end of the first year, and 'the great hsiang,' at the end of the second. The character here probably denotes the mourning for one year, which is not continued beyond that time. Music was not used during any of the period of mourning; and it is doing violence to the text to take hsiang here as equivalent to than.

In condemnation of Yû-dze (see Analects, 1, 2), as quick to forget his grief.

The third death here must be supplemented, as I have done the second.

Compare paragraph 4, and the note on it. Lî, designated Po-yü, was the son of Confucius, and it has been supposed that his mother had been divorced, so that his protracted wailing for her gave occasion to the rebuke of his father. But while his father was alive, a son did not wail for his mother beyond the year. The passage does not prove that Confucius had divorced his wife, but the contrary; though he might have shown more sympathy with his son's sorrow.

From the first part of the Shû King we know that Shun married the two daughters of Yao. The mention of 'three' wives here has greatly perplexed the commentators. Where Zhang-wû was is also much disputed.

Part ii.

1. At the mourning rites for Zang-dze, his body was washed in the cook-room.

2. During the mourning for nine months one should suspend his (musical) studies. Some one has said, 'It is permissible during that time to croon over the words (of the pieces).'

3. When Dze-kang was ill, he called (his son), Shan-hsiang, and addressed him, saying, 'We speak of the end of a superior man, and of the death of a small man. I am to-day, perhaps, drawing near to my end (as a superior man).'

4. Zang-dze said, 'May not what remains in the cupboard suffice to set down (as the offerings) by (the corpse of) one who has just died?'

5. Zang-dze said, 'Not to have places (for wailing) in cases of the five months' mourning is a rule which sprang from the ways in small lanes.' When, Dze-sze wailed for his sister-in-law, he made such places, and his wife took the lead in the stamping. When Shan-hsiang wailed for Yen-sze, he also did the same.

6. Anciently, (all) caps were (made) with the seams going up and down them; now the (mourning cap) is made with the seams going round. Hence to have the

mourning cap different from that worn on felicitous occasions is not the way of antiquity.

7. Zang-dze said to Dze-sze, ‘Khî, when I was engaged in the mourning for my parents, no water or other liquid entered my mouth for seven days.’ Sze-sze said, ‘With regard to the rules of ceremony framed by the ancient kings, those who would go beyond them should stoop down to them, and those who do not reach them should stand on tip-toe to do so. Hence, when a superior man is engaged in mourning for his parents, no water or other liquid enters his mouth for three days, and with the aid of his staff he is still able to rise.’

8. Zang-dze said, ‘If, in cases coming under the five months’ mourning, none be worn when the death is not heard of till after the lapse of that time, then when brethren are far apart there would be no wearing of mourning for them at all; and would this be right?’

9. On the mourning rites for Po-kâo, before the messenger from Confucius could arrive, Zan-dze had taken it on him, as his substitute, to present a parcel of silks and a team of four horses. Confucius said, ‘Strange! He has only made me fail in showing my sincerity in the case of Po-kâo.’

10. Po-kâo died in Wei, and news of the event was sent to Confucius. He said, ‘Where shall I wail for him? For brethren, I wail in the ancestral temple; for a friend of my father, outside the gate of the temple; for a teacher, in my chamber; for a friend, outside the door of the chamber; for an acquaintance, in the open country, (some distance off). (To wail) in the open country would in this case be too slight (an expression of grief), and to do so in the bed-chamber would be too great a one. But it was by Zhze that he was introduced to me. I will wail for him in Zhze’s.’ Accordingly he ordered Dze-kung to act as presiding mourner on the occasion, saying to him, ‘Bow to those who come because you have a wailing in your house, but do not bow to those who come (simply) because they knew Po-kâo.’

11. Zang-dze said, ‘When one during his mourning rites falls ill, and has to eat meat and drink spirits, there must be added the strengthening flavours from vegetables and trees;’ meaning thereby ginger and cinnamon.

12. When Dze-hsiâ was mourning for his son, he lost his eyesight. Zang-dze went to condole with him, and said, ‘I have heard that when a friend loses his eyesight, we should wail for him.’ Thereupon he wailed, and Dze-hsiâ also wailed, and said, ‘O Heaven, and I have no guilt!’ Zan-dze was angry, and said, ‘Shang, how can you say that you have no guilt?’

‘I and you served the Master between the Kû and the Sze’; and (after his death) you retired, and grew old in the neighbourhood of the Western Ho, where you made the people compare you with the Master. This was one offence.

‘When you mourned for your parents, you did so in such a way that the people heard nothing of it. This was a second offence.

‘When you mourned for your son, you did it in such a way that you have lost your eyesight. This is a third offence. And how do you say that you have no guilt?’

Dze-hsiâ threw down his staff, and bowed, saying, ‘I was wrong, I was wrong. It is a long time since I left the herd, and lived apart here.’

13. When a man stops during the daytime in his inner (chamber), it is allowable to come and ask about his illness. When he stops outside during the night, it is allowable to come and condole with him. Hence a superior man, except for some great cause, does not pass the night outside (his chamber); and unless he is carrying out a fast or is ill, he does not day and night stop inside.

14. When Kâo Dze-kâo was engaged with the mourning for his parents, his tears flowed (silently) like blood for three years, and he never (laughed) so as to show his teeth. Superior men considered that he did a difficult thing.

15. It is better not to wear mourning at all than not to have it of the proper materials and fashion. When wearing the sackcloth with the edges even (for a mother), one should not sit unevenly or to one side, nor should he do any toilsome labour, (even) in the nine months’ mourning.

16. When Confucius went to Wei, he found the mourning rites going on for a man with whom he had formerly lodged. Entering the house, he wailed for him bitterly; and when he came out, he told Dze-kung to take out the outside horses of his carriage, and present them as his gift. Dze-kung said, ‘At the mourning for any of your disciples, you have never taken out those horses (for such a purpose); is it not excessive to do so for a man with whom you (merely) lodged?’ The Master said, ‘I entered a little ago, and wailed for him; and I found (the mourner) so dissolved in grief that my tears flowed (with his). I should hate it, if those tears were not (properly) followed. Do it, my child.’

17. When Confucius was in Wei, there was (a son) following his (father’s) coffin to the grave. After Confucius had looked at him, he said, ‘How admirably did he manage this mourning rite! He is fit to be a pattern. Remember it, my little children.’ Dze-kung said, ‘What did you, Master, see in him so admirable?’ ‘He went,’ was the reply, ‘as if he were full of eager affection. He came back (looking) as if he were in doubt.’ ‘Would it not have been better, if he had come back hastily, to present the offering of repose?’ The Master said, ‘Remember it, my children. I have not been able to attain to it.’

18. At the mourning rites for Yen Yüan, some of the flesh of the sacrifice at the end of (? two) years was sent to Confucius, who went out and received it, On re-entering he played on his lute, and afterwards ate it.

19. Confucius was standing (once) with his disciples, having his hands joined across his breast, and the right hand uppermost. They also all placed their right hands uppermost. He said to them, ‘You do so from your wish to imitate me, but I place my hands so, because I am mourning for an elder sister.’ On this they all placed their left hands uppermost (according to the usual fashion).

20. Confucius rose early (one day), and with his hands behind him, and trailing his staff, moved slowly about near the door, singing —

The great mountain must crumble;

The strong beam must break;

The wise man must wither away like a plant.’

Having thus sung, he entered and sat down opposite the door. Dze-kung had heard him, and said, ‘If the great mountain crumble, to what shall I look up? If the strong beam break, (on what shall I lean)? If the wise man wither like a plant, whom, shall I imitate? The Master, I am afraid, is going to be ill.’ He then hastened into the house. The Master said, Zhze, what makes you so late? Under the sovereigns of Hsiâ, the body was dressed and coffined at the top of the steps on the east, so that it was where the deceased used to go up (as master of the house). The people of Yin performed the same ceremony between the two pillars, so that the steps for the host were on one side of the corpse, and those for the guest on the other. The people of Kâu perform it at the top of the western steps, treating the deceased as if he were a guest. I am a man (descended from the house) of Yin, and last night I dreamt that I was sitting with the offerings to the dead by my side between the two pillars. Intelligent kings do not arise; and what one under heaven s able to take me as his Master? I apprehend I am about to die.’ With this he took to his bed, was ill for seven days, and died.

21. At the mourning rites for Confucius, the disciples were in perplexity as to what dress they should wear. Dze-kung said, ‘Formerly, when the Master was mourning for Yen Yüan, he acted in other respects as if he were mourning for a son, but wore no mourning dress. He did the same in the case of Dze-lû. Let us mourn for the Master, as if we were mourning for a father, but wear no mourning dress.’

22. At the mourning for Confucius, Kung-hsî Khih made the ornaments of commemoration. As the adornments of the coffin, there -were the wall-like curtains, the fan-like screens, and the cords at its sides, after the manner of Kâu. There were the flags with their toothed edges, after the manner of Yin; and there were the flag-staffs bound with white silk, and long streamers pendent from them, after the manner of Hsiâ.

23. At the mourning for Dze-kang, Kung-ming made the ornaments of commemoration. There was a tent-like pall, made of plain silk of a carnation

colour, with clusters of ants at the four corners, (as if he had been) an officer of Yin.

24. Dze-hsiâ asked Confucius, saying, ‘How should (a son) conduct himself with reference to the man who has killed his father or mother?’ The Master said, ‘He should sleep on straw, with his shield for a pillow; he should not take office; he must be determined not to live with the slayer under the same heaven. If he meet with him in the marketplace or the court, he should not have to go back for his weapon, but (instantly) fight with him.’

‘Allow me to ask,’ said (the other), ‘how one should do with reference to the man who has slain his brother?’ ‘He may take office,’ was the reply, ‘but not in the same state with the slayer; if he be sent on a mission by his ruler’s orders, though he may then meet with the man, he should not fight with him.’

‘And how should one do,’ continued Dze-hsiâ, ‘in the case of a man who has slain one of his paternal cousins?’ Confucius said, ‘He should not take the lead (in the avenging). If he whom it chiefly concerns is able to do that, he should support him from behind, with his weapon in his hand.’

25. At the mourning rites for Confucius, his disciples all wore their headbands of sackcloth, when they went out. For one of their own number, they wore them in the house (when condoling), but not when they went out.

26. Keeping (the ground about) their graves clear of grass was not a practice of antiquity.

27. Dze-lû said, ‘I heard the Master say that in the rites of mourning, exceeding grief with deficient rites is better than little demonstration of grief with superabounding rites; and that in those of sacrifice, exceeding reverence with deficient rites is better than an excess of rites with but little reverence.’

28. Zang-dze having gone on a visit of condolence to Fû-hsiâ, the chief mourner had already presented the sacrifice of departure, and removed the offerings. He caused the bier, however, to be pushed back to its former place, and made the women come down (again), after which (the visitor) went through his ceremony. The disciples who accompanied Zang-dze asked him if this proceeding were according to rule, and he said, ‘The sacrifice at starting is an unimportant matter, And why might he not bring (the bier) back, and ‘let it rest (for a while)?’

The disciples further asked the same question of Dze-yû, who said, ‘The rice and precious shell are put into the mouth of the corpse under the window (of the western chamber); the slighter dressing is done inside the door, and the more complete one at (the top of) the eastern steps; the coffining takes place at the guests’ place; the sacrifice at starting in the courtyard; and the interment at the grave. The proceedings go on in this way to what is more remote, and hence in

the details of mourning there is a constant advance and no receding.' When Zang-dze heard of this reply, he said, 'This is a much better account than I gave of the going forth to offer the sacrifice of departure.'

29. Zang-dze went an a visit of condolence, wearing his fur robe over the silk one, while Dze-yû went, wearing the silk one over his fur. Zang-dze, pointing to him, and calling the attention of others, said, 'That man has the reputation of being well versed in ceremonies, how is it that he comes to condole with his silk robe displayed over his fur one?' (By-and-by), when the chief mourner had finished the slighter dressing of the corpse, he bared his breast and tied up his hair with sackcloth, on which Dze-yû hastened out, and (soon) came back, wearing his fur robe over the silk, and with a girdle of sackcloth. Zang-dze on this said, 'I was wrong, I was wrong. That man was right.'

20. When Dze-hsiâ was introduced (to the Master) after he had put off the mourning (for his parents), a lute was given to him. He tried to tune it, but could hardly do so; he touched it, but brought no melody from it. He rose up and said, 'I have not yet forgotten my grief. The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I dare not go beyond them?' When a lute was given to Dze-kang in the same circumstances, he tried to tune it, and easily did so; he touched it, and brought melody from it. He rose up and said, 'The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I do not dare not to come up to them.'

31. At the mourning rites for Hui-dze, who had been minister of Crime, Dze-yû (went to condole), wearing for him a robe of sackcloth, and a headband made of the product of the male plant. Wan-dze (the brother of Hui-dze), wishing to decline the honour, said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now further condescend to wear this mourning; I venture to decline the honour.' Dze-yû said, 'It is in, rule;' on which Wan-dze returned and continued his wailing. Dze-yû then hastened and took his place among the officers (of the family); but Wan-dze also declined this honour, and said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now further condescend to wear for him this mourning, and to come and take part in the mourning rites I venture to decline the honour.' Dze-yû said, 'I beg firmly to request you to allow me (to remain here).'

Wan-dze then returned, and supporting the rightful son to take his position with his face to the south, said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now you further condescend to wear this mourning for him, and to come and take part in the rites; dare Hû but return to his (proper) place?' Dze-yû on this hastened to take his position among the guests'.

32. At the mourning rites for the general Wan-dze, when the first year's mourning was at an end, there came a man from Yüeh on a visit of condolence.

The chief mourner, wearing the long robe (assumed on the completion of the first year's mourning), and the cap worn before that, wailed for him in the ancestral temple, with the tears running from his eyes and the rheum from his nose. Dze-yû saw it, and said, 'The son of the general Wan is not far from being (a master of ceremonies). In his observances at this time, for which there is no special rule, his proceeding is correct.'

33. The giving of the name in childhood, of the designation at the capping, of the title of elder uncle or younger uncle at fifty, and of the honorary title after death, was the practice of the Kâu dynasty.

The wearing of the sackcloth headbands and girdles, to express the real (feeling of the heart); the digging a hole in the middle of the apartment (over which) to wash (the corpse); taking down the (tiles of the) furnace, and placing them at the feet (of it); and at the interment pulling down (part of the wall on the west of the door of) the ancestral temple, so as to pass by the upper side (of the altar to the spirit) of the way, and issue by the great gate; — these were the practices of the Yin dynasty, and the learners (in the school of Confucius) followed them.

34. When the mother of Dze-liû died, (his younger brother) Dze-shih asked for the means (to provide what was necessary for the mourning rites). Dze-liû said, 'How shall we get them?' 'Let us sell (the concubines), the mothers of our half-brothers,' said the other. 'How can we sell the mothers of other men to bury our mother?' was the reply; 'that cannot be done.'

After the burial, Dze-shih wished to take what remained of the money and other things contributed towards their expenses, to provide sacrificial vessels; but Dze-liû said, 'Neither can that be done. I have heard that a superior man will not enrich his family by means of his mourning. Let us distribute it among the poor of our brethren.'

35. A superior man said, 'He who has given counsel to another about his army should die with it when it is defeated. He who has given counsel about the country or its capital should perish with it when it comes into peril.'

36. Kung-shû Wan-dze ascended the mound of Hsiâ, with, Kü Po-yü following him. Wan-dze said, 'How pleasant is this mound! I should like to be buried here when I die.' Kü Po-yü said, 'You may find pleasure in such a thought, but allow me (to go home) before (you say any more about it)

37. There was a man of Pien who wept like a child on the death of his mother. Confucius said, 'This is grief indeed, but it would be difficult to continue it. Now the rules of ceremony require to be handed down, and to be perpetuated. Hence the wailing and leaping are subject to fixed regulations.'

38. When the mother of Shu-sun Wû-shû died, and the slighter dressing had been completed, the bearers went out at the door (of the apartment) with the corpse. When he had himself gone out at the door, he bared his arms, throwing down also his cap, and binding his hair with sackcloth, Dze-yû said (in derision), 'He knows the rules!'

39. (When a ruler was ill), the high chamberlain supported him on the right, and the assigner of positions at audiences did so on the left. When he died these two officers lifted (the corpse).

40. There are the husband of a maternal cousin and the wife of a maternal uncle;-that these two should wear mourning for each other has not been said by any superior man. Some one says, 'If they have eaten together from the same fireplace, the three months' mourning should be worn.'

41. It is desirable that affairs of mourning should be gone about with urgency, and festive affairs in a leisurely way. Hence, though affairs of mourning require urgency, they should not go beyond the prescribed rules; and though festive affairs may be delayed, they should not be transacted negligently. Hurry therefore (in the former) becomes rudeness, and too much ease (in the latter) shows a small man. The superior man will conduct himself in them as they severally require.

42. A superior man is ashamed to prepare (beforehand) all that he may require in discharging his mourning rites. What can be made in one or two days, he does not prepare (beforehand).

43. The mourning worn for the son of a brother should be the same as for one's own son: the object being to bring him still nearer to one's self. An elder brother's wife and his younger brother do not wear mourning for each other: the object being to maintain the distance between them. Slight mourning is worn for an aunt, and an elder or younger sister, (when they have been married); the reason being that there are those who received them from us, and will render to them the full measure of observance.

The proper place for the operation was the principal chamber. There is only conjecture to account for the different place in the case of Zang-dze.

In relationships of the third degree: as by a man for a married aunt or sister, a brother's wife, a first cousin, &c.; by a wife, for her husband's grandparents, uncles, &c.; by a married woman, for her uncle and uncle's wife, a spinster aunt, brothers, sisters, &c. See Appendix at the end of this Book.

In relationships of the fourth degree: as by a man for his granduncle and his wife, a spinster grandaunt, a second cousin, &c.; by a wife for her husband's aunt, brother or sister, &c.; by a married woman, for her spinster aunt, married sister, &c. See Appendix.

This paragraph does not seem to contain any lessons of censure or approval, but simply to relate a fact.

We know almost nothing of the Po-kâo (the eldest son, Kâo) here. From the next paragraph it does not appear that his intimacy with Confucius had been great. Zan-dze had taken too much on himself. Perhaps the gift was too great, and sympathy cannot well be expressed by proxy. The parcel of silks contained five pieces.

These were two streams of Lû, near which was the home of Confucius. I thought of this passage when I crossed at least one of them on my way to Khü-fû, 'the city of Confucius,' about twelve years ago.

'A great cause:' — such as danger from enemies, or death and the consequent mourning, which, especially in the case of a father's death, required the son thus to 'afflict himself.'

The whole of this paragraph seems overstrained and trivial.

We are willing to believe this paragraph, because it shows how the depths of Confucius' sympathy could be stirred in him. He was not in general easily moved.

This paragraph has occasioned a good deal of discussion. The text does not make it clear whether the sacrifice was that at the end of one, or that at the end of two years. Why did Confucius play on his lute? and was he right in doing so?

The original of this supplement has dropt out of the text. it is found in the 'Narratives of the School;' and in a Corean edition of the Lî Kî.

It is well known that the Khung family was a branch of the ducal house of Sung, the lords of which were the representatives of the royal house of Shang. The Khungs were obliged to flee from Sung, and take refuge in Lû in the time of the great-grandfather of Confucius.

It is doubtful whether this advice was entirely followed as regards the matter of the dress.

See the full description of a coffin and hearse with all its ornaments in Book XIX.

In honour of the Master, though Dze-hang himself could not claim to be descended from the kings of Yin.

Some would interpret this sentence as if it were— 'changing the grave' (### and not ###); but the Khien-lung editors say that this practice, originating in geomancy, arose in the time of Sin, and was unknown during the Han dynasty.

The object of Dze-yû in all the movements detailed here is supposed to have been to correct some irregularity in the proceedings on the occasion. Kang Hsüan thinks that Wan-dze was supporting a grandson, instead of Hû, his deceased brother's rightful son, to be the principal mourner, and consequently to

succeed Hui-dze as his representative and successor. Hui-dze and Wan-dze (called Mei-mâu) were of the state of Wei.

A distant state, south of Wû, on the seaboard.

Three months after birth.

To show the deceased had no more occasion for food, and to keep the feet straight, so that the shoes might be put on at the dressing of the corpse.

Was there anything more than a joke in this reply of Po-yü? The commentators make it out to be a reproof of Wan-dze for wishing to appropriate for his grave the pleasant ground of another.

He should have made his preparations before, and not have had to throw down his cap on the ground.

The text of this paragraph would make the assisting parties to be the chief diviner and the chief archer. The translation is according to an emendation of it from the Kâu Lû.

Worn in relationships of the fifth degree: as by a man for his great-grand-uncle and his wife, a spinster great-grand-aunt, the son of a mother's brother or sister, &c.; by a wife for her husband's great-great-grandparents, &c. See Appendix.

Lest he should seem not to be wishing individuals to live long.

Part iii.

1. When (the Master) was eating by the side of one who had mourning rites in hand, he never ate to the full.

2. Zang-dze was standing with (another) visitor by the side of the door (of their house of entertainment), when a companion (of the other) came hurrying out.

'Where are you going?' said Zang-dze; and the man replied, 'My father is dead, and I am going to wail for him in the lane.' 'Return to your apartment,' was the reply, 'and wail for him there.' (The man did so), and Zang-dze made him a visit of condolence, standing with his face to the north.

3. Confucius said, 'In dealing with the dead, if we treat them as if they were entirely dead, that would show a want of affection, and should not be done; or, if we treat them as if they were entirely alive, that would show a want of wisdom, and should not be done. On this account the vessels of bamboo (used in connexion with the burial of the dead) are not fit for actual use; those of earthenware cannot be used to wash in; those of wood are incapable of being carved; the lutes are strung, but not evenly; the pandean pipes are complete, but not in tune; the bells and musical stones are there, but they have no stands. They

are called vessels to the eye of fancy; that is, (the dead) are thus treated as if they were spiritual intelligences.'

4. Yû-dze asked Zang-dze if he had ever questioned the Master about (an officer's) losing his place. 'I heard from him,' was the reply, 'that the officer in such a case should wish to become poor quickly, Oust as) we should wish to decay away quickly when we have died.' Yû-dze said, 'These are not the words of a superior man.' 'I heard them from the Master,' returned Zang-dze. Yû-dze repeated that they were not the words of a superior man, and the other affirmed that both he and, Dze-yû had heard them. 'Yes, yes,' said Yû-dze, 'but the Master must have spoken them with a special reference.' Zang-dze reported Yû-dze's words to Dze-yû, who said, 'How very like his words are to those of the Master! Formerly, when the Master was staying in Sung, he saw that Hwan, the minister of War, had been for three years having a stone coffin made for himself without its being finished, and said, "What extravagance! It would be better that when dead he should quickly decay away." It was with reference to Hwan, the minister of War, that he said, "We should wish to decay away quickly when we die." When Nan-kung King-shû returned (to the state), he made it a point to carry his treasures with him in his carriage when he went to court, on which the Master said, "Such an amount of property! It would have been better for him, when he lost his office, to make haste to become poor." It was with reference to Nan-kung King-shû that he said that we should work to become poor quickly, when we have lost office."'

3. Zang-dze reported these words of Dze-yû to Yû-dze, who said, 'Yes, I did say that these were not the words of the Master.' When the other asked him how he knew it, he said, 'The Master made an ordinance in Kung-tû that the inner coffin should be four inches thick, and the outer five. By this I knew that he did not wish that the dead should decay away quickly. And formerly, when he had lost the office of minister of Crime in Lû, and was about to go to King, he first sent Dze-hsiâ there, and afterwards Zan Yû. By this, I knew that he did not wish to become poor quickly.'

5. When Kwang-dze of Khin died, announcement of the event was sent to Lû. They did not want to wail for him there, but duke Mû called Hsien-dze, and consulted him. He said, 'In old times, no messages from Great officers, not even such as -were accompanied by a bundle of pieces of dried meat, went out beyond the boundaries of their states. Though it had been wished to wail for them, how could it have been done? Nowadays the Great officers share in the measures of government throughout the middle states. Though it may be wished not to wail for one, how can it be avoided? I have heard, moreover, that there are two grounds for the wailing; one from love, and one from fear.' The duke said, 'Very

well; but how is the thing to be managed in this case?' Hsien-dze said, 'I would ask you to wail for him in the temple of (a family of) a different surname;' and hereon the duke and he wailed for Kwang-dze in (the temple of) the Hsien family.

6. Kung Hsien said to Zang-dze, 'Under the sovereigns of the Hsiâ dynasty, they used (at burials) the vessels which were such only to the eye of fancy, intimating to the people that (the dead) had no knowledge. Under the Yin they used the (ordinary) sacrificial vessels, intimating to the people that (the dead) had knowledge. Under the Kâu we use both, intimating to the people that the thing is doubtful.' Zang-dze replied, ' It is not so! What are vessels (only) to the eye of fancy are for the shades (of the departed); the vessels of sacrifice are those of men; how should those ancients have treated their parents as if they were dead?'

7. An elder brother of Kung-shû Mû, by the same mother but a different father, having died, he asked, Dze-yû (whether he should go into mourning for him), and was answered, 'Perhaps you should do so for the period of nine months.'

A brother, similarly related to Tî Î, having died, he consulted Dze-hsiâ in the same way, and was answered, 'I have not heard anything about it before, but the people of Lû wear the one year's mourning in such a case.' Tî Î did so, and the present practice of wearing that mourning arose from his question'.

8. When Dze-sze's mother died in Wei, Liû Zo said to him, 'You, Sir, are the descendant of a sage. From all quarters they look to you for an example in ceremonies; let me advise you to be careful in the matter.' Dze-sze said, 'Of what have I to be careful? I have heard that when there are certain ceremonies to be observed, and he has not the necessary means for them, a superior man does not observe them', and that neither does he do so, when there are the ceremonies, and he has the means, but the time is not suitable; of what have I to be careful?'

9. Hsien-dze So said, 'I have heard that the ancients made no diminution (in the degrees of mourning on any other ground); but mourned for every one above and below them according to his relationship. Thus Wan, the earl of Thang, wore the year's mourning for Mang-hû, who was his uncle, and the same for Mang Phî, whose uncle he was.'

10. Hâu Mû said, 'I heard Hsien-dze say about the rites of mourning, that (a son) should certainly think deeply and long about them all, and that (for instance) in buying the coffin he should see that, inside and outside, it be (equally) well completed. When I die, let it be so also with me.'

11. Zang-dze said, ‘Until the corpse has its ornaments put on it, they curtain off the hall; and after the slighter dressing the curtain is removed.’ Kung-liang-dze said, ‘Husband and wife are at first all in confusion, and therefore the hall is curtained off. After the slighter dressing, the curtain is removed.’

12. With regard to the offerings to the dead at the time of the slighter dressing, Dze-yû said that they should be placed on the east (of the corpse). Zang-dze said, ‘They should be placed on the west, on the mat there at the time of the dressing.’ The placing the offerings on the west at the time of the slighter dressing was an error of the later times of Lû.

13. Hsien-dze said, ‘To have the mourning robe of coarse dolichos cloth, and the lower garment of fine linen with a wide texture, was not (the way of) antiquity.’

14. When Dze-phû died, the wailers called out his name Mieh. Dze-kâo said, ‘So rude and uncultivated are they!’ On this they changed their style.

15. At the mourning rites for the mother of Tû Khiâo no one was employed in the house to assist (the son in the ceremonies), which was accounted a careless omission.

16. The Master said, ‘As soon as a death occurs, (the members of the family) should change their lambskin furs and dark-coloured caps, though they may do nothing more.’ The Master did not pay a visit of condolence in these articles of dress.

17. Dze-yû asked about the articles to be provided for the mourning rites, and the Master said, ‘They should be according to the means of the family.’

Dze-yû urged, ‘How can a family that has means and one that has not have things done in the same way?’ ‘Where there are means,’ was the reply, ‘let there be no exceeding the prescribed rites. If there be a want of means, let the body be lightly covered from head to foot, and forthwith buried, the coffin being simply let down by means of ropes. Who in such a case will blame the procedure?’

18. Pan, superintendent of officers’ registries, informed Dze-yû of his wish to dress his dead on the couch. ‘You may,’ said Dze-yû. When Hsien-dze heard of this, he said, ‘How arrogant is the old gentleman! He takes it on himself to allow men in what is the proper rule.’

19. At the burial of his wife, duke Hsiang of Sung placed (in the grave) a hundred jars of vinegar and pickles. Zang-dze said, ‘They are called “vessels only to the eye of fancy,” and yet he filled them!’

20. After the mourning rites for Mang Hsien-dze, the chief minister of his family made his subordinates return their money-offerings to all the donors. The Master said that such a thing was allowable.

21. About the reading of the list of the material contributions (towards the service of a funeral), Zang-dze said, ‘It is not an ancient practice; it is a second announcement (to the departed)!’

22. When Kang-dze Kâo was lying ill, Khang went in to see him, and asked his (parting) commands, saying, ‘Your disease, Sir, is severe. If it should go on to be the great illness, what are we to do?’ Dze-kâo said, ‘I have heard that in life we should be of use to others, and in death should do them no harm. Although I may have been of no use to others during my life, shall I do them any harm by my death? When I am dead, choose a piece of barren ground, and bury me there.’

23. Dze-hsiâ asked the Master (how one should deport himself) during the mourning for the ruler’s mother or wife, (and the reply was), ‘In sitting and stopping with others, in his conversation, and when eating and drinking, he should appear to be at ease.

24. When a stranger-visitor arrived, and had nowhere to lodge, the Master would say, ‘While he is alive, let him lodge with me. Should he die, I will see to his coffining.’

25. Kwo-dze kâo said, ‘Burying means hiding away; and that hiding (of the body) is from a wish that men should not see it. Hence there are the clothes sufficient for an elegant covering; the coffin all round about the clothes; the shell all round about the coffin; and the earth all round about the shell. And shall we farther raise a mound over the grave and plant it with trees?’

26. At the mourning for Confucius, there came a man from Yen to see (what was done), and lodged at Dze-hsiâ’s. Dze-hsiâ said to him, ‘If it had been for the sage’s conducting a burial, (there would have been something worthy to see); but what is there to see in our burying of the sage? Formerly the Master made some remarks to me, saying, “I have seen some mounds made like a raised hall; others like a dyke on a river’s bank; others like the roof of a large house; and others in the shape of an axe-head.” We have followed the axe-shape, making what is called the horse-mane mound. In one day we thrice shifted the frame-boards, and completed the mound. I hope we have carried out the wish of the Master.’

27. Women (in mourning) do not (change) the girdle made of dolichos fibre.

28. When new offerings (of grain or fruits) are presented (beside the body in the coffin), they should be (abundant), like the offerings on the first day of the moon.

29. When the interment has taken place, everyone should make a change in his mourning dress.

30. The gutters of the tent-like frame over the coffin should be like the double gutters of a house.

31. When a ruler succeeds to his state, he makes his coffin, and thereafter varnishes it once a year, keeping it deposited away.

32. Calling the departed back; plugging the teeth open; keeping the feet straight; filling the mouth; dressing the corpse; and curtaining the hall: these things are set about together, The uncles and elder cousins give their charges to those who are to communicate the death (to friends).

33. The (soul of a deceased) ruler is called back in his smaller chambers, and the large chamber; in the smaller ancestral temples and in the great one: and at the gate leading to the court of the external audience, and in the suburbs all round.

34. Why do they leave the offerings of the mourning rites uncovered? May they do so with the flesh of sacrifice?

35. When the coffining has taken place, in ten days after, provision should be made for the materials (for the shell), and for the vessels to the eye of fancy.

36. The morning offerings should be set forth (beside the body) at sunrise; the evening when the sun is about to set.

37. In mourning for a parent, there is no restriction to (set) times for wailing. If one be sent on a mission, he must announce his return (to the spirits of his departed).

38. After the twelfth month of mourning, the (inner) garment should be of white silk, with a yellow lining, and having the collar and the edges of the cuffs of a light purple. The waist-band should be of dolichos cloth; the shoes of hempen string, without the usual ornaments at the points; and the ear-plugs of horn. The lining of the deer's-fur (for winter) should be made broader and with longer cuffs, and a robe of thin silk may be worn over it.

39. When (a parent's) corpse has been coffined, if the son hear of mourning going on for a cousin at a distance, he must go (to condole), though the relationship would only require the three months' mourning. If the mourning be for a neighbour, who is not a relative, he does not go.

At (the mourning) for an acquaintance, he must pay visits of condolence to all his brethren, though they might not have lived with him.

40, The coffin of the son of Heaven is fourfold. The hides of a water-buffalo and a rhinoceros, overlapping each other, (form the first), three inches in thickness. Then there is a coffin of Î wood, and there are two of the Rottlera. The four are all complete enclosures. The bands for the (composite) coffin are (five); two straight, and three cross; with a double wedge under each band (where it is on the edge).

The shell is of cypress wood, in pieces six cubits long, from the trunk near the root.

41. When the son of Heaven is wailing for a feudal prince, he wears the bird's-(head) cap, a headband of sackcloth, and black robes. Some one says, 'He employs an officer to wail for him.' While so engaged, he has no music at his meals.

42. When the son of Heaven is put into his coffin it is surrounded with boards plastered over, and (rests on the hearse), on whose shafts are painted dragons, so as to form a (kind of) shell. Then over the coffin is placed a pall with the axe-heads figured on it. This being done, it forms a plastered house. Such is the rule for (the coffining of) the son of Heaven.

43. It is only at the mourning rites for the son of Heaven that the feudal princes are arranged for the wailing according to their different surnames.

44. Duke Âi of Lû eulogised Khung Khiû in the words, 'Heaven has not left the old man, and there is no one to assist me in my place. Oh! Alas! Nî-fû!'

45. When a state had lost a large tract of territory with its cities, the highest and other ministers, and the Great and other officers, all wailed in the grand ancestral temple, in mourning caps, for three days; and the ruler (for the same time) had no full meal with music. Some one says, 'The ruler has his full meals and music, but wails at the altar to the spirit of the land.'

46. Confucius disliked those who wailed in the open fields.

47. (A son) who has not been in office should not presume to give away anything belonging to the family. If he should have to do so, he ought to have the order of his father or elder brother for the act.

48. When the (ordinary) officers are all entered, then (the chief mourner and all the others) fall to their leaping, morning and evening.

49. After the service on the conclusion of the twenty-fourth month of mourning, the plain white cap is assumed. In that month the service on leaving off mourning is performed, and after another month (the mourners) may take to their music.

50. The ruler may confer on any officer the small curtain (as a pall for his father's coffin).

The Khien-lung editors say on this:— 'To serve the dead as he served the living is the highest reach of a son's feeling. But there is a difference, it is to be presumed, between the ways of spirits and those of men. In the offerings put down immediately after death, there is an approach to treating the deceased as if he were still a (living) man. But at the burial the treatment of him approaches to that due to a (disembodied) spirit, Therefore the dealing with the dead may be spoken of generally as something between that due to a man and that due to a

spirit, — a manifestation of the utmost respect without any familiar liberty.' We should like to have something still more definite. Evidently the subject was difficult to those editors, versed in all Chinese lore, and not distracted by views from foreign habits and ways of thinking. How much more difficult must it be for a foreigner to place himself 'en rapport' with the thoughts and ways of men, so far removed from him in time and in mental training! The subject of these vessels, which yet were no vessels, will come up again.

Confucius sent those two disciples, that he might get their report of King (or Khû), and know whether he might himself go and take office there as be wished to do.

B.C. 409-377.

Confucius gives a decision against mourning at all in such a case, excepting it were exceptional, — in the 'Narratives of the School,' chapter 10, article 1.

Dze-sze's mother, after his father's death, had married again into the Shû family of Wei. What mourning was Dze-sze now to wear for her? Liû Zo seems to have apprehended that he would be carried away by his feelings and would do more than was according to rule in such a case. Dze-sze's reply to him is not at all explicit.

This record is supposed to be intended to ridicule Hâu Mû for troubling himself as he did.

Settling places for the wailers, &c. But this explanation is deemed unsatisfactory.

The name was used only in calling the spirit back immediately after death; the wailing was a subsequent thing.

On death, the body was lifted from the couch, and laid on the ground. When there was no response to the recalling of the spirit, it was returned to the couch and dressed. A practice seems to have arisen of slightly dressing it on the ground, which Pin did not wish to follow. Dze-ya ought to have told him that his proposal was according to rule; whereas he expressed his permission of it,-a piece of arrogance, which Hsien-dze condemned.

Hsiang died in B.C. 637.

The contributions had been announced by the bier, as if to the departed, and a record of them made. To read the list, as is here supposed, as the procession was about to set forth, was a vain-glorious proceeding, which Zang-dze thus derided.

The supplements in this paragraph are from the 'Narratives of the School.' Some contend that the whole should be read as what Dze-hsiâ said, and that the Master gave him no reply, disapproving of his sentiments.

This paragraph, like the preceding, appears in rather a different form in the 'Narratives of the School.'

Kwo-dze Kâo was the same as the Khang-dze Kâo of par. 22. Kwo was the surname, and Khang the posthumous title. It is difficult to decide between Kwo-dze Kâo and Kwo Dze-kâo.

This short paragraph is difficult to construe. The Khien-lung editors seem to approve of another interpretation of it; but even that is not without its difficulties. The flesh of sacrifice, it is said, left uncovered, would become unfit for use or to be sold.

The outer sackcloth remained unchanged; but inside it was now worn this robe of white silk, a good deal ornamented. Inside this and over the deer's-fur in winter might be worn another robe of thin silk, through which the fur was seen. Inside the fur was what we should call the shirt, always worn.

Tracing the Î tree, through the dictionaries from synonym to synonym, we come at last to identify it with the 'white aspen;' whether correctly or not I do not know.

This cap, it is said, was of leather, of the dark, colour of a male sparrow's head. Hence its name.

See Book XIX.

Confucius' death took place on the 18th of the fourth month of duke Âi's 16th year, B.C. 479. The eulogy is given somewhat differently in the Zo Kwan under that year: 'Compassionate Heaven vouchsafes me no comfort, and has not left me the aged man, to support me, the One man, on my seat. Dispirited I am, and full of distress. Woe is me! Alas! O Nî-fû. There is no one now to be a rule to me!' Khiû was Confucius' name, and Kung-nî his designation.' After this eulogy, Nî-fû was for a time his posthumous title.

It was the rule to mourn in the open country for an acquaintance. See . There must have been some irregularity in the practice adverted to.

That is, supposing him to have been in office; though some suppose that the necessity might arise, even in the case of a son who had not been in office.

Of course the higher officers must also be there. This refers to the mourning rites for a ruler.

See the note on page 130. It is difficult, notwithstanding all the references to it, to say definitely in what month the than sacrifice was performed.

Section ii. Part I.

1. (At the funeral of) a ruler's eldest son by his acknowledged wife, who has died under age, there are three (small) carriages (with the flesh of sacrifice to be put in the grave). At that of an eldest son by one of his concubines, dying under

age, there is one such carriage; as at the funeral of the eldest rightful son of a Great officer in the same circumstances.

2. At the mourning rites for a feudal lord, his chief officers who had received their appointments. directly from him, carried their staffs.

3. When a Great officer of a state was about to be buried, its ruler (went to) condole with (his son) in the hall where the coffin was. When it was being taken out, he ordered some one to draw the (bier-carriage) for him. This moved on for three paces and stopped; in all for three times; after which the ruler retired. The same proceeding was gone through, when the bier entered the ancestral temple, and also at the place of (special) grief.

4. Men of fifty, who had no carriage, did not make visits of condolence beyond the boundaries (of their states).

5. When Kî Wû-dze was lying ill in his chamber, Kiâo Kû entered and appeared before him without taking off the mourning with its even edges (which he happened to wear). 'This practice,' said he, 'has nearly fallen into disuse. But it is only at the gate of the ruler that an officer should take off such mourning as I have on.' Wû-dze replied, 'Is it not good that you should act thus? A superior man illustrates the smallest points (of propriety).'

At the mourning rites for Wû-dze, Zang Tien leant against his gate and sang.

6. If a Great officer pay a visit of condolence (to an ordinary officer), and he arrive when (the latter) is occupied with the business of the occasion, an apology is made (for not coming to the gate to receive him).

7. When one has paid a visit of condolence, he should not on the same day show manifestations of joy.

8. A wife should not go beyond the boundaries of the state on a visit of condolence.

9. On the day when he has made a visit of condolence, one should not drink spirits nor eat flesh.

10. When one pays a visit of condolence, and the arrangements for the funeral are going on, he should take hold of the ropes (attached to the car). Those who follow to the grave should take hold of those attached to the coffin.

11. During the mourning rites, if the ruler send a message of condolence, there must be some one to acknowledge it, by bowing to the messenger. A friend, or neighbour, or even a temporary resident in the house, may perform the duty. The message is announced in the words:— 'Our unworthy ruler wishes to take part in your (sad) business.' The chief mourner responds:— 'We acknowledge your presence with his message.'

12. When a ruler meets a bier on the way, he must send some one to present his condolences (to the chief mourner).

13. At the mourning rites for a Great officer, a son by an inferior wife should not receive the condolences.

14. On the death of his wife's brother who was the successor of their father, (the husband) should wail for him in (the court of) the principal chamber. He should appoint his (own) son to preside (on the occasion). With breast unbared and wearing the cincture instead of the cap, he wails and leaps. When he enters on the right side of the gate, he should make some one stand outside it, to inform comers of the occasion of the wailing; and those who were intimate (with the deceased) will enter and wail. If his own father be in the house, the wailing should take place (before) his wife's chamber. If (the deceased) were not the successor of his father, the wailing should take place before a different chamber.

15. If a man have the coffin of a parent in his hall, and hear of mourning going on for a cousin of the same surname at a distance, he wails for him in a side apartment. If there be no such apartment, he should wail in the court on the right of the gate. If the deceased's body be in the same state, he should go to the place, and wail for him there.

16. When Dze-kang died, Zang-dze was in mourning for his mother, and went in his mourning dress to wail for him. Some one said, 'That dress of sackcloth with its even edges is not proper. for a visit of condolence.' Zang-dze replied, 'Am I condoling (with the living)?'

17. At the mourning rites for Yû Zo, duke Tâo came to condole. Dze-yû received him, and introduced him by (the steps on) the left.

18. When the news was sent from Khî of the mourning for the king's daughter who had been married to the marquis, duke Kwang of Lû wore the nine months' mourning for her. Some have said, 'She was married from Lû; therefore he wore the same mourning for her as for a sister of his own.' Others have said, 'She was his mother's mother, and therefore he wore it.'

19. At the mourning rites for duke Hsien of Zin, duke Mû of Khin sent a messenger to present his condolences to Hsien's son Khung-r (who was then an exile), and to add this message:— 'I have heard that a time like this is specially adapted to the losing of a state, or the gaining of a state. Though you, my son, are quiet here, in sorrow and in mourning, your exile should not be allowed to continue long, and the opportunity should not be lost. Think of it and take your measures, my young son.' Khung-r reported the words to his maternal uncle Fan, who said,' My son, decline the proffer. An exile as you are, nothing precious remains to you; but a loving regard for your father is to be considered precious. How shall the death of a father be told? And if you take advantage of it to seek your own profit, who under heaven will be able to give a good account of your conduct? Decline the proffer, my son.

On this the prince replied to his visitor:— ‘The ruler has kindly (sent you) to condole with his exiled servant. My person in banishment, and my father dead, so that I cannot take any share in the sad services of wailing and weeping for him; — this has awakened the sympathy of the ruler. But how shall the death of a father be described? Shall I presume (on occasion of it) to think of any other thing, and prove myself unworthy of your ruler’s righteous regard?’ With this he laid his head to the ground, but did not bow (to the visitor); wailed and then arose, and after he had risen did not enter into any private conversation with him.

Dze-hsien reported the execution of his commission to duke Mû, who said, ‘Truly virtuous is this prince Khung-r. In laying his forehead on the ground and not bowing (to the messenger), he acknowledged that he was not his father’s successor, and therefore he did not complete the giving of thanks. In wailing before he rose, he showed how he loved his father. In having no private conversation after he arose, he showed how he put from him the thought of gain.’

20. The keeping the curtain up before the coffin with the corpse in it was not a custom of antiquity. It originated with the wailing of King Kiang for Mû-po.

21. The rites of mourning are the extreme expression of grief and sorrow. The graduated reduction of that expression in accordance with the natural changes (of time and feeling) was made by the superior men, mindful of those to whom we owe our being.

22. Calling (the soul) back is the way in which love receives its consummation, and has in it the mind which is expressed by prayer. The looking for it to return from the dark region is a way of seeking for it among the spiritual beings. The turning the face to the north springs from the idea of its being in the dark region.

23. Bowing to the (condoling) visitor, and laying the forehead on the ground are the most painful demonstrations of grief and sorrow. The laying the forehead in the ground is the greatest expression of the pain (from the bereavement).

24. Filling the mouth with rice uncooked and fine shells arises from a feeling which cannot bear that it should be empty. The idea is not that of giving food; and therefore these fine things are used.

25. The inscription forms a banner to the eye of fancy. Because (the person of) the deceased, can no longer be distinguished, therefore (the son) by this flag maintains the remembrance of him. From his love for him he makes this record. His reverence for him finds in this its utmost expression.

26. The first tablet for the spirit (with this inscription on it) serves the same purpose as that (subsequently) placed in the temple, at the conclusion of the

mourning rites. Under the Yin dynasty the former was still kept. Under the Kâu, it was removed.

27. The offerings to the unburied dead are placed in plain unornamented vessels, because the hearts of the living are full of unaffected sorrow. It is only in the sacrifices (subsequent to the interment), that the principal mourner does his utmost (in the way of ornament). Does he know that the spirit will enjoy (his offerings)? He is guided only by his pure and reverent heart.

28. Beating the breast (by the women), and leaping (by the men) are extreme expressions of grief. But the number of such acts is limited. There are graduated rules for them.

29. Baring the shoulders and binding up the hair (with the band of sackcloth) are changes, (showing) the excited feeling which is a change in the grief. The removal of the (usual) ornaments and elegancies (of dress) has manifold expression, but this baring of the shoulders and the sackcloth band are the chief. But now the shoulders are quite bared, and anon they are covered (with a thin garment); — marking gradations in the grief

30. At the interment they used the cap of plain white (silk), and the headband of dolichos fibre; thinking these more suitable for their intercourse with (the departed) now in their spirit-state. The feeling of reverence had now arisen. The people of Kiu use the pien cap at interments; those of Yin used the hsü.

31. The gruel of the chief mourner (the son), the presiding wife, and the steward of the family (of a Great officer) is taken by them at the order of the ruler lest they should get ill.

32. On returning (from the grave) to wail, (the son) should ascend the hall (of the ancestral temple); — returning to the place where (the deceased) performed his rites. The presiding wife should enter the chamber; — returning to the place where he received his nourishment.

33. Condolences should be presented (to the son) when he returns (from the grave) and is wailing, at which time his grief is at its height. He has returned, and (his father) is not to be seen; he feels that he has lost him. (His grief is) then most intense. Under the Yin, they presented condolences immediately at the grave; under the Kâu, when the son had returned and was wailing. Confucius said, ‘Yin was too blunt; I follow Kâu.’

34. To bury on the north (of the city), and with the head (of the dead) turned to the north, was the common practice of the three dynasties: — because (the dead) go to the dark region.

35. When the coffin has been let down into the grave, the chief mourner presents the (ruler’s) gifts (to the dead in the grave), and the officer of prayer

(returns beforehand) to give notice of the sacrifice of repose to him who is to personate the departed.

36. When he has returned and wailed, the chief mourner with the (proper) officer inspects the victim. (In the meantime other) officers have set out a stool and mat with the necessary offerings on the left of the grave. They return, and at midday the sacrifice of repose is offered.

37. The sacrifice is offered on the day of interment; they cannot bear that the departed should be left a single day (without a place to rest in).

38. On that day the offerings, (previously) set forth (by the coffin), are exchanged for the sacrifice of repose. The (continuous) wailing is ended, and they say, 'The business is finished.'

39. On that day the sacrifices of mourning were exchanged for one of joy. The next day the service of placing the spirit-tablet of the departed next to that of his grandfather was performed.

40. The change to an auspicious sacrifice took place on that day, and the placing the tablet in its place on the day succeeding: — (the son) was unable to bear that (the spirit of the departed) should be a single day without a resting-place.

41. Under the Yin, the tablet was put in its place on the change of the mourning at the end of twelve months; under the Kâu, when the (continuous) wailing was over. Confucius approved the practice of Yin.

42. When a ruler went to the mourning rites for a minister, he took with him a sorcerer with a peach-wand, an officer of prayer with his reed-(brush), and a lance-bearer, — disliking (the presence of death), and to make his appearance different from (what it was at any affair of) life. In the mourning rites it is death that is dealt with, and the ancient kings felt it difficult to speak of this.

43. The ceremony in the mourning rites of (the coffined corpse) appearing in the court (of the ancestral temple) is in accordance with the filial heart of the deceased. He is (supposed to be) grieved at leaving his chamber, and therefore he is brought to the temple of his fathers, and then (the coffin) goes on its way.

Under the Yin, the body was thus presented and then coffined in the temple; under the Kâu the interment followed immediately after its presentation (in the coffin).

44. Confucius said, 'He who made the vessels which are so (only) in imagination, knew the principles underlying the mourning rites. They were complete (to all appearance), and yet could not be used. Alas! if for the dead they had used the vessels of the living, would there not have been a danger of this leading to the interment of the living with the dead?'

45. They were called ‘vessels in imagination,’ (the dead) being thus treated as spiritual intelligences, From of old there were the carriages of clay and the figures of straw, — in accordance with the idea in these vessels in imagination. Confucius said that the making of the straw figures was good, and that the making of the (wooden) automaton was not benevolent. — Was there not a danger of its leading to the use of (living) men?

This refers to a strange custom which was practised at the burial of men of rank, or of others who were treated as such, as in the cases here. ‘The carriages employed in it,’ says Ying-tâ, ‘were very small. When the funeral car was about to set off from the temple, and all to be done at the grave was arranged, they took portions of the bodies which had supplied the offerings put down by the coffin, broke them in small pieces, wrapped them up, and placed them in these carriages, to be conveyed after the car. At the grave the little bundles were placed one by one, inside the outer shell at its four corners.’ The number of these small carriages varied according to the rank of the deceased. We shall find the practice mentioned again and again. It is not easy for a foreigner fully to understand it, and I have found great haziness in the attempts of native scholars to explain it. ‘The eldest sons’ would have died between sixteen and nineteen.

Where visitors had been lodged during the mourning rites, outside the great gate.

Wû-dze was the posthumous title of Ki-sun Suh, the principal minister of Lû in the time of duke Hsiang (D.C. 572-543). He was arrogant, and made other officers pay to him the same observances as to the ruler; but he was constrained to express his approval of the bold rectitude of Kiâo.

This is added by the writer, and implies a condemnation of Zang Tien, who did not know how to temper his censure of the minister, as Kiâo Kû had done. But there must be an error in the passage. Tien (the father of Zang Shan) could have been but a boy when Wû-dze died.

Or it may be, ‘should not have music;’ toning one of the characters differently.

It is supposed that the deceased had left no son to preside at the mourning rites.

But if there be no son by the wife proper, the oldest son by an inferior wife may receive the condolences. See the Khien-lung editors, in loc.

For some reason or other he has not gone to the house of the deceased, to wail for him there.

B.C. 467-431. Yû Zo had been a disciple of Confucius, and here we find the greater follower of the sage, Dze-yû, present and assisting at the mourning rites for him.

That is, the prince went up to the hall by the steps on the east, set apart for the use of the master and father of the house. But the ruler was master everywhere in his state, as the king was in his kingdom. An error prevailed on this matter, and Dze-yû took the opportunity to correct it.

That is, she had gone from the royal court to Lû, and been married thence under the superintendence of the marquis of that state, who also was of the royal surname. This was a usual practice in the marriage of kings' daughters; and it was on this account the lord of the officiating state wore mourning for them. The relationship assigned in the next clause is wrong; and so would have been the mourning mentioned, if it had been correct.

Fully to understand this paragraph, one must know more particulars of the history of Khung-r, and his relations with his father and the duke of Khin, than can be given here in a note. He became the ablest of the five chiefs of the Khun Khiû period.

This was a prudish action of the young widow, but it changed an old custom and introduced a new one.

This has respect to the modifications adopted in regulating the mourning rites for parents.

This inscription contained the surname, name, and rank of the deceased. It was at first written, I suppose, on a strip of silk, and fastened up under the eaves above the steps on the cast. In the meantime a tablet of wood called Khung, the first character in the next paragraph, and for which I have given 'The first tablet for the spirit,' was prepared. The inscription was transferred to it, and it was set up on or by the coffin, now having the body in it, and by and by it was removed to the east of the coffin pit, where it remained till after the interment.

The observances in this paragraph and the next remain substantially the same at the present day. 'The bier,' writes Wang Thâo, 'is placed in the apartment, and the tablet with the inscription, as a resting-place for the spirit, is set up, while the offerings are set forth near it morning and evening. After the interment this tablet is burned, and the permanent tablet (###) is made, before which the offerings are presented at the family sacrifices from generation to generation. Thus "the dead are served as the living have been."'

The 'Three Rituals Explained' ###), ch. 238, give the figures of these caps thus: —

This would be the wife of the deceased, or the wife of his son.

These were some rolls of purplish silks, sent by the ruler as, his parting gifts, when the hearse-car reached the city gate on its way to the grave.

Where was the spirit of the departed now? The bones and flesh had returned to the dust, but the soul-spirit might be anywhere (###). To afford it a resting-place, the permanent tablet was now put in the shrine, and this sacrifice of repose (###) was offered, so that the son might be able to think that his father was never far from him. For a father of course the personator was a male; for a mother, a female; but there are doubts on this point.

For the spirit of the ground.

If the grave were too far distant to allow all this to be transacted before midday, then the sacrifice was performed in the chamber where the coffin had rested. So says Wang Thâo on the authority of Zan Yî-shang ({###)).

When visiting a minister when alive, the ruler was accompanied by the lance-bearer, but not by those other officers;-there was the difference between life and death.

I suspect that the sorcerer and exorcist were ancient superstitions, not established by the former kings, but with which they did not care to interfere by saying anything about them.

Part ii.

1. Duke Mû asked Dze-sze whether it was the way of antiquity for a retired officer still to wear the mourning for his old ruler. 'Princes of old,' was the reply, 'advanced men and dismissed them equally according to the rules of propriety; and hence there was that rule about still wearing mourning for the old ruler. But nowadays princes advance men as if they were going to take them on their knees, and dismiss them as if they were going to push them into an abyss. Is it not good if (men so treated) do not head rebellion? How should there be the observance of that rule about still wearing mourning (for old rulers)?'

2. At the mourning rites for duke Tâo. Kî Kâo-dze asked Mang King-dze what they should eat (to show their grief) for the ruler. King-dze replied, 'To eat gruel is the general rule for all the kingdom.' (The other said), 'It is known throughout the four quarters that we three ministers have not been able to live in harmony with the ducal house. I could by an effort make myself emaciated; but would it not make men doubt whether I was doing so in sincerity? I will eat rice as usual.'

3. When Sze-thû King-dze of Wei died, Dze-hsiâ made a visit of condolence (to his house); and, though the chief mourner had not completed the slight dressing (of the corpse), he went in the headband and robe of mourning. Dze-ya paid a similar visit; and, when the chief mourner had completed the slight dressing, he went out, put on the bands, returned and wailed. Dze-hsiâ said to

him, ‘Did you ever hear (that) that (was the proper method to observe)? I heard the Master say,’ was the reply, ‘that until the chief mourner had changed his dress, one should not assume the mourning bands’.’

4. Zang-dze said, ‘An-dze may be said to have known well the rules of propriety;-he was humble and reverent! Yû Zo said, ‘An-dze wore the same (robe of) fox-fur for thirty years. (At the burial of his father), he had only one small carriage (with the offerings to be put into the grave); and he returned immediately from the grave (without showing the usual attentions to his guests). The ruler of a state has seven bundles of the offerings, and seven such small carriages for them, and a Great officer five. How can it be said that An-dze knew propriety?’ Zang-dze replied, ‘When a state is not well governed, the superior man is ashamed to observe all ceremonies to the full. Where there is extravagance in the administration of the state, he shows an example of economy. If the administration be economical, he shows an example of (the strict) observance’ of all rules.’

5. On the death of the mother of Kwo Kâo-dze, he asked Dze-kang, saying, ‘At the interment, when (all) are at the grave, what should be the places of the men and of the women?’ Dze-kang said, ‘At the mourning rites for Sze-thû King-dze, when the Master directed the ceremonies, the men stood with their faces to the west and the women stood with theirs to the east.’ ‘Ah!’ said the other, ‘that will not do;’ adding, ‘All will be here to see these mourning rites of mine. Do you take the sole charge of them. Let the guests be the guests, while I (alone) act as the host. Let the women take their places behind the men, and all have their faces towards the west.’

6. At the mourning for Mû-po (her husband), King Kiang wailed for him in the daytime, and at that for Wan-po (her son), she wailed for him both in the daytime and the night. Confucius said, ‘She knows the rules of propriety.’

At the mourning for Wan-po, King Kiang (once) put her hand on the couch (where his body lay), and without wailing said, ‘Formerly, when I had this son, I thought that he would be a man of worth. (But) I never went with him to the court (to see his conduct there); and now that he is dead, of all his friends, the other ministers, there is no one that has shed tears for him, while the members of his harem all wail till they lose their voices. This son must have committed many lapses in his observance of the rules of propriety!’

7. When the mother of Kî Khang-dze died, (her body was laid out with) her private clothes displayed. King Kiang (Khang-dze’s granduncle’s wife) said, ‘A wife does not dare to see her husband’s parents without the ornament (of her upper robes); and there will be the guests from all quarters coming; — why are her under-clothes displayed here?’ With this she ordered them to be removed.

8. Yû-dze and Dze-yû were standing together when they saw (a mourner) giving all a child's demonstrations of affection. Yû-dze said, 'I have never understood this leaping in mourning, and have long wished to do away with it. The sincere feeling (of sorrow) which appears here is right, (and should be sufficient).' Dze-yû replied, 'In the rules of propriety, there are some intended to lessen the (display of) feeling, and there are others which purposely introduce things (to excite it). To give direct vent to the feeling and act it out as by a short cut is the way of the rude Zung and Tî. The method of the rules is not so. When a man rejoices, he looks pleased; when pleased, he thereon sings; when singing, he sways himself about; swaying himself about, he proceeds to dancing; from dancing, he gets into a state of wild excitement; that excitement goes on to distress; distress expresses itself in sighing; sighing is followed by beating the breast; and beating the breast by leaping. The observances to regulate all this are what are called the rules of propriety.

'When a man dies, there arises a feeling of disgust (at the corpse). Its impotency goes on to make us revolt from it. On this account, there is the wrapping it in the shroud, and there are the curtains, plumes (and other ornaments of the coffin), to preserve men from that feeling of disgust. Immediately after death, the dried flesh and pickled meats are set out (by the side of the corpse), When the interment is about to take place, there are the things sent and offered (at the grave); and after the interment, there is the food presented (in the sacrifices of repose). The dead have never been seen to partake of these things. But from the highest ages to the present they have never been neglected; — all to cause men not to revolt (from their dead). Thus it is that what you blame in the rules of propriety is really nothing that is wrong in them.'

9. Wû made an incursion into Khan, destroying the (places of) sacrifice, and putting to death those who were suffering from a pestilence (which prevailed). When the army retired, and had left the territory, Phî, the Grand-administrator of Khan, was sent to the army (of Wû). Fû Khâi (king of Wû) said to his internuncius Î, 'This fellow has much to say. Let us ask him a question.' (Then, turning to the visitor), he said, 'A campaign must have a name. What name do men give to this expedition?' The Grand-administrator said, 'Anciently, armies in their incursions and attacks did not hew down (trees about the) places of sacrifice; did not slay sufferers from pestilence; did not make captives of those whose hair was turning. But now, have not you in this campaign slain the sufferers from pestilence? Do they not call it the sick-killing expedition?' The king rejoined, ' If we give back your territory, and return our captives, what will you call it?' The reply was, 'O ruler and king, you came and punished the

offences of our poor state. If the result of the campaign be that you now compassionate and forgive it, will the campaign be without its (proper) name?'

10. Yen Ting deported himself skilfully during his mourning. Immediately after the death (of his father), he looked grave and restless, as if he were seeking for something, and could not find it. When the coffining had taken place, he looked expectant, as if he were following some one and could not get up with him. After the interment he looked sad, and as if, not getting his father to return (with him), he would wait for him.

11. Dze-kang asked, saying, 'The Book of History says, that Kâo Zung for three-years did not speak; and that when he did his words were received with joy. Was it so?' Kung-ni replied, 'Why should it not have been so? Anciently, on the demise of the son of Heaven, the king, his heir, left everything to the chief minister for three years.'

12. When Kih Tâo-dze died, before he was buried, duke Phing was (one day) drinking along with the music-master Kwang and Lî Thiâo. The bells struck up; and when Tû Khwâi, who was coming in from outside, heard them, he said, 'Where is the music?' Being told that it was in the (principal) apartment, he entered it; and having ascended the steps one by one, he poured out a cup of spirits, and said, 'Kwang, drink this.' He then poured out another, and said, Thiâo, drink this.' He poured out a third cup; and kneeling in the hall, with his face to the north, he drank it himself, went down the steps, and hurried out.

Duke Phing called him in again, and said, 'Khwâi, just now I thought you had something in mind to enlighten me about, and therefore I did not speak to you. Why did you give the cup to Kwang?' 'On the days (Kiâ-)dze and (Kî-)mâo,' was the reply, 'there should be no music; and now Kih Tâo-dze is (in his coffin) in his hall, and this should be a great dze or mâo day. Kwang is the grand music-master, and did not remind you of this. It was on this account that I made him drink.'

'And why did you give a cup to Thiâo?' Tû Khwâi said, 'Thiâo is your lordship's favourite officer; and for this drinking and eating he forgot the fault you were committing. It was on this account I made him drink.'

'And why did you drink a cup yourself?' Khwâi replied, 'I am (only) the cook; and neglecting my (proper work of) supplying you with knives and spoons, I also presumed to take my part in showing my knowledge of what should be prohibited. It was on this account that I drank a cup myself.'

Duke Phing said,' I also have been in fault. Pour out a cup and give it to me.' Tû Khwâi then rinsed the cup, and presented it. The duke said to the attendants, 'When I die, you must take care that this cup is not lost.' Down to the present

day, (at feasts in Sin), when the cups have been presented all round, they then raise up this cup, and say, ‘It is that which Tû presented.’

13. When Kung-shû Wan-dze died, his son Shû begged the ruler (of the state) to fix his honorary title, saying, ‘The sun and moon have brought the time; — we are about to bury him. I beg that you will fix the title, for which we shall change his name.’ The ruler said, ‘Formerly when our state of Wei was suffering from a severe famine, your father had gruel made, and gave it to the famishing; — was not this a roof of how kind he was? Moreover, in a time of trouble, he protected me at the risk of his own life; — was not this a proof of how faithful he was? And while he administered the government of Wei, he so maintained the regulations for the different classes, and conducted its intercourse with the neighbouring states all round, that its altars sustained no disgrace; — was not this a proof of how accomplished he was? Therefore let us call him “The Faithful, Kind, and Accomplished.”’

14: Shih Tâi-kung died, leaving no son by his wife proper, and six sons by concubines. The tortoise-shell being consulted as to which of them should be the father’s successor, it was said that by their bathing and wearing of their girdle-pendants the indication would be given. Five of them accordingly bathed and put on the girdle-pendants with their gems. Shih Khî-dze, however, said, ‘Whoever, being engaged with the mourning rites for a parent, bathed his head or his body, and put on his girdle-pendants?’ and he declined to do either, and this was considered to be the indication. The people of Wei considered that the tortoise-shell had shown a (true) knowledge.

15. Khan Dze-kü having died in Wei, his wife and the principal officer of the family consulted together about burying some living persons (to follow him). When they had decided to do so, (his brother), Khan Dze-khang arrived, and they informed him about their plan, saying, ‘When the master was ill, (he was far away) and there was no provision for his nourishment in the lower world; let us bury some persons alive (to supply it).’ Dze-khang said, ‘To bury living persons (for the sake of the dead) is contrary to what is proper. Nevertheless, in the event of his being ill, and requiring to be nourished, who are so fit for that purpose as his wife and steward? If the thing can be done without, I wish it to be so. If it cannot be done without, I wish you two to be the parties for it.’ On this the proposal was not carried into effect.

16. Dze-lû said, ‘Alas for the poor! While (their parents) are alive, they have not the means to nourish them; and when they are dead, they have not the means to perform the mourning rites for them.’ Confucius said, ‘Bean soup, and water to drink, while the parents are made happy, may be pronounced filial piety. If (a son) can only wrap the body round from head to foot, and inter it immediately,

without a shell, that being all which his means allow, he may be said to discharge (all) the rites of mourning.'

17. Duke Hsien of Wei having (been obliged to) flee from the state, when he returned, and had reached the suburbs (of the capital), he was about to grant certain towns and lands to those who had attended him in his exile before entering. Liû Kwang said, 'If all had (remained at home) to guard the altars for you, who would have been able to follow you with halter and bridle? And if all had followed you, who would have guarded the altars? Your lordship has now returned to the state, and will -it not be wrong for you to show a partial feeling?' The intended allotment did not take place.

18. There was the grand historiographer of Wei, called Liû Kwang, lying ill. The duke said, 'If the illness prove fatal, though I may be engaged at the time in sacrificing, you must let me know.' (It happened accordingly, and, on hearing the news), the duke bowed twice, laying his head to the ground, and begged permission from the personator of the dead, saying, 'There was the minister Liû Kwang, — not a minister of mine (merely), but a minister of the altars of the state. I have heard that he is dead, and beg leave to go (to his house).' On this, without putting off his robes, he went; and on the occasion presented them as his contribution (to the mourning rites). He also gave the deceased the towns of Khiû-shih and Hsien-fan-shih by a writing of assignment which was put into the coffin, containing the words:— 'For the myriads of his descendants, to hold from generation to generation without change.'

19. When Khan Kan-hsî was lying ill, he assembled his brethren, and charged his son Zun-kî, saying, — When I am dead, you must make my coffin large, and make my two concubines lie in it with me, one on each side.' When he died, his son said, 'To bury the living with the dead is contrary to propriety; how much more must it be so to bury them in the same coffin!' Accordingly he did not put the two ladies to death.

20. Kung Sui died in Khui; and on the next day, which was Zan-wû, the sacrifice of the previous day was notwithstanding repeated (in the capital of Lû.). When the pantomimes entered, however, they put away their flutes. Kung-nî said, 'It was contrary to rule. When a high minister dies, the sacrifice of the day before should not be repeated.'

21. When the mother of Kî Khang-dze died, Kung-shû Zo was still young. After the dressing, Pan asked leave to let the coffin down into the grave by a mechanical contrivance. They were about to accede, when Kung-kien Kiâ said, 'No. According to the early practice in Lu, the ducal house used (for this purpose) the arrangement looking like large stone pillars, and the three families that like large wooden columns. Pan, you would, in the case of another man's

mother, make trial of your ingenuity;-could you not in the case of your own mother do so? Would that distress you? Bah!' They did not allow him to carry out his plan.

22. During the fight at Lang, Kung-shu Zu-zan saw (many of) the men, carrying their clubs on their shoulders, entering behind the shelter of the small wall, and said, 'Although the services required of them are distressing, and the burdens laid on them heavy, (they ought to fight): but though our superiors do not form (good) plans, it is not right that soldiers should not be prepared to die. This is what I say.' On this along with Wang Î, a youth, (the son) of a neighbour, he went forward, and both of them met their death.

The people of Lû wished to bury the lad Wang not as one who had died prematurely, and asked Kung-ni about the point. He said, 'As he was able to bear his shield and spear in the defence of our altars, may you not do as you wish, and bury him as one who has not died prematurely?'

23. When Dze-lû was going away from Lû, he said to Yen Yüan, 'What have you to send me away with?' 'I have heard,' was the reply, 'that, when one is leaving his state, he wails at the graves (of his fathers), and then takes his journey, while on his return to it, he does not wail, but goes to look at the graves, and (then) enters (the city).' He then said to Dze-lû, 'And what have you to leave with me here?' 'I have heard,' was the reply, 'that, when you pass by a grave, you should bow forward to the cross-bar, and, when you pass a place of sacrifice, you should dismount.'

24. Shang Yang, director of Works (in Khû), and Kan Khî-kî were pursuing the army of Wu, and came up with it. The latter said to Shang Yang, 'It is the king's' business. It will be well for you to take your bow in hand.' He did so, and Khî-kî told him to shoot, which he did, killing a man, and returning immediately the bow to its case. They came up with the enemy again, and being told as before to shoot, he killed other two men; whenever he killed a man, he covered his eyes. Then stopping the chariot, he said, 'I have no place at the audiences; nor do I take part in the feasts. The death of three men will be sufficient for me to report.' Confucius said, 'Amidst his killing of men, he was still observant of the rules of propriety.'

25. The princes were engaged in an invasion of Khin, when duke Hwan of Zhâo died at their meeting. The others asked leave to (see) the plugging of his teeth with the jade, and they were made to enshroud (his corpse).

Duke Hsiang being in attendance at the court of King, king Khang died . The people of King said to him, 'We must beg you to cover (the corpse with your gift of a robe).' The men of Lû (who were with him) said, 'The thing is contrary to propriety.' They of Khû, however, obliged him to do what they asked; and he

first employed a sorcerer with his reed-brush to brush (and purify) the bier. The people of King then regretted what they had done'.

26. At the mourning rites for duke Khang of Thang, Dze-shû King-shû was sent (from Lû) on a mission of condolence, and to present a letter (from duke Âi), Sze-fû Hui-po being assistant-commissioner. When they arrived at the suburbs (of the capital of Thang), because it was the anniversary of the death, of Î-po, (Hui-po's uncle), King-shû hesitated to enter the city. Hui-po, however, said, 'We are on government business, and should not for the private affair of my uncle's (death) neglect the duke's affairs.' They forthwith entered.

Of Lû, B.C. 409-377.

B.C. 467-431.

The heads of the Kung-sun, Shû-sun, and Ki-sun families; whose power Confucius had tried in vain to break.

In this case Dze-yû was correct, according to rule, following the example of the chief mourner. Sze-thû was a name of office, — the ministry of Instruction; but it had become in this case the family name; from some ancestor of King-dze, who had been minister of Instruction.

See the note on paragraph 1, page 161. An-Sze was the chief minister of Khî.

'The master' here would seem to be Confucius; and yet he died before Sze-thû King-dze. There are other difficulties in parts of the paragraph.

It is said, 'She mourned for her husband according to propriety; for her son according to her feelings.'

Evidently there is a lacuna in the text here; there should be some mention of stamping. Many of the critics have seen this, especially the Khien-lung editors; and various additions have been proposed by way of correction and supplement.

This incursion must be that mentioned in the Zo Kwan under B.C. 494. Various corruptions and disruptions of the text of the paragraph have to be rectified, however; and the interpretation is otherwise difficult.

An officer of Lû.

Compare above, paragraph 17, *et al.*

See vol. iii, . The Shû is not quoted exactly.

This was in B.C. 533. Kih Tâo-dze was a great officer of Zin. See the story in the Zo Kwan under that year.

This was in B.C. 512. Twice in the Analects (XIV, 14, 19) Kung-shuh Wan-dze, 'Kung-shu, the accomplished,' is mentioned. Whether he received the long honorary title given in the conclusion of this paragraph is considered doubtful.

Khan Dze-khang was one of the disciples of Confucius, mentioned in the Analects I, 10; VII, 25. It is difficult to follow the reasoning of the wife and steward in justification of their proposals.

Duke Hsien fled from Wei in B.C. 559, and returned to it in 547.

The same duke Hsien of Wei. Khan Hâo and others condemn his action in this case. Readers may not agree with them.

See this incident in the Chinese Classics, V, i, p, 302, where the account of it is discussed in a note.

This must be the greater dressing.

Pan and Zo were probably the same man; but we know that Pan lived at a later period. The incident in this paragraph therefore is doubted.

The fight at Lang is mentioned in the Khun Khiû under B.C. 484. Zo's description of the battle gives the incident mentioned here, but somewhat differently.

Khî-kî was a son of the king of Khû, and afterwards became king Phing. Khû, in B.C. 534, reduced Khan to be a dependency of itself, and put it under Khî-kî, who became known as Khî-kî of Khan.

The king's business;' that is, the business of the count of Khû, who had usurped the title of king.

It is not easy to discover the point of Confucius' reply. Even Dze-lû questioned him about it (as related in the Narratives of the School), and got an answer which does not make it any clearer.

In B.C. 578.

Probably by the marquis of Zin — duke Wan — as 'lord of Meetings and Covenants.'

In B.C. 545.

Part iii.

1. Duke Âi sent a message of condolence to Khwâi Shang, and the messenger met him (on the way to the grave). They withdrew to the way-side, where Khwâi drew the figure of his house, (with the coffin in it), and there received the condolences.

Zang-dze said, 'Khwâi Shang's knowledge of the rules of ceremony was not equal to that of the wife of Khî Liang. When duke Kwang fell on Kû by surprise at Thui, Khî Liang met his death. His wife met his bier on the way, and wailed for him bitterly. Duke Kwang sent a person to convey his condolences to her; but she said, 'If his lordship's officer had been guilty of any offence, then his body should have been exposed in the court or the marketplace, and his wife and concubines apprehended. If he were not chargeable with any offence, there is the poor cottage of his father. This is not the place where the ruler should demean himself to send me a message.'

2. At the mourning rites for his young son Tun, duke Âi wished to employ the (elm-juice) sprinklers, and asked Yû Zo about the matter, who said that it might be done, for his three ministers even used them. Yen Liû said, 'For the son of Heaven dragons are painted on (the shafts of) the funeral carriage, and the boards surrounding the coffin, like the shell, have a covering over them. For the feudal princes there is a similar carriage (without the painted dragons), and the covering above. (In both cases) they prepare the elm-juice, and therefore employ sprinklers. The three ministers, not employing (such a carriage), and yet employing the sprinklers, thus appropriate a ceremony which is not suitable for them; and why should your lordship imitate them?'

3. After the death of the mother of (his son, who became) duke Tâo, duke Âi wore for her the one year's mourning with its unfrayed edges. Yû Zo asked him, if it was in rule. for him to wear that mourning for a concubine. 'Can I help it?' replied the duke. 'The people of Lû will have it that she, was my wife.'

4. When Kî Dze-kâo buried his wife, some injury was done to the standing corn, which Shan-hsiang told him of, begging him to make the damage good. Dze-kâo said, 'The Mang has not blamed me for this, and my friends have not cast me off. I am here the commandant of the city. To buy (in this manner a right of) way in order to bury (my dead) would be a precedent difficult to follow.'

5. When one receives no salary for the official duties which he performs, and what the ruler sends to him is called 'an offering,' while the messenger charged with it uses the style of our unworthy ruler;' if such an one leave the state, and afterwards the ruler dies, he does not wear mourning for him.

6. At the sacrifice of Repose a personator of the dead is appointed, and a stool, with a mat and viands on it, is placed (for him). When the wailing is over, the name of the deceased is avoided. The service of him as living is over, and that for him in his ghostly state has begun. When the wailing is over, the cook, with a bell having a wooden clapper, issues an order throughout the palace, saying, 'Give up disusing the names of the former rulers, and henceforth disuse (only) the name of him who is newly deceased.' This was done from the door leading to the chambers to the outer gate.

7. When a name was composed of two characters they were not avoided when used singly. The name of the Master's mother was Kang-Zâi. When he used Zâi, he did not at the same time use Kang; nor Zâi, when he used Kang.

8. When any sad disaster occurred to an army, (the ruler) in plain white robes wailed for it outside the Khû gate. A carriage conveying the news of such disaster carried no cover for buff-coats nor case for bows.

9. When the (shrine-)apartment of his father was burned, (the ruler) wailed for it three days. Hence it is said, 'The new temple took fire;' and also, 'There

was a wailing for three days.'

10. In passing by the side of mount Thâi, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave. The Master bowed forward to the cross-bar, and hastened to her; and then sent Dze-lû to question her. 'Your wailing,' said he, 'is altogether like that of one who has suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, ' It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed (by another), and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave the place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government here.' The Master then said (to the disciples), 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'

11. In Lû there was one Kâu Fang, to whom duke Âi went, carrying an introductory present, and requesting an interview, which, however, the other refused. The duke said, 'I must give it up then.' And he sent a messenger with the following questions:—'(Shun), the lord of Yü, had not shown his good faith, to the people, and yet they put confidence in him. The sovereign of Hsiâ had not shown his reverence for the people, and yet the people revered him: — what shall I exhibit that I may obtain such things from the people?' The reply was:— 'Ruins and graves express no mournfulness to the people, and yet the people mourn (amidst them). The altars of the spirits of the land and grain and the ancestral temples express no reverence to the people, and yet the people revere them. The kings of Yin made their solemn proclamations, and yet the people began to rebel; those of Kâu made their covenants, and the people began to distrust them. If there be not the heart observant of righteousness, self-consecration, good faith, sincerity, and guilelessness, though a ruler may, try to knit. the people firmly to him, will not all bonds between them be dissolved?'

12. While mourning (for a father), one should not be concerned about (the discomfort of) his own resting-place, nor, in emaciating himself, should he do so to the endangering of his life. He should not be the former; — he has to be concerned that (his father's spirit-tablet) is not (yet) in the temple. He should not do the latter, lest (his father) should thereby have no posterity.

13. Kî-dze of Yen-ling had gone to Khî; and his eldest son having died, on the way back (to Wû), he buried him between Ying and Po. Confucius (afterwards) said, 'Kî-dze was the one man in Wû most versed in the rules of propriety, so I went and saw his manner of interment. The grave was not so deep as to reach the water-springs. The graveclothes were such as (the deceased) had ordinarily worn. After the interment, he raised a mound over the grave of dimensions sufficient to cover it, and high enough for the hand to be easily placed on it. When the mound was completed, he bared his left arm; and, moving to the right,

he went round it thrice, crying out, “That the bones and flesh should return again to the earth is what is appointed. But the soul in its energy can go everywhere; it can go everywhere.” And with this he went on his way.’ Confucius (also) said, ‘Was not Kî-dze of Yen-ling’s observance of the rules of ceremony in accordance with (the idea of them)?’

14. At the mourning rites for the duke Khâo of Kû-lü, the ruler of Hsü sent Yung Kü with a message of condolence, and with the articles to fill the mouth of the deceased. ‘My unworthy ruler,’ said he, ‘hath sent me to kneel and put the jade for a marquis which he has presented into your (deceased) ruler’s mouth. Please allow me to kneel and do so.’ The officers of Kü replied, ‘When any of the princes has deigned to send or come to our poor city, the observances have been kept according to their nature, whether simple and easy, or troublesome and more difficult; but such a blending of the easy and troublesome as in your case, we have not known.’ Yung Kü replied, ‘I have heard that in the service of his ruler one should not forget that ruler, nor be oblivious of his ancestral (rules). Formerly, our ruler, king Kü, in his warlike operations towards the west, in which he crossed the Ho, everywhere used this style of speech. I am a plain, blunt man, and do not presume to forget his example.’

15. When the mother of Dze-sze died in Wei, and news of the event was brought to him, he wailed in the ancestral temple. His disciples came to him. and said, ‘Your mother is dead, after marrying into another family; why do you wail for her in the temple of the Khung family?’ He replied, ‘I am wrong, I am wrong.’ And thereon he wailed in one of the smaller apartments of his house.

16. When the son of Heaven died, three days afterwards, the officers of prayer were the first to assume mourning. In five days the heads of official departments did so; in seven days both males and females throughout the royal domain; and in three months all in the kingdom.

The foresters examined the trees about the various altars, and cut down those which they thought suitable for the coffins and shell, If these did not come up to what was required, the sacrifices were abolished, and the men had their throats cut.

17. During a great dearth in Khî, Khien Âo had food prepared on the roads, to wait the approach of hungry people and give to them. (One day), there came a famished man, looking as if he could hardly see, his face covered with his sleeve, and dragging his feet together. Khien Âo, carrying with his left hand some rice, and holding some drink with the other, said to him, ‘Poor man! come and eat.’ The man, opening his eyes with a stare, and looking at him, said, ‘It was because I would not eat “Poor man come here’s” food, that I am come to

this state.' Khien Âo immediately apologised for his words, but the man after all would not take the food and died.

When Zang-dze heard the circumstances, he said, 'Was it not a small matter? When the other expressed his pity as he did, the man might have gone away. When he apologised, the man might have taken the food.'

18. In the time of duke Ting of Kû-lü, there occurred the case of a man killing his father. The officers reported it; when the duke, with an appearance of dismay, left his mat and said, 'This is the crime of unworthy me!' He added, 'I have learned how to decide on such a charge. When a minister kills his ruler, all who are in office with him should kill him without mercy. When a son kills his father, all who are in the house with him should kill him without mercy. The man should be killed; his house should be destroyed; the whole place should be laid under water and reduced to a swamp. And his ruler should let a month elapse before he raises a cup to his lips.'

19. (The ruler of) Zin having congratulated Wan-dze on the completion of his residence, the Great officers of the state went to the house-warming. Kang Lâo said, 'How elegant it is, and lofty! How elegant and splendid! Here will you have your songs! Here will you have your wailings! Here will you assemble the representatives of the great families of the state!' Wan-dze replied, 'If I can have my songs here, and my wailings, and assemble here the representatives of the great families of the state, (it will be enough). I will then (only) seek to preserve my waist and neck to follow the former Great officers of my family to the Nine Plains.' He then bowed twice, laying his head also on the ground.

A superior man will say (of the two), that the one was skilful in the expression of his praise and the other in his prayer.

20. The dog kept by Kung-nî having died, he employed Dze-kung to bury it, saying, 'I have heard that a worn-out curtain should not be thrown away, but may be used to bury a horse in; and that a worn-out umbrella should not be thrown away, but may be used to bury a dog in. I am poor and have no, umbrella. In putting the dog into the grave, you can use my mat; and do not let its head get buried in the earth. When one of the horses of the ruler's carriage dies, it is buried in a curtain (in good condition).'

21. When the mother of Kî-sun died, duke Âi paid a visit of condolence to him. (Soon after), Zang-dze and Dze-kung arrived for the same purpose; but the porter declined to admit them, because the ruler was present. On this they went into the stable, and adjusted their dress more fully. (Shortly) they entered the house, Dze-kung going first . The porter said to him, 'I have already announced your arrival;' and when Zang-dze followed, he moved on one side for him. They passed on to the inner place for the droppings from the roof, the Great officers

all moving out of their way, and the duke descending a step and bowing to them. A superior man has said about the case, ‘So it is when the toilet is complete! Immediately its influence extends far.’

22. A man-at-arms at the Yang gate (of the capital of Sung) having died, Dze-han, the superintendent of Works, went to (his house), and wailed for him bitterly. The men of Zin who were in Sung as spies returned, and reported the thing to the marquis of Zin, saying, ‘A man-at-arms at the Yang gate having died, Dze-han wailed for him bitterly, and the people were pleased; (Sung), we apprehend, cannot be attacked (with success).’

When Confucius heard of the circumstances, he said, ‘Skilfully did those men do their duty as spies in Sung. It is said in the Book of Poetry, —

“If there was any mourning among the people,
I did my utmost to help them.”

Though there had been other enemies besides Zin, what state under the sky could have withstood one (in the condition of Sung)?’

23. At the mourning rites for duke Kwang of Lû, when the interment was over, (the new ruler) did not enter the outer gate with his girdle of dolichos cloth. The ordinary and Great officers, when they had finished their wailing, also did not enter in their sackcloth.

24. There was an old acquaintance of Confucius, called Yüan Zang. When his mother died, the Master assisted him in preparing the shell for the coffin. Yüan (then) got up on the wood, and said, ‘It is long since I sang to anything;’ and (with this he struck the wood), singing: —

It is marked like a wild cat’s head;
It is(smooth) as a young lady’s hand which you hold.’

The Master, however, made as if he did not hear, and passed by him.

The disciples who were with him said, ‘Can you not have done with him?’ ‘I have heard,’ was the reply, ‘that relations should not forget their relationship, nor old acquaintances their friendship,’

25. Kâo Wan-dze and Shû-yü were looking about them at the Nine Plains, when Wan-dze said, ‘If these dead could arise, with whom would I associate myself?’ Shû-yü asked, ‘Would it be with Yang Khû-fû?’ ‘He managed by his course,’ was the reply, ‘to concentrate in himself all the power of Zin, and yet he did not die a natural death. His wisdom does not deserve to be commended.’ ‘Would it be with uncle Fan?’ Wan-dze said, ‘When he saw gain in prospect, he did not think of his ruler; his virtue does not deserve to be commended. I think I would follow Wû-dze of Sui. While seeking the advantage of his ruler, he did not forget himself; and while consulting for his own advantage, he was not forgetful of his friends.’

The people of Zin thought that Wan-dze knew men. He carried himself in a retiring way, as if he could not bear even his clothes. His speech was low and stuttering, as if he could not get his words out. The officers whom he advanced to responsible charges in the depositories of Zin were more than seventy. During his life, he had no contentions with any of them about gain, and when dying he required nothing from them for his sons.

26. Shû-kung Phî instructed (his son) Dze-liû (in the rules of ceremony); and when he died, Dze-liû's wife, who was a plain, blunt woman, wore for him the one year's mourning and the headband with its two ends tied together. (Phî's brother), Shû-kung Khien spoke to Dze-liû about it, and requested that she should wear the three months' mourning and the simple headband; saying, 'Formerly, when I was mourning for my aunts and sisters, I wore this mourning, and no one forbade it.' When he withdrew, however, (Dze-liû) made his wife wear the three months' mourning and the simple headband.

27. There was a man of Khang, who did not go into mourning on the death of his elder brother. Hearing, however, that Dze-kâo was about to become governor of the city, he forthwith did so. The people of Khang said, 'The silkworm spins its cocoons, but the crab supplies the box for them; the bee has its cap, but the cicada supplies the strings for it. His elder brother died, but it was Dze-kâo who made the mourning for him.'

28. When Yo Kang, Dze-khun's mother, died, he was five days without eating. He then said, 'I am sorry for it. Since in the case of my mother's death, I could not eat according to my feelings, on what occasion shall I be able to do so?'

29. In a year of drought duke Mû called to him Hsien-dze, and asked him about it. 'Heaven,' said he, 'has not sent down rain for a long time. I wish to expose a deformed person in the sun (to move its pity), what do you say to my doing so?' 'Heaven, indeed,' was the reply, 'does not send down rain; but would it not be an improper act of cruelty, on that account to expose the diseased son of some one in the sun?'

'Well then,' (said the duke), 'I wish to expose in the sun a witch; what do you say to that?' Hsien-dze said, 'Heaven, indeed, does not send down rain; but would it not be wide of the mark to hope anything from (the suffering of) a foolish woman, and by means of that to seek for rain?'

'What do you say then to my moving the marketplace elsewhere?' The answer was, 'When the son of Heaven dies, the market is held in the lanes for seven days; and it is held in them for three days, when the ruler of a state dies. It will perhaps be a proper measure to move it there on account of the present distress.'

30. Confucius said, ‘The people of Wei, in burying husband and wife together (in the same grave and shell), leave a space between the coffins. The people of Lû, in doing the same, place them together; — which is the better way.

King was another name for Khû. Duke Hsiang went from Lû in B.C. 545; and it was in the spring of the next year, probably, that the incident occurred. The sorcerer and his reed-brush were used when a ruler went to the mourning for a minister (see Part i. 42), so that Khû intending to humiliate Lû was itself humiliated.

Duke Khang of Thang died in B.C. 539.

This must have been a case for which the rule is given in Part i. 12.

See the Zo Kwan, under B.C. 550, the twenty-third year of duke Hsiang. The name of the place in the text (To, read Thui by Kang Hsüan) seems to be a mistake. See the Khang-hsi dictionary on the character To (###).

There is a good deal of difficulty and difference of opinion in the interpretation of this paragraph. According to the common view, the funeral carriage used by the king and princes was very heavy, and difficult to drag along. To ease its transit, a juice was prepared from the elm bark, and sprinkled on the ground to make it slippery. But this practice was because of the heaviness of the carriage; and was not required in the case of lighter conveyances.

This Kî Dze-kâo was Kâo Khâi, one of the disciples of Confucius. Shan-hsiang was the son of Dze-kang; see paragraph 3, page 132.

Such was Dze-sze in Lû, and Mencius in Khî. They were ‘guests,’ not ministers. Declining salary, they avoided the obligations incurred by receiving it.

The Khû (arsenal or treasury gate) was the second of the palace gates, and near the ancestral temple. Hence the position selected for the wailing.

See the Khun Khiû, under B.C. 588.

This Kâu Fang must have been a worthy who had withdrawn from public life.

Referring, I think, to the discomfort of the mourning shed. But other interpretations of the paragraph are to be found in Khan Hâo’s work, and elsewhere.

This Ki-dze is better known as Kî Kâ (###), a brother of the ruler of Wû. Having declined the state of Wû, he lived in the principality of Yen-ling. He visited the northern states Lû, Khî, Zin, and the others, in B.C. 515; and his sayings and doings in them are very famous. He was a good man and able, whom Confucius could appreciate. Ying and Po were two places in Khî.

Khâo should probably be Ting. Duke Khâo lived after the period of the Khun Khiû, during which the power of Hsü had been entirely broken.

Here was Yung Kü, merely a Great officer, wishing to do what only a prince could do, according to the rules of propriety. He defends himself on the ground

that the lords of Hsü claimed the title of King. The language of the officers of Kû shows that they were embarrassed by his mission.

Literally, 'The mother of the Shû family is dead,' but the interpretation of the text is disputed. The Khien-lung editors and many others question the genuineness of the whole paragraph.

The officers of prayer were divided into five classes; the first and third of which are intended here. See the Official Book of Kâu, ch. 25.

Great efforts are made to explain away this last sentence.

This duke Ting became ruler of Kû in B.C. 613. Some interpret the paragraph as if it said that all the officers, as well as the whole family of a regicide or parricide, should be killed with him. But that cannot be, and need not be, the meaning.

It is doubtful how this first sentence should be translated. Most naturally we should render Hsien-wan-dze of Zin having completed his house, but binomial honorary titles were not yet known; and the view seems to be correct that this Wan-dze was Kâo Wû, a well-known minister of Zin. The 'Nine Plains' below must have been the name of a burying-place used by the officers of Zin. There seems to be an error in the name in the text, which is given correctly in paragraph 25.

The concluding sentence is found also in the 'Narratives of the School,' and may have been added to the rest by the compiler of this Than Kung. We are not prepared for the instance which Confucius gives of his poverty; but perhaps we like him better for keeping a dog, and seeing after its burial.

Because he was older than Zang-dze.

This concluding sentence is much objected to; seeming, as it does, to attribute to their toilet what was due to the respectful demeanour of the two worthies, and their established reputation. But the text must stand as it is.

The whole narrative here is doubted. See the Shih, I. iii. Ode 10. 4. The reading of the poem, but not the meaning, is different from the text. The application is far-fetched.

The time was one of great disorder; there may have been reasons for the violations of propriety, which we do not know.

We have another instance of Confucius's relations with Yüan Zang in the Analects, XIV, 46. He was evidently 'queer,' with a sort of craze. It gives one a new idea of Confucius to find his interest in, and kindly feeling for, such a man.

See paragraph 19 and note.

Master of duke Hsiang B.C. 627-621, and an important minister afterwards.

See in paragraph 19, Part i. But scant measure is dealt here to 'uncle Fan.'

Wû-dze of Sui had an eventful life, and played an important part in the affairs of Zin and Khin in his time. See a fine testimony to him in the Zo Kwan, under B.C. 546.

Shû-kung Phî was the first of a branch of the Shû-sun clan, descended from the ruling house of Lû The object of the paragraph seems to be to show, that Dze-liû's wife, though a plain simple woman, was taught what to do, by her native feeling and sense, in a matter of ceremony, more correctly than the two gentlemen, mere men of the world, her husband and his uncle. The paragraph, however, is not skilfully constructed, nor quite clear. Kang Hsüan thought that Dze-liû was Phî's son, which, the Khien-lung editors say, some think a mistake, They do not give definitely their own opinion.

The Dze-kâo here was the same as Kao Khâi; see the note on paragraph 4. The incident here shows the influence of his well-known character. He is the crab whose shell forms a box for the cocoons, and the cicada whose antennae form the strings for the cap.

'Duke Mû and Hsien-dze;' see Section I. Part iii. 5.

In the Zo Kwan, under B.C. 639, duke Hsî of Lû makes a proposal about exposing a deformed person and a witch like that which is recorded here. Nothing is said, however, about changing the site of the market. Reference is made, however, to that practice in a work of Tung Kung-shu (second century, B.C.), Of which Wang Thâo ventures to give a geomantic explanation. The narrative in the text is probably taken from the Zo Kwan, the compiler having forgotten the time and parties in the earlier account.

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

THE reader will have been struck by the many references in the Than Kung to the degrees and dress of mourning; and no other subject occupies so prominent a place in many of the books of the Lî Kî that follow. It is thought well, therefore, to introduce here, by way of appendix to it, the following passage from a very valuable paper on 'Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China,' contributed, on February 8th, 1853, to the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by Mr. W. H. Medhurst, jun., now Sir Walter H. Medhurst. The information and subjoined illustrative tables were taken by him mainly from the Ritual and Penal Code of China, a preliminary chapter of which is devoted to the subject of 'The Dress of Mourning:' —

The ideas of the Chinese as to nearness of kin, whether by blood or marriage, differ widely from our own. They divide relationships into two classes, Nêi khin (###) and Wâi yin (###), terms analogous to our "consanguinity" and "affinity,"

but conveying, nevertheless, other associations than those which we attach to these words. The former (Nêi khin) comprehends all kindred derived from common stock with the individual, but only by descent through the male line; the latter (Wâi yin) includes what the Chinese designate mû tang (###) and nü tang (###) three terms best translated, perhaps, by "mother's kin," "wife's kin," and "daughter's kin," and understood by them to mean a mother's relatives, relatives of females received into one's kindred by marriage, and members of families into which one's kinswomen marry. Thus, for example, a first cousin twice removed, lineally descended from the same great-great-grandfather through the male line, is a nêi-khin relative; but a mother's parents, wife's sister, and a sister's husband or child, are all equally wâi-yin kindred. The principle on which the distinction is drawn appears to be, that a woman alienates herself from her own kin on marriage, and becomes a part of the stock on which she is grafted; and it will be necessary to keep this principle distinctly in mind in perusing any further remarks that may be made, as otherwise it will be found impossible to reconcile the many apparent contradictions in the theory and practice of the Chinese Code.

'The indication of the prohibited degrees (in marriage) depends then upon a peculiar genealogical disposition of the several members of a family with respect to the mourning worn for deceased relatives; and this I shall now proceed to explain. The Ritual prescribes five different kinds of mourning, called wû fû (###), to be worn for all relatives within a definite proximity of degree, graduating the character of the habit in proportion to the nearness of kin. These habits are designated by certain names, which by a species of metonymy come to be applied to the relationships themselves, and are used somewhat as we apply the terms "1st degree," "2nd degree," and so on; and plans, similar to our genealogical tables, are laid down, showing the specific habit suitable for each kinsman. The principal one of these tables, that for a married or unmarried man, comprises cousins twice removed, that is, derived by lineal descent from a common great-great-grandfather, that ancestor himself, and all relatives included within the two lines of descent from him to them; below the individual, it comprehends his own descendants (in the male line) as far as great-great-grandchildren, his brother's as far as great-grand children, his cousin's as far as grandchildren, and the children 'of his cousin once removed. In this table nêi-khin relationships will alone be found; mourning is worn for very few of the wâi-yin, and these, though actually, that is, in our eyes, ties of consanguinity; and deserving far more consideration than many for which a deeper habit is prescribed, are classed among the very lowest degrees of mourning.

‘Six tables are given in the Ritual to which the five habits are common; they prescribe the mourning to be worn by

- 1st, A man for his kinsmen and kinswomen;
- 2nd, A wife for her husband’s kinsfolk;
- 3rd, A married female for her own kinsfolk;
- 4th, A man for his mother’s kinsfolk;
- 5th, A man for his wife’s kinsfolk;
- 6th, A concubine for her master’s kinsfolk.

‘A seventh table is given, exhibiting the mourning to be worn for step-fathers and fathers by adoption, and for step-and foster-mothers, &c.; but I have not thought it necessary to encumber my paper by wandering into so remote a portion of the field.

‘To render these details more easily comprehensible, I shall class the relationships in each table under their appropriate degrees of mourning, and leave the reader to examine the tables at his leisure. It need only be borne in mind, that, excepting where otherwise specified, the relationship indicated is male, and only by descent through the male line, as, for example, that by “cousin” a father’s brother’s son alone is meant, and not a father’s sister’s son or daughter.

‘The five kinds of mourning, the names of which serve, as has been said, to indicate the degrees of relationship to which they belong, are: —

- 1st, Kan-zui (###), nominally worn for three years, really for twenty-seven months;
- 2nd, Dze-zui (###), worn for one year, for five months, or for three months;
- 3rd, Tâ-kung (###), worn for nine months;
- 4th, Hsiâ-kung (###), worn for five months;
- 5th, Sze-mâ (###) worn for three months.

‘The character of each habit, and the relatives for whom it is worn, are prescribed as follows: —

‘1st, Kan-Zui indicates relationships of the first degree. The prescribed habit for it is composed of the coarsest hempen fabric, and left unhemmed at the borders. It is worn: —

‘By a man, for his parents; by a wife, for her husband, and husband’s parents; and by a concubine, for her master.

‘2nd, Dze-zui indicates relationships of the second degree. The prescribed habit for it is composed of coarse hempen fabric, with hemmed borders. It is worn for one year: —

‘By a man, for his grandparents; uncle; uncle’s wife; spinster aunt; brother; spinster sister; wife; son (of wife or concubine); daughter-in-law (wife of first-born); nephew; spinster niece; grandson (first-born son of first-born); by a wife, for her husband’s nephew, and husband’s spinster niece; by a married woman, for her parents, and grandparents; and by a concubine, for her master’s wife; her master’s parents; her master’s sons (by wife or other concubine), and for sons. It is worn for five months: —

‘By a man, for his great-grandparents; and by a married woman, for her great-grandparents. It is worn for three months: —

‘By a man, for his great-great-grandparents; and by, a married woman, for her great-great-grandparents.

‘3rd, Tâ-kung indicates relationships of the third degree. The prescribed habit for it is composed of coarse cotton fabric. It is worn: —

‘By a man, for his married aunt; married sister; brother’s wife; first cousin; spinster first cousin; daughter-in-law (wife of a younger son, or of a son of a concubine); nephew’s wife; married niece; and grandson (son of a younger son, or of a concubine’s son); by a wife, for her husband’s grandparents; husband’s uncle; husband’s daughter-in-law (wife of a younger son, or of a concubine’s son); husband’s nephew’s wife; husband’s married niece; and grandson; by a married woman, for her uncle; uncle’s wife; spinster aunt; brother; sister; nephew; spinster niece; and by a concubine, for her grandson.

‘4th, Hsiâo-kung indicates relationships of the fourth degree. The habit prescribed for it is composed of rather coarse cotton fabric. It is worn: —

‘By a man, for his granduncle; granduncle’s wife; spinster grandaunt; father’s first cousin; father’s first cousin’s wife; father’s spinster first cousin married female first cousin; first cousin once removed spinster female first cousin once removed; second cousin; spinster female second cousin; grand-daughter-in-law (wife of first-born of first-born son); grand-nephew; spinster grandniece; mother’s parents; mother’s brother; mother’s sister’; by a wife, for her husband’s aunt; husband’s brother; husband’s brother’s wife; husband’s sister; husband’s second cousin; spinster female second cousin of husband; husband’s grand-nephew; and spinster grandniece of husband; by a married woman, for her spinster aunt; married sister; first cousin; and married niece; and by a concubine, for her master’s grandparents.

‘5th, Sze-mâ indicates relationships of the fifth degree. The prescribed dress for it is composed of rather fine cotton cloth. It is worn: —

‘By a man, for his great-grand-uncle; great-granduncle’s wife; spinster great-grand-aunt; married grandaunt; grandfather’s first cousin; grandfather’s first cousin’s wife; spinster first cousin of grandfather; married female first cousin of

rather; father's first cousin once removed; wife of father's first cousin once removed; father's spinster first cousin once removed; first cousin's wife; married female first cousin once removed; first cousin twice removed; spinster first cousin twice removed; married female second cousin; second cousin once removed; spinster second cousin once removed; grand-daughter-in-law (wife of son of a younger son,- or of son of a concubine) grand-nephew's wife; married grandniece; third cousin spinster third cousin; great-grandson; great-grand-nephew; spinster great-grand-niece; great-great-grandson; aunt's son; mother's brother's son; mother's sister's son; wife's parents; son-in-law; daughter's child: by a wife, for her husband's great-great-grandparents; husband's great-grand-parents; husband's granduncle; husband's spinster grandaunt; father-in-law's first cousin; father-in-law's first cousin's wife; spinster first cousin of father-in-law; female first cousin of husband; husband's second cousin's wife; married female second cousin of husband; husband's second cousin once removed; husband's spinster second cousin once removed; grand -daughter-in-law (wife of own or a concubine's grandson); husband's grand-nephew's wife; husband's married grandniece; husband's third cousin; spinster third cousin of husband; great-grandson; great-grand-daughter-in-law; husband's great-grand-nephew; spinster great-grand-niece of husband; and great-great-grandson: and by a married woman, for her granduncle; spinster grandaunt; father's first cousin; spinster first cousin of father; spinster first cousin; second cousin; spinster second cousin.'

BOOK III. THE ROYAL REGULATIONS

Section I

1. According to the regulations of emolument and rank framed by the kings, there were the duke; the marquis; the earl; the count; and the baron : — in all, five gradations (of rank). There were (also), in the feudal states, Great officers of the highest grade,-the ministers; and Great officers of the lowest grade; officers of the highest, the middle, and the lowest grades: — in all, five gradations (of office).

2. The territory of the son of Heaven amounted to 1000 lî square; that of a duke or marquis to 500 lî square; that of an earl to 79 lî square; and that of a count or baron to 50 lî square. (Lords) who could not number 50 lî square, were not admitted directly to (the audiences of) the son of Heaven. Their territories were called ‘attached,’ being joined to those of one of the other princes.

3. The territory assigned to each of the ducal ministers of the son of Heaven was equal to that of a duke or marquis; that of each of his high ministers was equal to that of an earl; that of his Great officers to the territory of a count or baron; and that of his officers of the chief grade to an attached territory.

4. According to the regulations, the fields of the husbandmen were in portions of a hundred acres. According to the different qualities of those acres, when they were of the highest quality, a farmer supported nine individuals; where they were of the next, eight; and so on, seven, six, and five. The pay of the common people, who were employed in government offices, was regulated in harmony with these distinctions among the husbandmen.

5. The officers of the lowest grade in the feudal states had an emolument equal to that of the husbandmen whose fields were of the highest quality; equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. Those of the middle grade had double that of the lowest grade; and those of the highest grade double that of the middle. A Great officer of the lowest grade had double that of an officer of the highest. A high minister had four times that of a Great officer; and the ruler had ten times that of a high minister. In a state of the second class, the emolument of a minister was three times that of a Great officer; and that of the ruler ten times that of a minister. In small states, a high minister had twice as much as a Great officer; and the ruler ten times as much as a minister.

6. The highest minister, in a state of the second class, ranked with the one of the middle grade in a great state; the second, with the one of the lowest grade; and the lowest, with a Great officer of the highest grade. The highest minister in a small state ranked with the lowest of a great state; the second, with the highest Great officer of the other; and the lowest, with one of the lower grade.

7. Where there were officers of the middle grade and of the lowest, the number in each was three times that in the grade above it.

8. Of the nine provinces embracing all within, the four seas, a province was 1000 lî square, and there were established in it 30 states of 100 lî (square) each.; 60 of 70 lî; 120 of 5o lî:-in all, 210 states. The famous hills and great meres were not included in the investitures. The rest of the ground formed attached territories and unoccupied lands of the eight provinces (apart from that which formed the royal domain), each contained (the above) 210 states.

9. Within the domain of the son of Heaven there were 9 states of 100 lî square; 21 of 70 lî; and 63 of 50 lî:-in all, 93 states. The famous hills and great meres were not assigned. The rest of the ground served to endow the officers, and to form unoccupied lands.

10. In all, in the nine provinces, there were 1773 states, not counting in (the lands of) the officers of the chief grade of the son of Heaven, nor the attached territories in the feudal states.

See the Introduction, chapter iii, pages 18-20.

Most sinologists have adopted these names for the Chinese terms. Callery says, ‘Les ducs, les marquis, les comtes, les vicomtes, et les barons.’ See the note on Mencius, V, i, 2, 3, for the meaning given to the different terms.

‘Great officers’ are in Chinese Tâ Fû, ‘Great Sustainers.’ The character fû (###) is different from that for ‘officer,’ which follows. The latter is called shih (###), often translated ‘scholar,’ and is ‘the designation of one having a special charge.’ Callery generally retains the Chinese name Tâ Fû, which I have not liked to do.

A lî is made up of 360 paces. At present 27.8 lî = 10 English miles, and one geographical lî = 1458.53 English feet. The territories were not squares, but when properly measured, ‘taking the length with the breadth,’ were equal to so many lî square. The Chinese term rendered ‘territory’ is here (###), meaning ‘fields;’ but it is not to be supposed that that term merely denotes ‘ground that could be cultivated,’ as some of the commentators maintain.

The mâu is much less than an English acre, measuring only 733 1/3 square yards. An English acre is rather more than 6 mâu.

But held their appointments-only from the Head of their department, and were removable by him. at pleasure, having no commission from the king, or from the ruler of the state in which they were.

Some of the critics think that this sentence is out of place, and really belongs to paragraph 5 of next section. As the text stands, and simple as it appears, it is not easy to construe.

The expression ‘the four seas’ must have originated from an erroneous idea that the country was an insular square, with a sea or ocean on each side. The explanation of it in the R Ya as denoting the country surrounded by ‘The 9 Î, the 8 Tî, the 7 Zung, and the 6 Man,’ was an attempt to reconcile the early error with the more accurate knowledge acquired in the course of time. But the name of ‘seas’ cannot be got over.

That is, these hills and meres were still held to belong to all the people, and all had a right to the game on the hills and the fish of the waters. The princes could not deny to any the right of access to them; though I suppose they could levy a tax on what they caught.

Section ii.

1. (The contributions from) the first hundred lî (square) of the son of Heaven served to supply (the needs of) the (various) public offices; (those from the rest of) the thousand lî were for his own special use.

2. Beyond his thousand lî, chiefs of regions were appointed. Five states formed a union, which had a President. Ten formed a combination, which had a Leader. Thirty formed a confederation, which had a Director. Two hundred and ten formed a province, which had a Chief. In the eight provinces there were eight Chiefs, fifty-six Directors, one hundred and sixty-eight Leaders, and three hundred and thirty-six Presidents. The eight Chiefs, with those under them, were all under the two Ancients of the son of Heaven. They divided all under the sky between them, one having charge of the regions on the left and the other of those on the right, and were called the two (Great) Chiefs.

3. All within the thousand lî (of the royal domain) was called the Tien (or field Tenure). Outside that domain there were the Zhâi (or service territories) and the Liû (or territory for banished persons).

4. The son of Heaven had three dukes, nine high ministers, twenty-seven Great officers, and eighty-one officers of the chief grade.

5. In a great state there were three high ministers, all appointed by the son of Heaven; five Great officers of the lower grade; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade. In a state of the second class there were three high ministers, two appointed by the son of Heaven and one by the ruler; five Great officers of the lower grade; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade. In a small state there were two high ministers, both appointed by the ruler; five, Great officers of the lower grade; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade.

6. The son of Heaven employed his Great officers as the Three Inspectors, — to inspect the states under the Chiefs of Regions. For each state there were three

Inspectors.

7. Within the domain of the son of Heaven the princes enjoyed their allowances; outside it they had their inheritances.

8. According to the regulations, any one of the three ducal ministers might wear one additional symbol of distinction, — that of the descending dragon.

But if such an addition were made (to his eight symbols), it must be by special grant. There were only nine symbols (in all). The ruler of a state of the second class wore only seven of them, and the ruler of a small state only five.

9. The high minister of a great state could not wear more than three of the symbols, and the ministers below him only two. The high ministers of a small state, and Great officers of the lowest class, wore only one.

10. The rule was that the abilities of all put into offices over the people should first be discussed. After they had been discussed with. discrimination, the men were employed. When they had been (proved) in the conduct of affairs, their rank was assigned; and when their position was (thus) fixed, they received salary.

11. It was in the court that rank was conferred, the (already existing) officers being (thus) associated in the act. It was in the marketplace that punishment was inflicted; the multitude being (thus) associated in casting the criminals off. hence, neither the ruler, nor (the head of)a clan, would keep a criminal who had been punished about; him; a Great officer would not maintain him; nor would an officer, meeting him on the road, speak to him. Such men were sent away to one of the four quarters, according to the sentence on each. They were not allowed to have anything to do with affairs of government, to show that there was no object in allowing them to live.

12. In their relation to the son of Heaven, the feudal princes were required to send every year a minor mission to the court, and every three years a greater mission; once in five years they had to appear there in person.

13. The son of Heaven, every five years, made a tour of Inspection through the fiefs.

14. In the second month of the year, he visited those on the East, going to the honoured mountain of Tâi. There he burnt a (great) pile of wood, and announced his arrival to Heaven; and with looks directed to them, sacrificed to the hills and rivers. He gave audience to the princes; inquired out those who were 100 years old, and went to see them: ordered the Grand music-master to bring him the poems (current in the different states) 3, that he might see the manners of the people; ordered the superintendents of markets to present (lists of prices), that he might see what the people liked and disliked, and whether they were set on extravagance and loved what was bad; he ordered the superintendent of rites to

examine the seasons and months, and fix the days, and to make uniform the standard tubes, the various ceremonies, the (instruments of) music, all measures, and (the fashions of) clothes. (Whatever was wrong in these) was rectified.

15. Where any of the spirits of the hills and rivers had been unattended to, it was held to be an act of irreverence, and the irreverent ruler was deprived of a part of his territory. Where there had been neglect of the proper order in the observances of the ancestral temple, it was held to show a want of filial piety and the rank of the unfilial ruler was reduced. Where any ceremony had been altered, or any instrument of music changed, it was held to be an instance of disobedience, and the disobedient ruler was banished. Where the statutory measures and the (fashion of) clothes had been changed, it was held to be rebellion, and the rebellious ruler was taken off. The ruler who had done good service for the people, and shown them an example of virtue, received an addition to his territory and rank.

16. In the seventh month, (the son of Heaven) continued his tour, going to the south, to the mountain of that quarter, observing the same ceremonies as in the east. In the eighth month, he went on to the west, to the mountain of that quarter, observing the same ceremonies as in the south. In the eleventh month, he went on to the north, to the mountain of that quarter, observing the same ceremonies as in the west. (When all was done), he returned (to the capital), repaired (to the ancestral temple) and offered a bull in each of the fanes, from that of his (high) ancestor to that of his father.

17. When the son of Heaven was about to go forth, he sacrificed specially, but with the usual forms., to God, offered the Î sacrifice at the altar of the earth, and the Zhâo in the fane of his father. When one of the feudal princes was about to go forth, he offered the Î sacrifice to the spirits of the land, and the Zhâo in the fane of his father.

18. When the son of Heaven received the feudal princes, and there was no special affair on hand, it was (simply) called an audience. They examined their ceremonies, rectified their punishments, and made uniform what they considered virtuous; thus giving honour to the son of Heaven.

19. When the son of Heaven gave (an instrument of) music to a duke or marquis, the presentation was preceded by a note from the signal box; when giving one to an earl, count, or baron, the presentation was preceded by shaking the hand-drum. When the bow and arrows were conferred on a prince, he could proceed to execute the royal justice. When the hatchet and battle-axe were conferred, he could proceed to inflict death. When a large: libation-cup was conferred, he could make the spirits from the black millet for himself. When this

cup was not conferred, be had to depend for those spirits (as a gift) from the son of Heaven.

20. ‘When the son of Heaven ordered a prince to institute instruction, he proceeded to build his schools; the children’s, to the south of his palace, on the left of it; that for adults, in the suburbs. (The college of) the son of Heaven was called (the palace of) Bright Harmony, (and had a circlet of water). (That of) the princes was called the Palace with its semicircle of water.

21. When the son of Heaven was about to go forth on a punitive expedition, he sacrificed specially, but with the usual forms, to God; offered the Î sacrifice at the altar of the Earth, and the Zhâo in the fane of his father. He offered sacrifice also to the Father of War (on arriving) at the state which was the object of the expedition. He had received his charge from his ancestors, and the complete (plan) for the execution of it in the college. He went forth accordingly, and seized the criminals; and on his return he set forth in the college his offerings, and announced (to his ancestors) how he had questioned (his prisoners), and cut off the cars (of the slain).

22. When the son of Heaven and the princes had no (special) business in hand, they had three huntings in the year. The first object in them was to supply the sacrificial dishes with dried flesh; the second, to provide for guests and visitors; and the third, to supply the ruler’s kitchen.

23. Not to hunt when there was no (special) business in the way was deemed an act of irreverence. To hunt without observing the rules (for hunting) was deemed cruelty to the creatures of Heaven.

24. The sop of Heaven did not entirely surround (the hunting ground); and a feudal prince did not take a (whole) herd by surprise. When the son of Heaven had done killing, his large flag was lowered; and when the princes had done, their smaller flag. When the Great officers had done, the auxiliary carriages were stopped; and after this, the common people fell a hunting (for themselves).

25. When the otter sacrificed its fish, the foresters entered the meres and dams. When the wolf sacrificed its prey, the hunting commenced. When the dove changed into a hawk, they set their nets, large and small. When the plants and trees began to drop their leaves, they entered the hills and forests (with the axe). Until the insects had all withdrawn into their burrows, they did not fire the fields. They did not take fawns nor eggs. They did not kill pregnant animals, nor those which had not attained to their full growth. They did not throw down nests.

26. The chief minister determined the expenditure of the states, and it was the rule that he should do so at the close of the year. When the five kinds of grain had all been gathered in, he then determined the expenditure;-according to the size of each territory, as large or small, and the returns of the year, as abundant

or poor. On the average of thirty years he determined the expenditure, regulating the outgoing by the income.

27. A tenth of the (year's) expenditure was for sacrifices. During the three years of the mourning rites (for parents), the king did not sacrifice (in person), excepting to Heaven, Earth, and the Spirits of the land and grain; and when he went to transact any business, the ropes (for his chariot) were made of hemp (and not of silk). A tithe of three years, expenditure was allowed for the rites of mourning. When there was not sufficient for the rites of sacrifice and mourning, it was owing to lavish waste; when there was more than enough, the state was described as affluent. In sacrifices there should be no extravagance in good years, and no niggardliness in bad.

28. If in a state there was not accumulated (a surplus) sufficient for nine years, its condition was called one of insufficiency; if there was not enough for six years, one of urgency. If there was not a surplus sufficient for three years, the state could not continue. The husbandry of three years was held to give an overplus of food sufficient for one year; that of nine years, an overplus sufficient for three years. Going through thirty years (in this way), though there might be bad years, drought, and inundations, the people would have no lack or be reduced to (eating merely) vegetables, and then the son of Heaven would every day have full meals and music at them.

This statement must be in a great degree imaginary, supposing, as it does, that the provinces were all of the same size. They were not so; nor are the eighteen provinces of the present day so.

The character in the text here is different from that usually employed to denote the royal domain.

The term is different from the 'invested' of the previous paragraph. The tenures in the royal domain were not hereditary.

Such seems to be the view of the Khien-lung editors. Callery translates the paragraph substantially as I have done.

Of these two great chiefs, we have an instance in the dukes of Kâu and Shâo, at the rise of the Kâu dynasty, the former having under his jurisdiction all the states west of the Shen river, and the other, all east of it. But in general, this constitution of the kingdom is imaginary.

Compare the Shû V, xx. The three dukes (Kung) were the Grand Tutor, Grand Assistant, and Grand Guardian. The nine ministers were the Prime Minister, the Ministers of Instruction, Religion, War, Crime, and Works, with the junior Tutor, junior Assistant, and junior Guardian added. The six ministers exist Still, substantially, in the six Boards. The titles of the three Kung and their juniors also still exist.

These appear to have been the Ministers of Instruction, War, and Works. The first had also the duties of Premier, the second those of minister of Religion, anti the third those of minister of Crime.

The Khien-lung editors think that this was a department first appointed by the Han dynasty, and that the compilers of this Book took for it the name of ‘the Three Inspectors,’ from king Wû’s appointment of his three brothers to watch the proceedings of the son of the last sovereign of Yin, in order to give it an air of antiquity. Was it the origin of the existing Censorate?

Outside the royal domain, the feudal states were all hereditary. This is a fact of all early Chinese history. In the domain itself the territories were appanages rather than states. Yet they were in some sense hereditary too. The descendants of all who had served the country well, were not to be left unprovided for. Compare Mencius I, ii, 5, 3.

See the Shih, Part I, xv, Ode 6. x, with the note in my edition of ‘the Chinese Classics.’ The old symbols of distinction gave rise to ‘the Insignia of Civil and Military Officers’ of the present dynasty, called Kiu phin (###). See Williams’ Dictionary, . This paragraph is in the expurgated edition of the Lî Kî, used by Callery, and he gives for it, unfortunately, the following version:— ‘Il est de règle que les trois ministres (qui d’habitude n’appartiennent qu’au 8 ordre de dignitaires), en montant un degré portent I’habit des dragons en broderie. Si, après cela, il y a lieu de leur accorder de nouvelles récompenses, on leur donne des objets de valeur, car on ne va pas au delà du 9 ordre.’

The presence of the officers generally would be a safeguard against error in the appointments, as they would know the individuals.

It has been said that these were rules of the Yin or Shang dynasty. The Khien-lung editors maintain that they were followed by all the three feudal dynasties.

Compare vol. iii, p, 40.

These would include ballads and songs. Perhaps ‘Grand music-master’ should be in the plural, meaning those officers of each state. Probably these would have given them to the king’s Grand music-master.

Mount Hang; in the present district of Hang-shan, dept. Hang-kâu, Hu-nan.

Mount Hwa; in the present district of Hwa-yin, dept. Thung-kâu, Shen-hsî.

Mount Hang; in the present district of Khü-yang, dept. Ting-kâu, Kih-lî.

I have followed here the view of Khung Ying-tâ. It seems to me that all the seven fanes of the son of Heaven were under one roof, or composed one great building, called ‘the Ancestral Temple.’ See .

The meaning of the names of the different sacrifices here is little more than guessed at.

The second sentence of this paragraph is variously understood.

A representation of the signal box is here given (1). The note was made by turning the upright handle, which then struck on some arrangement inside. The hand-drum is also represented (2). It was merely a sort of rattle only that the noise was made by the two little balls striking against the ends of the drum. It is constantly seen and heard in the streets of Chinese cities at the present day, in the hands of pedlers and others.

That; is, the children of the princes; but an impulse was thus given to the education of children of lower degree.

Compare paragraph 17, and vol. iii, p, 393.

The huntings were in spring, summer, and winter, for each of which there was its proper name. In autumn the labours of the field forbade hunting.

Irreverence, in not making provision for sacrifices; disrespect, in not providing properly for guests.

He left one opening for the game. This paragraph contains some of the rules for hunting

These were light carriages used in driving and keeping the game together.

See the next Book, where all these regulations are separately mentioned.

The Chinese have a reputation for being callous in the infliction of punishment and witnessing suffering; And I think they are so. But these rules were designed evidently to foster kindness and sympathy.

Section iii.

1. The son of Heaven was encoffined on the seventh day (after his death), and interred in the seventh month. The prince of a state was encoffined on the fifth day, and interred in the fifth month. A Great officer, (other) officers, and the common people were encoffined on the third day, and interred in the third month. The mourning rites of three years (for parents) extended from the son of Heaven to all.

2. The common people let the coffin down into the grave by ropes, and did not suspend the interment because of rain. They raised no mound, nor planted trees over the grave. That no other business should interfere with the rites of mourning was a thing extending from the son of Heaven to the common people.

3. In the mourning rites they followed (the rank of) the dead; in sacrificing to them, that of the living. A son by a concubine did not (preside at) the sacrifices.

4. (The ancestral temple of) the son of Heaven embraced seven fanes (or smaller temples); three on the left and three on the right, and that of his great ancestor (fronting the south): — in all, seven. (The temple of) the prince of a state embraced five such fanes: those of two on the left, and two on the right, and

that of his great ancestor: — in all, five. Great officers had three fanes:-one on the left, one on the right, and that of his great ancestor: — in all, three. Other officers had (only) one. The common people presented their offerings in their (principal) apartment

5. The sacrifices in the ancestral temples of the son of Heaven and the feudal princes were that of spring, called Yo; that of summer, called Tî; that of autumn, called Khang; and that of winter, called Khang.

6. The son of Heaven sacrificed to Heaven and Earth; the princes of the states, to the (spirits of the) land and grain; Great officers offered the five sacrifices (of the house). The son of Heaven sacrificed to all the famous hills and great streams under the sky, the five mountains receiving (sacrificial) honours like the honours paid (at court) to the three ducal ministers, and the four rivers honours like those paid to the princes of states; the princes sacrificed to the famous hills and great streams which were in their own territories.

7. The son of Heaven and the feudal lords sacrificed to the ancient princes who had no successors to preside over the sacrifices to them, and whose possessions now formed part of the royal domain or of their respective states.

8. The son of Heaven offered the spring sacrifice apart and by itself alone, but his sacrifices of all the other seasons were conducted on a greater scale in the fane of the high ancestor. The princes of the states who offered the spring sacrifice omitted that of the summer; those who offered that of the summer omitted that of the autumn; those who sacrificed in autumn did not do so in winter; and those who sacrificed in winter did not do so in spring.

In spring they offered the sacrifice of the season by itself apart; in summer, in the fane of the high ancestor; in autumn and winter both the sacrifices were there associated together.

9. In sacrificing at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, the son of Heaven used in each case a bull, a ram, and a boar; the princes, (only) a ram and a boar. Great and other officers, at the sacrifices in their ancestral temples, if they had lands, sacrificed an animal; and, if they had no lands, they only presented fruits. The common people, in the spring, presented scallions; in summer, wheat; in autumn, millet; and in winter, rice unhulled. The scallions were set forth with eggs; the wheat with fish; the millet with a sucking-pig; and the rice with a goose.

10. Of the bulls used in sacrificing to Heaven and Earth, the horns were (not larger than) a cocoon or a chestnut. Those of the one used in the ancestral temple could be grasped with the hand; those of the ox used for (feasting) guests were a foot long.

Without sufficient cause, a prince did not kill an ox, nor a Great officer a sheep, nor another officer a dog or a pig, nor a common person eat delicate food.

The various provisions (at a feast) did not go beyond the sacrificial victims killed; the private, clothes were not superior to the robes of sacrifice; the house and its apartments did not surpass the ancestral temple.

11. Anciently, the public fields were cultivated by the united labours of the farmers around them, from the produce of whose private fields nothing was levied. A rent was charged for the stances in the marketplaces, but wares were not taxed. Travellers were examined at the different passes, but no duties were levied from them. Into the forests and plains at the foot of mountains the people went without hindrance at the proper seasons. None of the produce was levied from the fields assigned to the younger sons of a family, nor from the holy fields. Only three days' labour was required (by the state) from the people in the course of a year. Fields and residences in the hamlets, (when once assigned), could not be sold. Ground set apart for graves could not be sought (for any other purpose).

12. The minister of Works with his (various) instruments measured the ground for the settlements of the people. About the hills and rivers, the oozy ground and the meres, he determined the periods of the four seasons. He measured the distances of one spot from another, and commenced his operations in employing the labour of the people. In all his employment of them, he imposed (only) the tasks of old men (on the able-bodied), and gave (to the old) the food-allowance of the able-bodied.

13. In all their settlements, the bodily capacities of the people are sure to be according to the sky and earthly influences, as cold or hot, dry or moist. Where the valleys are wide and the rivers large, the ground was differently laid out; and the people born in them had different customs. Their temperaments, as hard or soft, light or grave, slow or rapid, were made uniform by different measures; their preferences as to flavours were differently harmonised; their implements were differently made; their clothes were differently fashioned, but always suitably. Their training was varied, without changing their customs; and the governmental arrangements were uniform, without changing the suitability (in each case).

14. The people of those five regions-the Middle states, and the Zung, Î, (and other wild tribes round them) — had all their several natures, which they could not be made to alter. The tribes on the east were called Î. They had their hair unbound, and tattooed their bodies. Some of them ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the south were called Man. They tattooed their foreheads, and had their feet turned in towards each other. Some of them (also)

ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the west were called Zung. They had their hair unbound, and wore skins. Some of them did not eat grain-food. Those on the north were called Tî. They wore skins of animals and birds, and dwelt in caves. Some of them also did not eat grain-food.

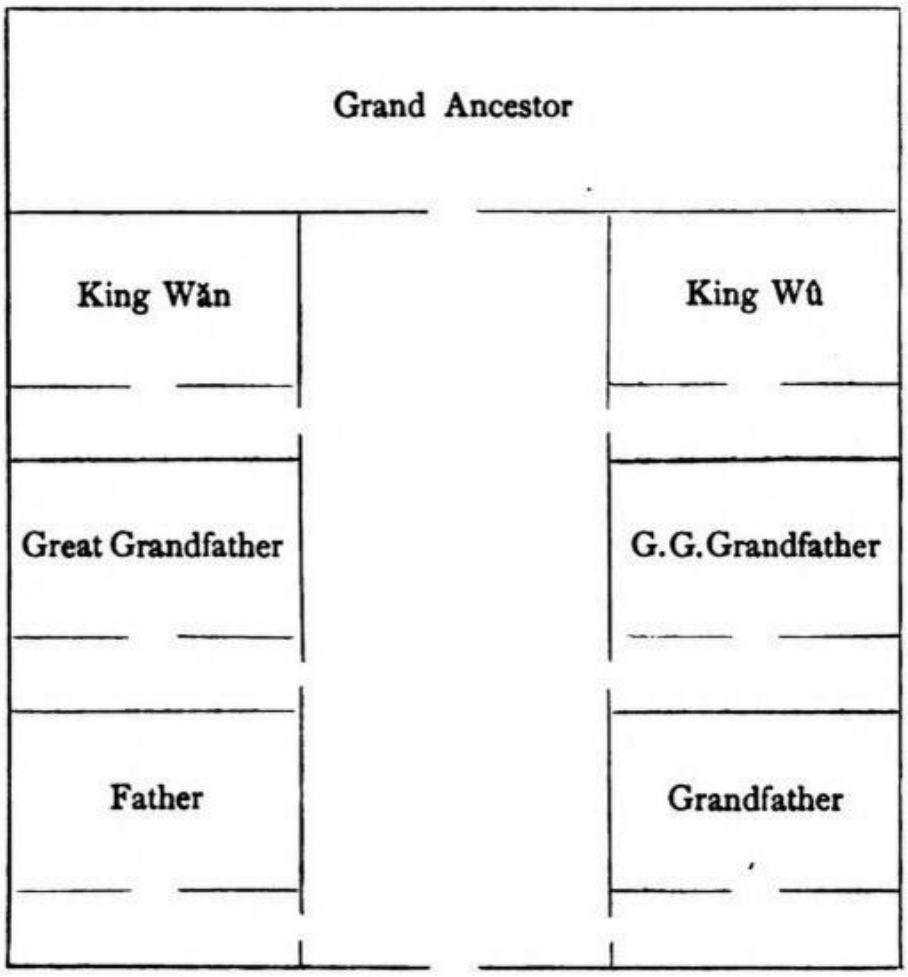
The people of the Middle states, and of those Man, Zung, and Tî, all had their dwellings, where they lived at ease; their flavours which they preferred; the clothes suitable for them; their proper implements for use; and their vessels which they prepared in abundance. In those five regions, the languages of the people were not mutually intelligible, and their likings and desires were different. To make what was in their minds apprehended, and to communicate their likings and desires, (there were officers), — in the east, called transmitters; in the south, representationists; in the west, Tî-tîs; and in the north, interpreters.

15. In settling the people, the ground was measured for the formation of towns, and then measured again in smaller portions for the allotments of the people. When the division of the ground, the cities, and the allotments were thus fixed in adaptation to one another, so that there was no ground unoccupied, and none of the people left to wander about idle, economical arrangements were made about food; and its proper business appointed for each season. Then the people had rest in their dwellings, did joy fully what they had to do, exhorted one another to labour, honoured their rulers, and loved their superiors. This having been secured, there ensued the institution of schools.

Such is the meaning of the text here given by the Khien-lung editors. It is found also in the Khang-hsî dictionary, under the character ###, called in this usage hwo.

Even though he might attain to higher rank than the son of the wife proper, who represented their father.

The technical terms (as they may be called) in the text make it impossible to translate this paragraph concisely, so as to make it intelligible to a foreign reader unacquainted with the significance of those terms. The following ground-plan of an ancestral temple of a king of Kâu is given in the plates of the Khien-lung edition of the Lî kî: — after Kû Hsî. I introduce it here with some condensations.



Entering at the gate on the south, we have, fronting us, at the northern end, the fane of the grand ancestor to whom, in the distant past, the family traced its line. South of his fane, on the right and left, were two fanes dedicated to kings Wan and Wû, father and son, the joint founders of the dynasty. The four below them, two on each side, were dedicated to the four kings preceding the reigning king, the sacrificer. At the back of each fane was a comparatively dark apartment, called khin (###) where the spirit tablet was kept during the intervals between the sacrifices. When a sacrifice was offered, the tablet was brought out and placed in the centre of a screen, in the middle of the fane. As the line lengthened, while the tablets of the grand ancestor and joint ancestors always remained untouched, on a death and accession, the tablet of the next oldest occupant was removed and placed in a general apartment for the keeping of all such tablets, and that of the newly deceased king was placed in the father's fane, and the other three were shifted up, care being always taken that the tablet of a son should never follow that of his father on the same side. The number of the lower fanes was maintained, as a rule, at four. Those on the east were called Kâo

(###) and on the west Mû (###), the names in the text here. See the Chinese Classics, I, p, 267, and the note there.]

The names of some of these sacrifices and their order are sometimes given differently.

For four of these mountains, see pages 217, 218, notes. The fifth was that of the Centre, mount Sung, in the present district of Sung, department Ho-nan, Ho-nan. The four rivers were the Kiang, the Hwâi, the Ho, and the Kî.

The princes who omitted one sacrifice in the year would probably be absent in that season, attending at the royal court. They paid that attendance in turns from the several quarters.

If in this summer service the seasonal and the sacrifice in the fane of the high sacrifice were associated together, the rule for the princes was the same as for the king. There was the ordinary associate sacrifice, and 'the great;' about which the discussions and different views have been endless.

The victims must all have been young animals; 'to show,' says Wang Thâo, 'that the sincerity of the worshipper is the chief thing in the view of Heaven.'

Compare Mencius III, i, 3, 6-9, et al.; II, i, 5, 2-4; I, i, 3, 3, 4; III, i, 3, 15-17; with the notes. I give here also the note of P. Callery on the first sentence of this paragraph:— 'Sous les trois premières dynasties, époque éloignée où il y avait peu de terrains cultivés dans l'empire, le gouvernement concédait les terres incultes par carrés équilatères ayant 900 mâu, ou arpents, de superficie. Ces carrés, qu'on nommait Zing (###), d'après leur analogie de tracé avec le caractère Zing, "a well," étaient divisés en neuf carrés égaux de 100 mâu chacun, au moyen de deux lignes médianes que deux autres lignes coupaient à angle droit à des distances égales. Il résultait de cette intersection de lignes une sorte de damier de trois cases de côté, ayant huit carrés sur la circonférence, et un carré au milieu. Les huit carrés du pourtour devenaient la propriété de huit colons; mais celui du centre était un champ de réserve dont la culture restait bien à la charge des huit voisins, mais dont les produits appartenaient à 1'empereur.'

Section iv.

1. The minister of Instruction defined and set forth the six ceremonial observances: — to direct and control the nature of the people; clearly illustrated the seven lessons (of morality) to stimulate their virtue; inculcated uniformity in the eight objects of government, to guard against all excess; taught the sameness of the course (of duty) and virtue, to assimilate manners; nourished the aged, to secure the completion of filial piety; showed pity to orphans and solitaries, to reach those who had been bereaved; exalted men of talents and worth, to give

honour to virtue; and dealt summarily with the unworthy, to discountenance wickedness.

2. He commanded that, throughout the districts, there should be marked and pointed out to him those who were disobedient to his lessons. (This having been done), the aged men were all assembled in the school, and on a good day archery was practised and places were given according to merit. (At the same time) there was a feast, when places were given according to age. The Grand minister of Instruction conducted thither the eminent scholars of the state and along with them superintended the business.

If those (who had been reported to him) did not (now) change, he gave orders that they who were noted as continuing disobedient in the districts on the left should be removed to those on the right, and those noted on the right to the districts on the left. Then another examination was held in the same way, and those who had not changed were removed to the nearest outlying territory. Still continuing unchanged, they were removed, after a similar trial, to the more distant territory. There they were again examined and tried, and if still found defective, they were cast out to a remote region, and for all their lives excluded from distinction.

3. Orders were given that, throughout the districts, the youths who were decided on as of promising ability should have their names passed up to the minister of Instruction, when they were called ‘select scholars.’ He then decided which of them gave still greater promise, and promoted them to the (great) college, where they were called ‘eminent scholars. ‘ Those who were brought to the notice of the minister were exempted from services in the districts; and those who were promoted to the (great) school, from all services under his own department, and (by and by) were called ‘complete scholars.’

4. The (board for) the direction of Music gave all honour to its four subjects of instruction, and arranged the lessons in them, following closely the poems, histories, ceremonies, and music of the former kings, in order to complete its scholars. The spring and autumn were devoted to teaching the ceremonies and music; the winter and summer to the poems and histories. The eldest son of the king and his other sons, the eldest sons of all the feudal princes, the sons, by their wives proper, of the high ministers, Great officers, and officers of the highest grade, and the eminent and select scholars from (all) the states, all repaired (to their instruction), entering the schools according to their years.

5. When the time drew near for their quitting the college, the smaller and greater assistants, and the inferior director of the board, put down those who had not attended to their instructions, and reported them to the Grand director, who in turn reported them to the king. The king ordered the three ducal ministers, his

nine (other) ministers, the Great officers, and the (other) officers, all to enter the school (and hold an examination). If this did not produce the necessary change; the king in person inspected the school; and if this also failed, for three days he took no full meal nor had music, after which the (culprits) were cast but to the remote regions. Sending them to those of the west was called ‘a (temporary) expulsion;’ to the east, ‘a temporary exile.’ But all their lives they were excluded from distinction.

6. The Grand director of Music, having fully considered who were the most promising of the ‘completed scholars,’ reported them to the king, after which they were advanced to be under the minister of War, and called ‘scholars ready for employment.’

7. The minister of War gave discriminating consideration (to the scholars thus submitted to him), with a view to determine the offices for which their abilities fitted them. He then reported his decisions concerning the best and ablest of them to the king, to have that judgment fixed. When it was, they were put into offices. After they had discharged the duties of these, rank was given them; and, their positions being thus fixed, they received salary.

8. When a Great officer was dismissed as incompetent from his duties, be was not (again) employed in any office to the end of his life. At his death, he was buried as an (ordinary) officer.

9. If any expedition of war were contemplated, orders were given to the Grand minister of Instruction to teach the scholars the management of the chariot and the wearing of the coat of mail.

10. In the case of all who professed any particular art, respect was bad to their strength. If they were to go to a distant quarter, the), had to display their arms and legs, and their skill in archery and charioteering was tested. All who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, such as prayermakers, writers, archers, carriage-drivers, doctors, diviners, and artizans, — all who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, were not allowed to practise any other thing, or to change their offices; and when they left their districts, they did not take rank with officers. Those who did service in families (also), when they left their districts, did not take rank with officers.

11. The minister of Crime adapted the punishments (to the offences for which they were inflicted), and made the laws clear in order to deal with criminal charges and litigations. He required the three references as to its justice (before the infliction of a capital punishment). If a party had the intention, but there were not evidence of the deed, the charge was not listened to. Where a case appeared as doubtful, it was lightly dealt with; where it might be pardoned, it was (still) gravely considered.

12. In all determining on the application of any of the five punishments, it was required to decide according to the judgment of Heaven. Inadvertent and redeemable offences were determined by (the circumstances of) each particular case.

13. When hearing a case requiring the application of any of the five punishments, (the judge) was required to have respect to the affection between father and son, or the righteousness between ruler and minister (which might have been in the mind of the defendant), to balance his own judgment. He must consider the gravity or lightness (of the offence), and carefully try to fathom the capacity (of the offender) as shallow or deep, to determine the exact character (of his guilt). He must exert his intelligence to the utmost, and give the fullest play to his generous and loving feeling, to arrive at his final judgment, If the criminal charge appeared to him doubtful, he was to take the multitude into consultation with him; and if they also doubted, he was to pardon the defendant. At the same time he was to examine analogous cases, great and small, and then give his decision.

14. The evidence in a criminal case having thus been all taken and judgment given, the clerk reported it all to the director (of the district), who heard it and reported it to the Grand minister of Crime. He also heard it in the outer court, and then reported it to the king, who ordered the three ducal ministers, with the minister and director, again to hear it. When they had (once more) reported it to the king, he considered it with the three mitigating conditions, and then only determined the punishment.

15. In all inflictions of punishments and fines, even light offenders (that were not doubtful) were not forgiven. Punishment may be compared to the body. The body is a complete thing; when once completed, there cannot be any subsequent change in it. Hence the wise man will do his utmost (in deciding on all these inflictions).

16. Splitting words so as to break (the force of) the laws; confounding names so as to change what had been definitely settled; practising corrupt ways so as to throw government into confusion: all guilty of these things were put to death. Using licentious music; strange garments; wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements, thus raising doubts among the multitudes: all who used or formed such things were put to death. Those who were persistent in hypocritical conduct and disputatious in hypocritical speeches; who studied what was wrong, and went on to do so more and more, and whoever increasingly followed what was wrong so as to bewilder the multitudes: these were put to death. Those who gave false reports about (appearances of) spirits, about seasons and days, about consultings of the tortoise-shell and stalks, so as to perplex the

multitudes: these were put to death. These four classes were taken off, and no defence listened to.

17. All who had charge of the prohibitions for the regulation of the multitudes did not forgive transgressions of them. Those who had rank-tokens, the long or the round, and gilt libation-cups were not allowed to sell them in the marketplaces; nor were any allowed to sell robes or chariots, the gift of the king; or vessels of an ancestral temple; or victims for sacrifice; or instruments of war; or vessels which were not according to the prescribed measurements; or chariots of war which were not according to the same; or cloth or silk, fine or coarse, not according to the prescribed quality, or broader or narrower than the proper rule; or of the illegitimate colours, confusing those that were correct; or cloth, embroidered or figured; or vessels made with pearls or jade; or clothes, or food, or drink, (in any way extravagant); or grain which was not in season, or fruit which was unripe; or wood which was not fit for the axe; or birds, beasts, fishes, or reptiles, which were not fit to be killed. At the frontier gates, those in charge of the prohibitions, examined travellers, forbidding such as wore strange clothes, and taking note of such as spoke a strange language.

18. The Grand recorder had the superintendence of ceremonies. He was in charge of the tablets of record, and brought before the king what (names) were to be avoided', and what days were unfavourable (for the doing of particular affairs)'. The son of Heaven received his admonitions with reverence.

19. (The office of) the accountants prepared the complete accounts of the year to be submitted to the son of Heaven which were reverently received by the chief minister. The Grand director of Music, the Grand minister of Crime, and the (chief) superintendent of the markets, these three officers, followed with the completed accounts of their departments to be submitted to the son of Heaven. The Grand minister of Instruction, the Grand minister of War, and the Grand minister of Works, reverently received the completed accounts of their several departments from their various subordinates, and examined them, then presenting them to the son of Heaven. Those subordinates then reverently received them after being so examined and adjudicated on. This being done, the aged were feasted and the royal sympathy shown to the husbandmen. The business of the year was concluded, and the expenditure of the states was determined.

I cannot translate Tî-tî. It was the name of a region (Williams says, 'near the Koko-nor'), the people of which had a reputation for singing.

See the last paragraph of these Regulations, at the end of next Section.

It has become the rule, apparently with all sinologists, to call the minister in the text here, Sze Thû, by the name of 'The minister of Instruction.' Callery

describes him as ‘Le ministre qui a dans ses attributions l’instruction publiquee et les, rites.’ And this is correct according to the account of his functions here, in the Kâu Lî, and in the Shû (V, xx, 8); but the characters (###) simply denote ‘superintendent of the multitudes.’ This, then, was the conception anciently of what government had to do for the multitudes, — to teach them all moral and social duties, how to discharge their obligations to men living and dead, and to spiritual beings. The name is now applied to the president and vice-president of the board of Revenue.

That is, the six districts embraced in the royal domain, each nominally containing 12,500 families.

The great school of the district. The aged men would be good officers retired from duty, and others of known worth.

Here we have ‘the Grand minister of Instruction;’ and it may be thought we ‘should translate the name in the first paragraph in the plural. No doubt, where there is no specification of ‘the grand,’ it means the board or department of Education.

This would be the college at the capital.

Have we not in these the prototypes of the ‘Flowering Talents’ (Hsiû Zhai ###) and Promoted Men’ (Kü Zan ###) of to-day?

In the text these are called ‘the four Arts’ and ‘the four Teachings;’ but the different phrases seem to have the same meaning.

The Khien-lung editors say that ‘ in spring and autumn the temperature is equable and the bodily spirits good, well adapted for the practice of ceremonies and moving in time to the music, whereas the long days of summer and long nights of winter are better adapted for the tasks of learning the poems and histories.’

The smaller assistants of the Grand director of Music were eighteen, and the greater four. See the Kâu Lî, XVII, 21. Their functions are described in XXII, 45-53.

Exactly the name to the candidates of to-day who have succeeded at the triennial examinations at the capital the; ‘Metropolitan Graduates,’ as Mayers (page 72) calls them.

It is strange to find the minister of War performing the services here mentioned, and only these. The Khien-lung editors say that the compilers of this Book had not seen the Kâu Lî nor the Shû. It has been seen in the Introduction, pages 4, 5, how the Kâu Lî came to light in the reign of Wû, perhaps fifty years after this Book was made, and even then did not take its place among the other restored monuments till the time of Liû Hsin. To make the duties here ascribed to the Minister of War (literally, ‘Master of Horse,’ ###) appear less anomalous,

Kang and other commentators quote from the Shû (V, xx, 14) only a part of the account of his functions.

See the Kâu Lî, XXXVII, 45, 46.

Branding; cutting off the nose; Cutting off the feet; castration; death. See vol, iii, .

Vol. iii, p-263. The compilers in this part evidently had some parts of the Shû before them.

Which might make either party conceal the guilt of the other.

Which might in a similar way affect the evidence.

The text says, ‘Under the Zizyphus trees.’ These were planted in the outer court of audience, and under them the different ministers of the court had their places.

Callery gives for this, ‘qui pardonne trois fois.’ The conditions were- ignorance, mistake, forgetfulness.

There is here a play upon the homophonous names of different Chinese characters, often employed, as will be pointed out, in the Lî Kî, and in which the scholars of Han set an example to future times. Callery frames a French example of the reasoning that results from it: ‘Un saint est un ceint; or, la ceinture signifiant au figuré la continence, il s’ensuit que la vertu de continence est essentielle à la sainteté!’

These would be, especially, the superintendents of the markets.

The five correct colours were — black, carnation, azure, white. and yellow.

See pages 93, 180, *et al.*

Some of the functions here belonged to the assistant recorder, according to the Kâu Lî, but the two were of the same department.

This office was under the board of the chief minister, and consisted of sixty-two men of different grades under the Kâu dynasty (the Kâu Lî, I, 38; their duties are described in Book VI). It is not easy to understand all the text of the rest of the paragraph. about the final settlement of the accounts of the year.

Section v.

1. In nourishing the aged, (Shun), the lord of Yü, used the ceremonies of the drinking entertainment; the sovereigns of Hsiâ, those at entertainments (after) a reverent sacrifice or offering; the men of Yin, those of a (substantial) feast; and the men of Kâu cultivated and used all the three.

2. Those of fifty years received their nourishment in the (schools of the) districts; those of sixty, theirs in the (smaller school of the) state; and those of seventy, theirs in the college. This rule extended to the feudal states. An old man

of eighty made his acknowledgment for the ruler's message, by kneeling once and bringing his head twice to the ground. The blind did the same. An old man of ninety employed another to receive (the message and gift for him).

3. For those of fifty the grain was (fine and) different (from that used by younger men). For those of sixty, flesh was kept in store. For those of seventy, there was a second service of savoury meat. For those of eighty, there was a constant supply of delicacies. For those of ninety, food and drink were never out of their chambers. Wherever they wandered (to another place), it was required that savoury meat and drink should follow them.

4. After sixty, (the coffin and other things for the mourning rites) were seen to be in readiness, (once) in the year; after seventy, once in the season; after eighty, once in the month; and after ninety; every day they were kept in good repair. But the bandages, sheet, and coverlets and cases (for the corpse) were prepared after death,

5. At fifty, one begins to decay; at sixty, he does not feel satisfied unless he eats flesh; at seventy, he does not feel warm unless he wears silk; at eighty, he does not feel warm unless there be some one (to sleep) with him; and at ninety, he does not feel warm even with that.

6. At fifty, one kept his staff always in his hand in his family; at sixty, in his district; at seventy, in the city; at eighty, (an officer) did so in the court. If the son of Heaven wished to put questions to (all officer) of ninety, he went to his house, and had rich food carried after him.

7. At seventy, (an officer) did not wait till the court was over (before he retired); at eighty, he reported every month (to the ruler's messenger) that he was still alive; at ninety; he (had delicate food sent) regularly to him every day.

8. At fifty, a (common) man was not employed in services requiring strength; at sixty, he was discharged from bearing arms along with others; at seventy, he was exempted from the business of receiving guests and visitors; and at eighty, he was free from the abstinences and other rites of mourning.

9. When one was fifty, he received the rank (of a Great officer); at sixty, he did not go in person to the college; at seventy, he retired from the service of the government; and in mourning, he used only the dress of sackcloth (without adopting the privations of the mourning rites).

10. (Shun), the lord of Yü, nourished the aged (who had retired from the service) of the state in (the school called) the higher hsiang, and the aged of the common people (and officers who had not obtained rank) in (the school called) the lower hsiang. The sovereigns of Hsiâ nourished the former in (the school called) the hsü on the east, and the latter in (that called) the hsü on the west. The men of Yin nourished the former in the school of the right, and the latter in that

of the left. The men of Kâu entertained the former in (the school called) the eastern kiâo, and the latter in (what corresponded to) the hsiang of Yü. This was in the suburb of the capital on the west.

11. The lord of Yü wore the hwang cap in sacrificing (in the ancestral temple), and the white robes in nourishing the aged. The sovereigns of Hsiâ used the shâu cap in sacrificing, and the upper and lower dark garments of undress in nourishing the aged. During the Yin, they used the hsü cap in sacrificing, and the tipper and lower garments, both of white thin silk, in nourishing the aged. During the Kâu dynasty, they used the mien cap in sacrificing, and the dark-coloured upper and lower garments in nourishing the aged.

12. The kings of the three dynasties, in nourishing the old, always had the years of those connected with them brought to their notice. Where (an officer) was eighty, one of his sons was free from all duties of government service; where he was ninety, all the members of his family were set free from them. In cases of parties who were disabled or ill, and where the attendance of others was required to wait upon them, one man was discharged from those duties (for the purpose). Parties mourning for their parents had a discharge for three years. Those mourning for one year or nine months had a discharge for three months. Where an officer was about to move to another state, he was discharged from service for three months beforehand. When one came from another state, he was not required to take active service for around year.

13. One who, while quite young, lost his father was called an orphan; an old man who had lost his sons was called a solitary. An old man who had lost his wife was called a pitiable (widower); an old woman who had lost her husband was called a poor (widow). These four classes were the most forlorn of Heaven's people, and had none to whom to tell their wants; they all received regular allowances.

14. The dumb, the deaf, the lame, such as had lost a member, pigmies, and mechanics, were all fed according to what work they were able to do.

15. On the roads, men took the right side and women the left; carriages kept in the middle. A man kept behind another who had a father's years; he followed one who might be his elder brother more closely, but still keeping behind, as geese fly after one another in a row. Friends did not pass by one another, when going the same way. (In the case of an old and a young man, carrying burdens,) both were borne by the younger; and if the two were too heavy for one, he took the heavier. A man with grey hair was not allowed to carry anything, though he might do it with one hand.

16. An officer of superior rank, of the age of sixty or seventy, did not walk on foot. A common man, at that age, did not go without flesh to eat.

17. A Great officer, (having land of his own), was' not permitted to borrow the vessels for sacrifice; nor to make vessels for his own private use before he had made those for sacrifice.

I& A space of one lî square contained fields amounting to 900 mâu. Ten lî square were equal to 100 spaces of one lî square, and contained 90,000 mâu. A hundred lî square were equal to 100 spaces of ten lî square, and contained 9,000,999 mâu. A thousand lî square were equal to 100 spaces of 100 lî square, and contained 900,000,000 mâu.

19. From mount Hang to the southernmost point of the Ho was hardly 1000 lî. From that point to the Kiang was hardly I000 lî. From the Kiang to mount Hang in the south was more than 1000 lî. From the Ho on the cast to the eastern sea was more than 1000 lî. From the Ho on the east to the same river on the west was hardly 1000 lî; and from that to the Moving Sands was more than 1000 lî. (The kingdom) did not pass the Moving Sands on the west, nor mount Hang on the south. On the east it did not pass the eastern sea, nor on the north did it pass (the other) mount Hang. All within the four seas, taking the length with the breadth, made up a space Of 3000 lî square, and contained eighty trillions of mâu.

20. A space of 100 lî square contained ground to the amount of 9,000,000 mâu. Hills and mounds, forests and thickets, rivers and marshes, ditches and canals, city walls and suburbs., houses, roads, and lanes took up one third of it, leaving 6,000,000 mâu.

21. Anciently, according to the cubit of Kâu, eight cubits formed a pace. Now, according to the same, six cubits and four inches make a pace. One hundred ancient mâu were equal to 146 of the present day and thirty paces. One hundred ancient lî were equal to 121 of the present day, sixty paces, four cubits, two inches and two-tenths.

22. A space of 1000 lî square contained 100 spaces of 100 lî square each. In this were constituted thirty states of 100 lî square, leaving what would have been enough for other seventy of the same size. There were also constituted sixty states Of 70 lî square, twenty-nine of 100 lî square, and forty spaces of 10 lî square; leaving enough for forty states of 100 lî square, and sixty spaces of 10 lî square. There were also constituted a hundred and twenty states of 50 lî square, and thirty of 100 lî square, leaving enough for ten of the same size, and sixty spaces of 10 lî square.

The famous hills and great meres were not included in the fiefs; and what remained was assigned for attached territories and unoccupied lands. Those unappropriated lands were taken to reward any of the princes of acknowledged

merit, and what was cut off from some others (because of their demerit) became unappropriated land.

23. The territory of the son of Heaven, amounting to 1000 lî square, contained 100 spaces of 100 lî square each. There were constituted nine appanages of 100 lî square, leaving ninety-one spaces of the same size. There were also constituted twenty-one appanages of 70 lî square, ten of 100 lî, and twenty-nine spaces of 10 lî square; leaving enough for eighty of 100 lî square, and seventy-one of 10 lî There were further constituted sixty-three appanages of 50 lî square, fifteen of 100 1î, and seventy-five spaces of 10 lî, while there still remained enough for sixty-four appanages of 100 lî square, and ninety-six spaces of 10 lî each.

24. The officers of the lowest grade in the feudal states received salary sufficient to feed nine individuals; those of the second grade, enough to feed eighteen; and those of the highest, enough for thirty-six. A Great officer could feed 72 individuals; a minister, 288; and the ruler, 2880.

In a state of the second class, a minister could feed 216; and the ruler, 2160.

A minister ‘ of a small state could feed 144 individuals; and the ruler, 1440.

In a state of the second class, the minister who was appointed by its ruler received the same emolument as the minister of a small state.

2 5. The Great officers of the son of Heaven acted as ‘the three inspectors.’ When they were inspecting a state, their salary was equal to one of its ministers, and their rank was that of a ruler of a: state of the second class. Their salaries were derived from the territories under the chiefs of regions.

26. The chiefs of regions, on occasion of their appearing at the court of the son of Heaven, had cities assigned them for purification within his domain like those of his officers of the chief grade.

27. The (appointed) heir-sons of the feudal princes inherited their states. Great officers (in the royal domain) did not inherit their rank. They were employed as their ability and character were recognised, and received rank as their merit was proved. Till their rank was conferred (by the king), (the princes) were in the position of his officers of the chief grade, and so they ruled their states, The Great officers of the states did not inherit their rank and emoluments.

28. The six ceremonial observances were: — capping; marrying; mourning rites; sacrifices; feasts; and interviews. The seven lessons (of morality) were: — (the duties between) father and son; elder brother and younger; husband and wife; ruler and minister; old and young; friend and friend; host and guest. The eight objects of government were:-food and drink; clothes; business (or, the profession); maintenance of distinctions; measures of length; measures of capacity; and definitely assigned rules.

BOOK IV. THE YÜEH LING

or

Proceedings of Government in the Different Months.

Section 1. Part 1.

1. In the first month of spring the sun is in Shih, the star culminating at dusk being Zhan, and that culminating at dawn Wei.

2. Its days are kiâ and yî.

3. Its divine ruler is Thâi Hâo, and the (attending) spirit is Kâu-mang.

4. Its creatures are the scaly.

5. Its musical note is Kio, and its pitch-tube is the Thâi Zhâu.

6. Its number is eight; its taste is sour; its smell is rank.

7. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

8. The east winds resolve the cold. Creatures that have been torpid during the winter begin to move. The fishes rise up to the ice. Otters sacrifice fish. The wild geese make their appearance.

9. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Khing Yang (Fane); rides in the carriage with the phoenix (bells), drawn by the azure-dragon (horses), and carrying the green flag; wears the green robes, and the (pieces of) green jade (on his cap and at his girdle pendant). He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the shooting forth (of plants).

10. In this month there takes place the inauguration of spring. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, ‘On such and such a day is the inauguration of the spring. The energies of the season are fully seen in wood. On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification, and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes (who are at court), and his Great officers, to meet the spring in the eastern suburb; and on their return, he rewards them all in the court.

11. He charges his assistants to disseminate (lessons of) virtue, and harmonise the governmental orders, to give effect to the expressions of his satisfaction and bestow his favours; down to the millions of the people. Those expressions and gifts thereupon proceed, every one in proper (degree and direction).

12. He also orders the Grand recorder to guard the statutes and maintain the laws, and (especially) to observe the motions in the heavens of the sun and

moon, and of the zodiacal stars in which the conjunctions of these bodies take place, so that there should be no error as to where they rest and what they pass over; that there should be no failure in the record of all these things, according to the regular practice of early times.

13. In this month the son of Heaven on the first (hsin) day prays to God for a good year; and afterwards, the day of the first conjunction of the sun and moon having been chosen, with the handle and share of the plough in the carriage, placed between the man-at-arms who is its third occupant and the driver, he conducts his three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes and his Great officers, all with their own hands to plough the field of God. The son of Heaven turns up three furrows, each of the ducal ministers five, and the other ministers and feudal princes nine. When they return, he takes in his hand a cup in the great chamber, all the others being in attendance on him and the Great officers, and says, 'Drink this cup of comfort after your toil.'

14. In this month the vapours of heaven descend and those of the earth ascend. Heaven and earth are in harmonious co-operation. All plants bud and grow.

15. The king gives orders to set forward the business of husbandry. The inspectors of the fields are ordered to reside in the lands having an eastward exposure, and (see that) all repair the marches and divisions (of the o-round), and mark out clearly the paths and ditches. They must skilfully survey the mounds and rising grounds, the slopes and defiles, the plains and marshes, determining what the different lands are suitable for, and where the different grains will grow best. They must thus instruct and lead on the people, themselves also engaging in the tasks. The business of the fields being thus ordered, the guiding line is first put in requisition, and the husbandry is carried on without error.

16. In this month orders are given to the chief director of Music to enter the college, and practise the dances (with his pupils).

17. The canons of sacrifice are examined and set forth, an d orders are given to sacrifice to the hills and forests, the streams and meres, care being taken not to use any female victims.

18. Prohibitions are issued against cutting down trees.

19. Nests should not be thrown down; unformed insects should not be killed, nor creatures in the Womb, nor very young creatures, nor birds just taking to the wing, nor fawns, nor should eggs be destroyed.

20. No congregating of multitudes should be allowed, and no setting about the rearing of fortifications and walls.

21. Skeletons should be covered up, and bones with the flesh attached to them buried.

22. In this month no warlike operations should be undertaken; the undertaking of such is sure to be followed by calamities from Heaven. The not undertaking warlike operations means that they should not commence on our side.

23. No change in the ways of heaven is allowed; nor any extinction of the principles of earth; nor an), confounding of the bonds of men.

24. If in the first month of spring the governmental proceedings proper to summer were carried out, the rain would fall unseasonably, plants and trees would decay prematurely, and the states would be kept in continual fear. If the proceedings proper to autumn were carried out, there would be great pestilence among the people; boisterous winds would work their violence; rain would descend in torrents; orach, fescue, darnel, and southernwood would grow up together. If the proceedings proper to winter were carried out, pools of water would produce their destructive effects, snow and frost would prove very injurious, and the first sown seeds would not enter the ground.

In this month the conjunction of the sun and moon took place in Shih or a Alarkab Pegasi. Zhan is a constellation embracing Betelguese, Bellatrix, Rigel, γ, δ, ε, ζ, η, of Orion; and Wei is ε, μ, of Scorpio. Shih is called in the text Ying Shih, ‘the Building Shih,’ because this month was the proper time at which to commence building.

Kiâ and yî are the first two of the ‘ten heavenly stems,’ which are combined with the ‘twelve earthly branches,’ to form the sixty binomial terms of ‘the cycle of sixty,’ that was devised in a remote antiquity for the registration of successive days, and was subsequently used also in the registration of successive years. The origin of the cycle and of the names of its terms is thus far shrouded in mystery; and also the application of those terms to the various purposes of divination. The five pairs of the stems correspond, in the jargon of mysterious. speculation, to the five elements of wood, fire, earth, metal, and water, and, as will be seen in his Book, to the seasons of spring, summer, the intermediate centre, autumn, and winter. Whether there be anything more in this short notice than a declaration of this fact, or any indication of the suitableness of ‘the days’ for certain ‘undertakings’ in them, as even the Khien-lung editors seem to think, I cannot say.

Thâi Hâo, ‘the Grandly Bright,’ is what is called the dynastic designation’ of Fû-hsî and his line. By the time that the observances described in this Book had come into use, Fû-hsî and other early personages had been deified and were supposed to preside over the seasons of the year. To him as the earliest of them

was assigned the presidency of the spring and the element of wood, the phenomena of vegetation being then most striking. He was the ‘divine ruler’ of the spring, and sacrificed to in its months; and at the sacrifices there was associated with him, as assessor, an inferior personage called Kâu-mang (literally, ‘curling fronds and spikelets’), said to have been a son of Shâo Hâo, another mythical sovereign, founder of the line of Kin Thien (###). But Shâo Hâo was separated from Thâi Hâo by more than 1000 years. The association at these sacrifices in the spring months of two personages so distant in time from each other as Fû-hsî and Kâu-mang, shows how slowly and irregularly the process of deification and these sacrifices had grown up.

The character for which I have given ‘ creatures’ is’ often translated by ‘insects;’ but fishes, having scales, must form a large portion of what are here intended. ‘The seven (zodiacal) constellations of the east,’ says Wû Khang, I make up the Azure Dragon, and hence all moving creatures that have scales belong to (the element of) wood.’

Kio is the name of the third of the five musical notes of the Chinese scale, corresponding to our B (?); and Thâi Zhâu is the name of one of the twelve tubes by which, from a very early date, music was regulated. The Thâi Zhâu, or ‘ Great Pipe,’ was the second of the tubes that give the ‘six upper musical accords.’

The ‘number’ of wood is three, which added to five, the number’ of earth, gives eight, the ‘number’ of the months of spring; but this, to me at least, is only a jargon.

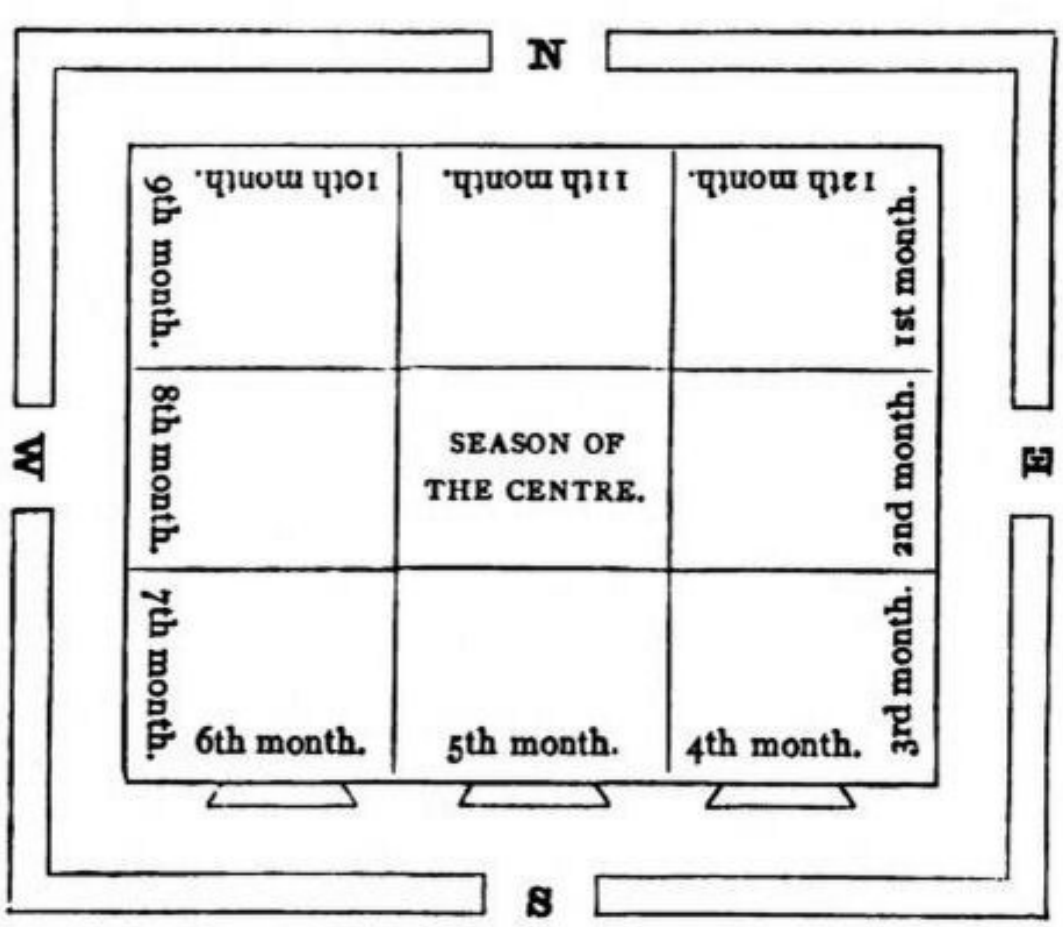
This was one of the sacrifices of the house; see paragraph 6, page 116, and especially the seventh paragraph of Book XX. As the door is the place of exodus, it was the proper place for this sacrifice in the spring, when all the energies of nature begin to be displayed afresh. Among the five viscera, — the heart, the liver, the spleen, the lungs, and the kidneys, — the spleen corresponds to the element of earth, and therefore it was made prominent in this service, in the season when the earth seems to open its womb beneath the growing warmth of the year.

These are all phenomena of the spring. The third of them is differently expressed in Hwai-nan Dze, the Tâoist grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty (see Book V of his works), and in the Hsiâ Hsiâo Mang, showing that this text of the Lî Kî was taken from Lü Pû-wei, if the whole Book were not written by him. They read ###, which Professor Douglas renders, Fish mount (to the surface of) the water, bearing on their backs pieces of ice.’ But the meaning of the longer text is simply what I have given. Ying-tâ says, ‘Fishes, during the intense cold of winter, lie close at the bottom of the water, attracted by the

greater warmth of the earth; but, when the sun's influence is felt, they rise and swim near to the ice.' ### = 'with their backs near to the ice.' What is said about the otter is simply a superstitious misinterpretation of its habit of eating only a small part of its prey, and leaving the rest on the bank. The geese come from the south on the way to their quarters during the warmer season in the north.

The Khing Yang ('Green and Bright') was one of the principal divisions in the Hall of Distinction of Book XII. We must suppose that the sovereign went there (among other purposes) to give out the first day of the month, and did so in the apartment indicated, and in the style and robes and ornaments of the text, in the first month of spring. The ancient Shun, it is said, set the example of the carriage with bells, whose tinkling was supposed to resemble the notes of the lwan, a bird at which we can only guess, and which has been called the phoenix, and the argus pheasant. Horses above eight feet high were called dragon steeds. The predominating green colour suits the season and month; but what made wheat and mutton then peculiarly suitable for the royal mat, I do not know the fancies of Tâoism sufficiently to be able to understand.

In the plates to the Khien-lung edition of our classic, the following rude ground-plan of the structure is given to illustrate the various references to it in this Book: —



The building is made to consist of nine large apartments or halls; three fronting the different points of the compass, and one in the centre; making nine in all. That in the centre was called ‘The Grand Apartment of the Grand Fane;’ south from it was ‘The Ming Thang Grand Fane;’ on the east ‘The Khing Yang Grand Fane;’ on the west ‘The Zung Yang Grand Fane;’ and on the north ‘The Hsüan Thang Grand Fane.’

In the second month of the seasons, the king went the round of the Grand Fanes. The four corner apartments were divided into two each, each one being named from the Grand Fane on the left or right of which it was. Commencing with the half on the left of the Khing Yang Fane, the king made the circuit of all the others and of the Fanes, returning to the other half on the right of the Hsüan Thang Fane in the twelfth month. The Grand Apartment in the centre was devoted to the imaginary season of the centre, between the sixth and seventh months, or the end of summer and beginning of autumn.]

We are not told what the ceremonies in the inauguration of the spring were. The phrase li khun (###) is the name of the first of the twenty-four terms into which the Chinese year is divided, dating now from the sun’s being in the

fifteenth degree of Aquarius. Kang Hsüan thought that the meeting of the spring in the eastern suburb was by a sacrifice to the first of 'the five planetary gods,' corresponding to Jupiter, 'the Azure Tî, called Ling-wei-jang' But where he found that name, and what is its significance, is a mystery; and the whole doctrine of five planetary Tîs is held to be heresy, and certainly does not come from the five King.

This rewarding, it is understood, was that mentioned in paragraph 15, .

These assistants are supposed to be the 'three ducal ministers.'

This took and takes place on the first (###) in day, the first day commencing with that character, the eighth of the ' stems.'

The services described here are still performed, in substance, by the emperors of China and their representatives throughout the provinces. The field is generally called 'the imperial field,' through error. The grain produced by it was employed in the sacrifices or religious services of which God (Shang Tî) was the object, and hence arose the denomination.

Compare vol. iii, p-322, 370-373.

'The chief director of Music' would be the same as the Tî Sze Yo of the Kâu Lî, Book XXII. There were dances of war (wan), and dances of peace (wân); but neither is in the text. But either term may include both classes of dancing. Callery translates by 'faire des évolutions.'

Not to destroy the life unborn. At 'the great sacrifices,' those to Heaven and Earth, and in the ancestral temple, only male victims were used, females being deemed 'unclean.' The host of minor sacrifices is intended here.

Such operations would interfere with the labours of husbandry.

War is specially out of time in the genial season of spring; but a state, when attacked, must, and might, defend itself even then.

Compare what is said in the fifth Appendix to the Yî King, paragraph 4 (vol. xvi, p, 424). The next paragraph is the sequel of this.

Such government would be comparable to the inversion of the seasons in the course of nature. Compare Proverbs xxvi. 1.

Part ii.

1. In the second month of spring, the sun is in Khwei, the star culminating at dusk being Hû, and that culminating at dawn Kien-hsing.

2. Its days are kiâ and yî. Its divine ruler is Thâi Hâo, the attending spirit is Kâu-mang. Its creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is Kio, and its pitch-tube is the Kiâ Kung.

3. Its number is eight; its taste is sour; its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

4. The rain begins to fall. The peach tree begins to blossom. The oriole sings. Hawks are transformed into doves.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the Khing Yang Grand Fane; rides in the carriage with the phoenix bells, drawn by the azure dragon-(horses), and bearing the green flag. He is dressed in the green robes, and wears the azure gems. He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the bursting forth (of nature).

6. In this month, they keep both the young buds and those more advanced from being disturbed; they nourish both the young animals and those not fully grown; they especially watch over all orphans.

7. The fortunate day is chosen, and orders are given to the people to sacrifice at their altars to the spirits of the ground.

8. Orders are given to the (proper) officers to examine the prisons; to remove fetters and handcuffs; that there shall be no unregulated infliction of the bastinado; and that efforts shall be made to stop criminal actions and litigations.

9. In this month the swallow makes its appearance. On the day of its arrival, the son of Heaven sacrifices to the first match-maker with a bull, a ram, and a boar. He goes to do so in person, with his queen and help-mates, attended by his nine ladies of honour. Peculiar courtesy is shown to those whom he has (lately) approached. Bow-cases have been brought, and a bow and arrows are given to each before (the altar of) the first match-maker.

10. In this month day and night are equal. Thunder utters its voice, and the lightning begins to be seen. Insects in their burrows are all in motion, opening their doors and beginning to come forth.

11. Three days before the thunder, a bell with a wooden tongue is sounded, to give notice to all the people. ‘The thunder,’ it is said, ‘is about to utter its voice. If any of you be not careful of your behaviour, you shall bring forth children incomplete; there are sure to be evils and calamities.’

12. At the equinox they make uniform the measures of length and capacity; the weight Of 30 catties, the steelyard, and the weight of 120 catties. They correct the peck and bushel, the steelyard weights and the bushel-scraper.

13. In this month few of the husbandmen remain in their houses in the towns. They repair, however, their gates and doors, both of wood and wattles; and put their sleeping apartments and temples all in good repair. No great labours, which would interfere with the work of husbandry, should be undertaken.

14. In this month (the fishermen) should not let the streams and meres run dry, nor drain off all the water from the dams and ponds, (in order to catch all

the fish), nor should (the hunters) fire the hills and forests.

15. The son of Heaven at this time offers a lamb (to the ruler of cold), and opens the (reservoirs of) ice. Before (using it generally), they offer some in their principal apartment or in the ancestral temple.

16. On the first ting day orders are given to the chief director of Music to exhibit the civil dances and unfold the offerings of vegetables (to the inventor of music). The son of Heaven, at the head of the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes (at court), and his Great officers, goes in person to see the ceremony. On the second ting day orders are given again to the same chief to enter the college, and practise music (with his pupils).

17. In this month at the (smaller) services of supplication they do not use victims. They use offerings of jade, square and round, and instead (of victims) skins and pieces of silk.

18. If in this second month of spring the governmental proceedings proper to autumn were observed, there would be great floods, in the states; cold airs would be constantly coming; and plundering attacks would be frequent. If those of winter were observed, the warm and genial airs would be insufficient; the wheat would not ripen; and raids and strifes would be rife among the people. If those of summer were observed, there would be great droughts among the people; the hot airs would come too early; and caterpillars and other insects would harm the grain.

The constellation Khwei contains β (Mirac), δ, ε, ζ, μ, ν, π of Andromeda, and, some stars of Pisces. Hû or Hû Kih contains δ, ε, η, κ, of Canis Major; and δ, ω, of Argo; and Kien-hsing, ν, ξ, π, ρ, σ of Sagittarius' head.

Kiâ Kung, 'the double tube,' is the second tube of the six lower accords.

Literally, 'There commence the rains.' 'The rains' is now the name of the second of the twenty-four terms (February 15 to March 4).

This is the converse of the phenomenon in page 277, paragraph 3. Both are absurd, but the natural rendering in the translation is the view of Kang, Ying-tâ, Kâo Yû (the glossarist of Hwâi-nan Dze), and the Khien-lung editors. Seeking for the actual phenomenon which gave rise to the superstitious fancy, Professor Douglas renders the corresponding sentence of the Hsiâ Kang by 'hawks become crested hawks,' and thinks that the notice is based on the appearance of the hawks when 'the rearing instinct becomes excessive, and birds of prey become excited.' It may be so, but this meaning cannot be brought out of the text, and should not be presented as that of the writer of the Book.

See the note on . The three apartments (two of them subdivided) on the east of the Hall of, Distinction, all received the general designation of Khing Yang, 'the Green and Bright,' as characteristic of the season of Spring. It was now the

second month of that season, and the king takes his place in the principal or central apartment, 'the Grand Fane.]'

The sacrifice here was not that to Earth, which it was competent to the king alone to offer; nor to the spirits of the territories of the different states. It was offered by the people generally to the spirits presiding over their fields.

The swallow is, 'the dark-coloured bird,' of the third sacrificial ode of the Shang dynasty; see Vol. iii, .

The vernal equinox.

We are not told how they knew this third day.

A catty (kin) at present = 1 1/3 lb. avoirdupois. The khün, or 30 catties, = 40 lbs. av.; and the shih, or 120 catties, = 160 lbs. av.; see Williams' Commercial Guide, p-231. The tâu (or peck, in use in the market) contains 10 catties of dry, cleaned rice, and measures 30 cubic zhun, or inches; and the hû, or bushel, = 5 tâu. The bushel-scraper is a piece of wood or roller used to level the top of the hû. But see Williams, p, 282.

Compare vol. iii, p-373.

Compare vol. iii, page 445. Where there was an ancestral temple, the ice would be presented there. The people who had no such temple might present it before the spirit-tablets of their deceased in their principal apartment, where these were set up.

The fourth and fourteenth cycle days.

The offerings were small and scanty in this month, fruits not yet being ready for such a use. Cress and tussel-pondweed are mentioned among the vegetables which were presented on this occasion.

The received text here means not 'services of supplication,' but sacrifices. That which I have adopted is, found in Zhâi Yung, and is approved by the Khien-lung editors. It is a necessary alteration, for in paragraphs 9 and 15 we have instances of victims used this month at sacrifices. The change in the text is not great in Chinese, the character ### for ###.

Part iii.

1. In the last month of spring, the sun is in Wei, the constellation culminating at dusk being Khih hsing, and that culminating at dawn Khien-niû.

2. Its days are kiâ and yî. Its divine ruler is Thâi Hâo, and the attending spirit is Kâu-mang. Its creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is the Kio, and its pitch-tube is the Kû Hsien. Its number is eight. Its taste is sour. Its smell is rank.

3. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

4. The Elaeococca begins to flower. Moles are transformed into quails . Rainbows begin to appear. Duckweed begins to grow.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Khing Yang (Fane); rides in the carriage with the phoenix bells, drawn by the azure dragon-(horses), and bearing the green flag. He is dressed in the green robes, and wears the azure gems. He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the bursting forth (of nature).

6. In this month the son of Heaven presents robes yellow as the young leaves of the mulberry tree to the ancient divine ruler (and his queen).

7. Orders are given to the officer in charge of the boats to turn a boat bottom up. Five times he does so, and five times he turns it back again, after which he reports that it is ready for the son of Heaven, who then gets into it for the first time (this spring). He offers a snouted sturgeon (which he has caught) in the rear apartment of the ancestral temple, and also prays that the wheat may yield its produce.

8. In this month the influences of life and growth are fully developed; and the warm and genial airs diffuse themselves. The crooked shoots are all put forth, and the buds are unfolded. Things do not admit of being restrained.

9. The son of Heaven spreads his goodness abroad, and carries out his kindly promptings. He gives orders to the proper officers to distribute from his granaries and vaults, giving their contents to the poor and friendless, and to relieve the needy and destitute; and to open his treasuries and storehouses, and to send abroad through all the nation the silks and other articles for presents, thus stimulating the princes of states to encourage the resort to them of famous scholars and show courtesy to men of ability and virtue.

10. In this month, he charges the superintendents of works, saying, ‘The rains of the season will be coming down, and the waters beneath will be swelling up. Go in order over the states and visit the towns, inspecting everywhere the low and level grounds. Put the dykes and dams in good repair, clear the ditches and larger channels, and open all paths, allowing no obstruction to exist.’

11. The nets used in hunting animals and birds, hand nets, archers’ disguises, and injurious baits should not (in this month) issue from (any of) the nine gates.

12. In this month orders are given to the foresters throughout the country not to allow the cutting down of the mulberry trees and silkworm oaks. About these the cooing doves clap their wings, and the crested birds light on them . The trays and baskets with the stands (for the worms and cocoons) are got ready. The queen, after vigil and fasting, goes in person to the eastern fields to work on the mulberry trees. She orders the wives and younger women (of the palace) not to wear their ornamental dresses, and to suspend their woman’s-work, thus

stimulating them to attend to their business with the worms. When this has been completed, she apportions the cocoons, weighs out (afterwards) the silk, on which they go to work, to supply the robes for the solstitial and other great religious services, and for use in the ancestral temple. Not one is allowed to be idle.

13. In this month orders are given to the chiefs of works, to charge the workmen of their various departments to inspect the materials in the five storehouses: — those of iron and other metals; of skins and hides and sinews; of horn and ivory; of feathers, arrows and wood (for bows); and of grease, glue, cinnabar, and varnish. (They are to see) that all these things be good. The workmen then labour at their several tasks. (The chiefs) inspect their work, and daily give them their orders. They must not produce anything contrary to what the time requires; nor can they practise a licentious ingenuity, which would dissipate the minds of their superiors.

14. In the end of this month a fortunate day is chosen for a grand concert of music. The son of Heaven, at the head of the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, the feudal princes (at court), and his great officers, goes in person to witness it.

15. In this month they collect the large, heavy bulls, and fiery stallions, and send them forth to the females in the pasture grounds. They number and make a list of the animals fit for victims, with the foals and calves.

16. Orders are given for the ceremonies against pestilence throughout the city; at the nine gates (also) animals are torn in pieces in deprecation (of the danger):-to secure the full development of the (healthy) airs of the spring.

17. If, in this last month of spring, the governmental proceedings proper to winter were observed, cold airs would constantly be prevailing; all plants and trees would decay; and in the states there would be great terrors. If those proper to summer were observed, many of the people would suffer from pestilential diseases; the seasonable rains would not fall; and no produce would be derived from the mountains and heights. If those proper to autumn were observed, the sky would be full of moisture and gloom; excessive rains would fall early; and warlike movements would be everywhere arising.

Before this and the corresponding paragraphs in the Parts of the Book that follow, we must always understand paragraph 23 of the last Part, of which these concluding paragraphs are supposed to be the natural sequence.

Wei is the seventeenth of the twenty-eight Chinese constellations (longitude in 1800, 44° 81’ 17” corresponding to Musca borealis. Khih-hsing is understood to be α (Alphard) of Hydra, and small stars near it. Khien-niû corresponds to certain stars (ε, μ, ν) in the neck of Aquila.

Kû Hsien, ‘the lady bathes,’ is the third of the tubes that give the six upper musical accords.

This would probably be the Elaeococca vernicia, or Aleurites cordata.

This statement, perhaps, arose from seeing quails running about among the mole-hills. The Khien-lung editors say that the quails fly at night, and in the. day keep hidden among the grass; but they seem to admit the transformation. Professor Douglas explains the error from a want of recognition of the migration of quails.

Callery translates this by:— ‘L’empereur offre de la belle jaune de céréales (aux empereurs anciens et modernes qui l’ont précédé),’ following a different reading for the article offered. The general view is what I have followed. The offering is supposed to have been in connexion with a sacrifice preparatory to the silkworm season. The rearing of silkworms was due, it was supposed, to Hsî-ling, the wife of the Yellow Tî. He is the ‘Ancient Tî’ intended here, I suppose. The name is not to be taken as in the plural. See the Khang-hsî, dictionary on the character khü (###).

The five times repeated inspection of the boat does seem rather ridiculous. We must regard the king’s taking to the boat as an encouragement to the fishermen, as his ploughing was to the husbandmen. The long-snouted sturgeon has always been called ‘the royal sturgeon.’ How the praying for a good wheat harvest seems to be connected with this ceremony I do not know.

‘On each side of the wall of the royal city,’ says Lû Tien (early in the Sung dynasty), ‘there were three gates.’ Wû Khang says, ‘The three gates on the south were the chief gates. Generally, such things as are mentioned here might issue from the other gates, but not from these; but in this month they could not issue from any of the nine.’ Other explanations of ‘the nine gates’ have been attempted. The ‘baits’ (or medicines) were used to attract and to stupefy.

Perhaps the hoopoe.

Compare Analects X, 10, 2. The ceremonies there referred to were the same as those here, carried out in the villages and, indeed, throughout the land. Diseases prevailing were attributed by superstition to the action of evil spirits, and ridiculous measures adopted to drive them away. Confucius and others, even the government itself, gave countenance to these, seeing, perhaps, that in connexion with them the natural causes of disease would be in a measure dispelled.

Section ii. Part 1.

1. In the first month of summer, the sun is in Pî; the constellation culminating at dusk being Yî, and that culminating at dawn Wû-nü.

2. Its days are ping and ting.

3. Its divine ruler is Yen Tî, and the (attending) spirit is Kû-yung.

4. Its creatures are the feathered.

5. Its musical note is Kih, and its pitch-tube is the Kung Lü.

6. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning.

7. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

8. The green frogs croak. Earth-worms come forth. The royal melons grow. The sow-thistle is in seed.

9. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Ming Thang (Grand Fane); rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation jade. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things).

10. In this month there takes place the inauguration of summer. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of summer. The energies of the season are most fully seen in fire.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification; and on the day, at the head of the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, and his Great officers, he proceeds to meet the summer in the southern suburbs. On their return, rewards are distributed. He grants to the feudal princes (an increase of) territory. Congratulations and gifts proceed, and all are joyful and pleased.

11. Orders are also given to the chief master of music to teach the practice of ceremonies and music together.

12. Orders are given to the Grand Peace-maintainer to recommend men of eminence, allow the worthy and good to have free course and bring forward the tall and large. His conferring of rank and regulation of emolument must be in accordance with the position (of the individual).

13. In this month what is long should be encouraged to grow longer, and what is high to grow higher. There should be no injuring or overthrowing of anything; no commencing of works in earth; no sending forth of great multitudes (on expeditions); no cutting down of large trees.

14. In this month the son of Heaven begins to wear thin dolichos cloth.

15. Orders are given to the foresters throughout the country to go forth over the fields and plains, and, for the son of Heaven, to encourage the husbandmen, and stimulate them to work, and not let the season slip by unimproved.

Orders are (also) given to the minister of Instruction to travel in order through the districts to the borders, charging the husbandmen to work vigorously, and not to rest in the towns.

16. In this month they chase away wild animals to prevent them from doing harm to any of the (growing) grain; but they should not have a great hunting.

17. When the husbandmen present (the first-fruits of) their wheat, the son of Heaven tastes it along with some pork, first offering a portion in the apartment behind (the hall of the) ancestral temple.

18. In this month they collect and store up the various medicinal herbs. Delicate herbs (now) die; it is the harvest time (even) of the wheat. They decide cases for which the punishments are light; they make short work of small crimes, and liberate those who are in prison for slight offences.

19. When the work with the silkworms is over, the queen presents her cocoons; and the tithe-tax of cocoons generally is collected, according to the number of mulberry trees; for noble and mean, for old and young there is one law. The object is with such cocoons to provide materials for the robes to be used at the sacrifices in the suburbs and in the ancestral temple.

20. In this month the son of Heaven (entertains his ministers and princes) with strong drink and with (much) observance of ceremony and with music.

21. If, in this first month of summer, the proceedings proper to autumn were observed, pitiless rains would be frequent; the five esculent plants would not grow large, and in all the borders people would have to enter the places of shelter. If those proper to winter were observed, all plants and trees would wither early, and afterwards, there would be great floods, destroying city and suburban walls. If those proper to spring were observed, there would be the calamity of locusts, violent winds would come, and plants in flower would not go on to seed.

Pî is the name for the Hyades, or, more exactly, of six stars in Hyades, with μ and ν of Taurus; it is the nineteenth of the Chinese constellations. Yî is crater. Wû-nü is not so well identified. Williams says that it is ‘a star near the middle of Capricorn,’ but others say in Hercules. The R Yâ makes it the same as Hsü-nü (###). Probably it was a star in the constellation Nü of Aquarius.

The third and fourth stem characters of the cycle.

Yen Tî (‘the blazing Tî’) is the dynastic designation of Shan Nang, generally placed next to Fû-hsî in Chinese chronology, and whose date cannot be assigned later than the thirty-first century B.C. Kû-yung in one account is placed before Fû-hsî; in a second, as one of the ministers of Hwang Tî; and in a third, as a son of Khwan-hsü (B.C. 2510-2433). He was ‘the Director of Fire,’ and had the presidency of summer.

Kih is the fourth of the notes of the Chinese scale, and Kung Lü (‘the middle Spine’) the third of the tubes that give the six lower accords.

The number of fire is 2, which + 5, that of earth, = 7.

It was natural that they should sacrifice here in the summer. ‘The lungs’ is the fourth of the five viscera, and ‘metal’ the fourth of the five elements; but ‘fire subdues metal.’ This is supposed to account for the prominence given to the lungs in this sacrifice.

According to Williams this is the ‘common cucumber.’

The ‘Grand Peace-maintainer’ (###) was a title under the Khin dynasty, and instituted by it, of the Minister of War. The functions of the latter, as described in the last Book, page 234, are in harmony with what is said here. The occurrence of the name bears out the attributing of this Book to Lü Pû-wei.

There does not appear to be any connexion between the first sentence of this paragraph and the remainder of it. The medicinal herbs are collected while all their vigour is in them. For the things in the second sentence the ‘summer heats’ make a premature harvest; and this seems to lead to the third topic, — the saving those charged with slight offences from the effects of that heat in confinement.

The Khien-lung editors have a note here, which is worth quoting, to the effect that as the great solstitial sacrifices and the seasonal sacrifices of the ancestral temple do not appear in this Book, the drinking here was at court entertainments.

Part ii.

1. In the second month of summer the sun is in the eastern Zing, the constellation culminating at dusk being Khang, and that culminating at dawn Wei.

2. Its days are ping and ting. Its divine ruler is Yen Tî, and the (attending) spirit is Khû-yung. Its creatures are the feathered. Its musical note is Kih, and its pitch-tube is Sui Pin.

3. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

4. The (period of) slighter heat arrives; the praying mantis is produced; the shrike begins to give its notes; the mocking-bird ceases to sing.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the Ming Thang Grand Fane; rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation gems. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things).

6. They encourage the (continued) growth of what is strong and beautiful'.

7. In this month orders are given to the music-masters to put in repair the hand-drums, smaller drums, and large drums; to adjust the lutes, large and small, the double flutes, and the pan-pipes; to teach the holding of the shields, pole-axes, lances, and plumes; to tune the organs, large and small, with their pipes and tongues; and to put in order the bells, sonorous stones, the instrument to give the symbol for commencing, and the stopper.

8. Orders are given to the (proper) officers to pray for the people and offer sacrifice to the (spirits of the) hills, streams, and all springs. (After that) comes the great summer sacrifice for rain to God, when all the instruments of music are employed. Then orders are given throughout all the districts to sacrifice to the various princes, high ministers, and officers who benefited the people; praying that there may be a good harvest of grain.

9. The husbandmen present (the first-fruits of) their millet; and in this month the son of Heaven partakes of it along with pullets, and with cherries set forth beside them, first offering a portion in the apartment behind the ancestral temple.

10. The people are forbidden to cut down the indigo plant to use it in dyeing,

11. Or to burn wood for charcoal, or to bleach cloth in the sun.

12. The gates of cities and villages should not be shut, nor should vexatious inquiries be instituted at the barrier gates or in the markets.

13. Leniency should be shown to prisoners charged (even) with great crimes, and their allowance of food be increased.

14. Impregnated mares are collected in herds by themselves, and the fiery stallions are tied up. The rules for the rearing of horses are given out.

15. In this month the longest day arrives. The influences in nature of darkness and decay and those 'Of brightness and growth struggle together; the tendencies to death and life are divided. Superior men give themselves to vigil and fasting. They keep retired in their houses, avoid all violent exercise, restrain their indulgence in music and beautiful sights, eschew the society of their wives, make their diet spare, use no piquant condiments, keep their desires under rule, and maintain their spirits free from excitement. The various magistrates keep things quiet and inflict no punishments; — to bring about that state of settled quiet in which the influence of darkness and decay shall obtain its full development.

16. Deer shed their horns. Cicadas begin to sing. The midsummer herb is produced. The tree hibiscus flowers.

17. In this month fires should not be lighted (out of doors) in the southern regions (of the country).

18. People may live in buildings high and bright. They may enjoy distant prospects. They may ascend hills and heights. They may occupy towers and lofty pavilions.

19. If, in the second month of summer, the governmental proceedings of winter were observed, hail and told would injure the grain; the roads would not be passable; and violent assaults of war would come. If the proceedings proper to spring were observed, the grains would be late in ripening; all kinds of locusts would continually be appearing; and there would be famine in the states. If those proper to autumn were observed, herbs and plants would drop their leaves; fruits would ripen prematurely; and the people would be consumed by pestilence.

Hemp or flax, millet, rice, bearded grain, and pulse.

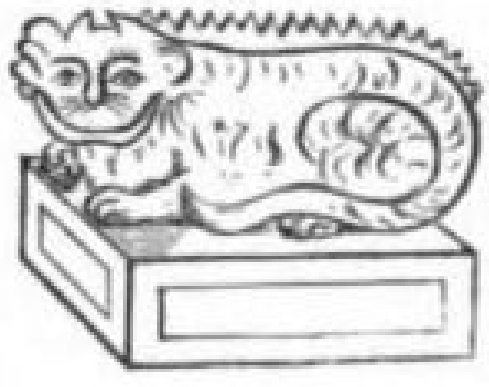
Zing comprehends γ, ε, ξ, λ, μ,ν Gemini; Khang, ι, κ, λ, μ, ρ Virgo; and Wei corresponds to α, Aquarius, and ε, θ, Pegasus.

Sui Pin, ‘the flourishing Guest,’ is the fourth of the tubes that give the six upper musical accords.

This is here ‘the inverted Tongue.’ The Khang-hsî dictionary says it is the same as ‘the hundred Tongues;’ the Chinese mocking-bird.

Kû Hsî would remove this paragraph to the thirteenth of the last Part. It seems to me to be in its proper place.

See vol. iii, . The stopper is represented thus: —



It was made to sound by a metal rod drawn along the spinous back. I have seen a similar instrument, used for the same purpose, brought from Madras.]

1. The first and last of the three sacrificial services in the paragraph were subsidiary to the second, the great praying for rain to God by the sovereign; the motive is not mentioned in the text, but only he could conduct a service to God. Callery renders:— ‘En même temps l’empereur invoque le ciel auec grand apparat (afin d’obtenir de la pluie), et cette cérémonie est accompagnée de grande musique.’ All Chinese commentators admit that the performer was the sovereign. Kang Khang-khang says: ‘For this sacrifice to God, they made an

altar (or altars) by the side of the (grand altar in the) southern suburb, and sacrificed to the five essential (or elemental) gods with the former rulers as their assessors.' But the Khien-lung editors insist on the text's having ' God,' and not ' five gods,' and that the correct view is that the sacrifice was to the one God dwelling in the bright sky, or, as Williams renders the phrase, 'the Shang Tî of the glorious heaven.'

2. The plant would not yet be fully fit for use.

3. Every facility should be afforded for the circulation of air during the summer heats.

1. The leniency would be seen in the lightening of their fetters for one thing, — in consequence of the exhaustion produced by the season.

2. Decay begins to set in, while growth and vigour seek to maintain their hold.

3. The Khien-lung editors approve a reading here, which means, instead of 'no punishments,' 'no rash or hurried action.'

4. The 'tree hibiscus' is the 'hibiscus syriacus.' The 'half-summer herb' is medicinal. It is 'white, with round seeds, and of a hot and pungent taste.'

Part iii.

1. In the third month of summer the sun is in Liû, the constellation culminating at dusk being Kwo, and that culminating at dawn Khwei.

2. Its days are ping and ting. Its divine ruler is Yen Tî, and the (assisting) spirit is Khû-yung. Its musical note is Kih, and its pitch-tube is Lin Kung.

3. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

4. Gentle winds begin to blow. The cricket takes its place in the walls. (Young) hawks learn to practise (the ways of their parents). Decaying grass becomes fire-flies.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Ming Thang (Fane); rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation gems. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things).

6. Orders are given to the master of the Fishermen to attack the alligator, to take the gavial, to present the tortoise, and to take the great turtle.

7. Orders are given to the superintendent of the Meres to collect and send in the rushes available for use.

8. In this month orders are given to the four inspectors to make a great collection over all the districts of the different kinds of fodder to nourish the sacrificial victims; and to require all the people to do their utmost towards this end;-to supply what is necessary for (the worship of) God (who dwells in) the great Heaven, and for the spirits of the famous hills, great streams, and four quarters, and for the sacrifices to the Intelligences of the ancestral temple, and at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain; that prayer may be made for blessing to the people.

9. In this month orders are given by the officers of women's (work), on the subject of dyeing. (They are to see) that the white and black, the black and green, the green and carnation, the carnation and white be all according to the ancient rules, without error or change; and that their black, yellow, azure, and carnation be all genuine and good, without any presumptuous attempts at imposition. These furnish the materials for the robes used at the sacrifices in the suburbs and the ancestral temple; for flags and their ornaments; and for marking the different degrees of rank as high or low.

10. In this month the trees are luxuriant; and orders are given to the foresters to go among the hills and examine the trees, and see that the people do not cut any down or lop their branches.

11. There should not be any work in earth, (now) undertaken; nor any assembling of the princes of the states; nor any military movements, causing general excitement. There should be no undertaking of (such) great affairs, which will disturb the nourishing growth that is proceeding, nor any issuing of orders to be hereafter carried into effect. All these things will interfere with the business of husbandry, (which is specially dear to) the Spirits . The floods are now great and overflow the roads; husbandry (dear to) the Spirits has to take in hand its various tasks. The curse of Heaven will come on the undertaking of great affairs (at this time).

12. In this month the ground lies steaming and wet beneath the heats, for great rains are (also) continually coming. They burn the grass lying cut upon the ground and bring the water over it. This is as effectual to kill the roots as hot water would be; and the grass thus serves to manure the fields of grain and hemp, and to fatten the ground which has been but just marked out for cultivation.

13. If, in the last month of summer, the governmental proceedings proper to spring were observed, the produce of grain would be scanty and fail; in the states there would be many colds and coughs; and the people would remove to other places. If the proceedings proper to autumn were observed, even the high grounds would be flooded; the grain that had been sown would not ripen; and

there would be many miscarriages among women. If those proper to winter were observed, the winds and cold would come out of season; the hawks and falcons would prematurely attack their prey; and all along the four borders people would enter their places of shelter.

At the beginning of this paragraph there should be— 'In this month.'

Liû comprehends δ, ε, η, θ, ρ, σ and ω Hydræ; Hwo is the same as Hsin, the fifth of the Chinese zodiacal constellations comprehending Antares, σ, τ, and two C. 2584, 2587, Scorpio; Khwei (as stated above,) comprehends β (Mirac), δ, ε, ξ, μ, ν, π of Andromeda, and some stars of Pisces.

The fourth of the tubes that give the six lower musical accords.

Compare what is said about hawks in paragraph 4, page 258. 'Here,' says Wang Thao, 'we have the turtle-doves transformed back to hawks, showing that the former notice was metaphorical.' What is said about the fire-flies is, of course, a mistaken fancy.

The first of these animals — the kiâo — is, probably, the alligator or crocodile it was taken only after a struggle or fight. The second — the tho — had a skin used in making drums; and its flesh, as well as that of the fourth — the yûan — was used in making soup.

Of hills, forests, rivers, and meres.

We find full details of the number and duties of the superintendents of women's work, with its tailoring, dyeing, and other things, in the Kâu Lî, Books I and VII.

The Khien-lung editors say that this was to let the process of growth have its full course; and, besides, that wood cut down in spring and summer will be found full of insects.

Such as building walls and fortifications, or laying out the ground.

The text is— 'will interfere with the business of Shan Nang (###).' How is it that 'husbandry' has here the epithet of Shan, or 'spiritual,' 'mysterious,' applied to it? The Khien-lung editors say:-'Zhâi Yung (our second century) makes Shan Nang to be Yen Tî (the divine ruler of the summer). Kang made the name to be that of "the spirit of the ground." Kâo Yû (second century) took it as a name for the minister of Husbandry. To some extent each of these views might be admitted, but none of them is very certain. Looking carefully at the text it simply says that no great undertakings should be allowed to interfere with husbandry. That it does not plainly say husbandry, but calls it the Shan husbandry, is from a sense of its importance, and therefore making it out to be Spirit-sanctioned. Heaven produced the people, and the grain to nourish them; is not sowing and reaping the business of Heaven? When a ruler knows this, he feels that he is under the inspection of Heaven in his reverent regard of the people, and the

importance which he attaches to husbandry. He will not dare lightly to use the people's strength, so as to offend against Heaven.' I have tried to bring out their view in my version.

Supplementary Section.

1. Right in the middle (between. Heaven and Earth, and the other elements) is earth.

2. Its days are wû and kî.

3. Its divine ruler is Hwang Tî, and the (attending) spirit is Hâu-thû.

4. Its creature is that without any natural covering but the skin.

5. Its musical note is Kung, and its pitch-tube gives the kung note from the tube Hwang Kung.

6. Its number is five. Its taste is sweet. Its smell is fragrant.

7. Its sacrifice is that of the middle court; and of the parts of the victim the heart has the foremost place.

8. The son of Heaven occupies the Grand apartment of the Grand fane; rides in the great carriage drawn by the yellow horses with black tails, and bearing the yellow flag; is clothed in the yellow robes, and wears the yellow gems. He eats panicled millet and beef. The vessels which he uses are round, (and made to resemble) the capacity (of the earth).

Compare what is said on the duties of those who cut the grass, as is here assumed to be done, in the Kâu Lî, Book XXXVII, paragraphs 80, 81 (###).

I have called this a supplementary section. It is dropt in, in all its brevity, without mention of any proceedings of government, between the end of summer and the beginning of autumn. It has all the appearance of an after-thought, suggested by the superstitious fancies of the compiler. Callery says on it: —

'This passage can only be comprehended by help of the intimate affinities which Chinese philosophers have attributed to the different beings of nature. According to them, the four seasons are related to the four cardinal points: spring to the east, summer to the south, autumn to the west, and winter to the north. Each of the cardinal points is related to an element: the east to wood, the south to fire, the west to metal, and the north to water. But as there is a fifth element, that of earth, and the four cardinal points have no reason for being distinguished as they are, but that there is a point in the middle between them, which is still the earth, it follows from this that the earth ought to have its place in the midst of the four seasons, that is, at the point of separation between summer and autumn. Here a difficulty presented itself. The bamboo flutes to which the Chinese months are referred being but twelve, where shall be found the musical affinities

of the earth? But the Chinese philosopher did not find himself embarrassed. See how he reasoned. The sound of the first flute, that is, of the longest and largest, is the strongest and most grave, and, like a bass, harmonizes with all the other sounds more acute. So the earth, likewise, is the most important of all the elements; it extends towards all the cardinal points, and intervenes in the products of each season. Hence the earth ought to correspond to the sound of the first flute! These affinities extend to colours, tastes, and a crowd of other categories.'

The Khien-lung editors say: —

Speaking from the standpoint of Heaven, then the earth is in the midst of Heaven; that is, (the element of) earth. Speaking from the standpoint of the Earth, then wood, fire, metal, and water are all supported on it. The manner in which the way of Earth is affected by that of Heaven cannot be described by reference to one point, or one month. Speaking from the standpoint of the heavenly stems, then wû and kî occupy the middle places, and are between the stems for fire and metal, to convey the system of mutual production. Speaking from the standpoint of the "earthly branches," the khan, hsü, khâu, and wi occupy the corners of the four points; wood, fire, metal, and water, all turn to earth. This is what the idea of reciprocal ending, and that of elemental flourishing, arise from. This may be exhibited in the several points, and reckoned by the periods of days. The talk about the elements takes many directions, but the underlying principle comes to be the same!'

I shall be glad if my readers can understand this.]

Section iii. Part I.

1. In the first month of autumn, the sun is in Yî the constellation culminating at dusk being Kien-hsing, and that culminating at dawn Pî.

2. Its days are kang and hsin.

3. Its divine ruler is Shâo Hâo, and the (attending) spirit is Zû-shâu.

4. Its creatures are the hairy.

5. Its musical note is Shang; its pitch-tube is Î Zeh.

6. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank.

7. Its sacrifice is that at the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

8. Cool winds come; the white dew descends the cicada of the cold chirps. (Young) hawks at this time sacrifice birds, as the first step they take to killing (and eating) them.

9. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Zung-kang (Fane); rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flag. He is clothed in the white robes, and wears the white jade. He eats hemp-seeds and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular, and going on to be deep.

10. In this month there takes place the inauguration of autumn. Three days before the ceremony) the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of the autumn. The character of the season is fully seen in metal.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-adjustment; and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, the princes of states (at court), and his Great officers, to meet the autumn in the western suburb, and on their return he rewards the general-in-chief, and the military officers in the court.

11. The son of Heaven also orders the leaders and commanders to choose men and sharpen weapons, to select and exercise those of distinguished merit, and to give their entire trust only to men whose services have been proved; — thereby to correct all unrighteousness. (He instructs them also) to make enquiries about and punish the oppressive and insolent; — thereby making it clear whom he loves and whom he hates, and giving effect to (the wishes of) the people, even the most distant from court.

12. In this month orders are given to the proper officers to revise the laws and ordinances, to put the prisons in good repair, to provide handcuffs and fetters, to repress and stop villainy, to maintain a watch against crime and wickedness, and to do their endeavour to capture criminals. Orders are (also) given to the managers (of prisons) to look at wounds, examine sores, inspect broken members, and judge particularly of dislocations. The determination of cases, both criminal and civil, must be correct and just. Heaven and earth now begin to be severe; there should be no excess in copying that severity, or in the opposite indulgence.

13. In this month the husbandmen present their grain. The son of Heaven tastes it, while still new, first offering some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

14. Orders are given to all the officers to begin their collecting and storing the contributions (from the husbandmen); to finish the embankments and dykes; to look to the dams and fillings up in preparation for the floods, and also to refit all houses; to strengthen walls and enclosures; and to repair city and suburban walls.

15. In this month there should be no investing of princes, and no appointment of great ministers. There should be no dismemberment of any territory, no

sending out on any great commission, and no issuing of great presents.

16. If, in this first month of autumn, the proceedings of government proper to winter were observed, then the dark and gloomy influence (of nature) would greatly prevail; the shelly insects would destroy the grain; and warlike operations would be called for. If the proceedings proper to spring were observed, there would be droughts in the states; the bright and growing influence would return; and the five kinds of grain would not yield their fruit. If the proceedings proper to summer were observed, there would be many calamities from fire in the states; the cold and the heat would be subject to no rule; and there would be many fevers among the people.

Yî corresponds to Crater. Kien-hsing comprehends stars in Sagittarius (see page 257). Pî corresponds to the Hyades.

Shâo Hâo follows Hwang Tî, whose eldest son he was, as the fourth in the list of the five Tî, or divine rulers (B.C. 2594). His capital was at Khü-fâu, the city of Confucius; and I have seen, at a little distance from it, perhaps the only pyramid in China, which is in memory of him, and said to be on or near his grave. His personal appellation is Kin-thien (###) or Thien-kin, the element to which he and his reign are assigned being kin, or metal. Zû-shâu was one of his sons.

Î Zeh, 'the equalization of the Laws,' is the tube giving the fifth of the upper musical accords.

White dew is a name for hoarfrost.

This cicada (Williams thinks the cicada viridis) is called 'the dumb.' Now it begins to chirp. Its colour is 'green and red.'

Compare what is said about the otter, page 251.

Zung-kang is made out to mean, 'all bright,' and the apartment was on the west; with mystical reference to the maturity and gathering of all things in the autumn, or season of the west. The vessels were rectangular, having sharp corners in harmony with the sharp weapons made of metal, to which element the season of autumn is referred; and they were deep, to resemble the deep bosom of the earth, to which things now begin to return.

For this last sentence Callery has:—'(Ce mois-ci) la nature commencant à devenir rigoureuse, on ne doit pas augmenter (ses rigeurs par l'application de châtiments trop sévères).' Wang Thâo takes an opposite view. I think I have got the thought that was in the compiler's mind. See the note of the Khien-lung editors with reference to the advocacy of it by commentators of 'the Brief Calendar of Hsiâ.'

Part ii.

1. In the second month of autumn the sun is in Kio, the constellation culminating at dusk being Khien-niû, and that culminating at dawn Dze-hsî,.

2. Its days are kang and hsin. Its divine ruler is Shâo Hâo, and the (attending) spirit is Zû-shâu. Its insects are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang, and its pitch-tube is Nan Lü.

3. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that of the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

4. Sudden and violent winds come. The wild geese arrive. The swallows return (whence they came). Tribes of birds store up provisions (for the future).

5. The son of Heaven occupies the Zung-kang Grand Fane; rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flag. He is clothed in the white robes, and wears the white gems. He eats hemp-seed and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular or cornered, and rather deep.

6. In this month they take especial care of the decaying and old; give them stools and staves, and distribute supplies of congee for food.

7. Orders are given to the superintendent of robes to have ready the upper and lower dresses with their various ornaments. For the figures and embroidery on them there are fixed patterns. Their size, length, and dimensions must all be according to the old examples. For the caps and girdles (also) there are regular rules.

8. Orders are given to the proper officers to revise with strict accuracy (the laws about) the various punishments. Beheading and (the other) capital executions must be according to (the crimes) without excess or defect. Excess or defect out of such proportion will bring on itself the judgment (of Heaven).

9. In this month orders are given to the officers of slaughter and prayer to go round among the victims for sacrifice, seeing that they are entire and complete, examining their fodder and grain, inspecting their condition as fat or thin, and judging of their looks. They must arrange them according to their classes. In measuring their size, and looking at the length (of their horns), they must have them according to the (assigned) measures. When all these points are as they ought to be, God will accept the sacrifices.

10. The son of Heaven performs the ceremonies against pestilence, to secure development for the (healthy) airs of autumn.

11. He eats the hemp-seed (which is now presented) along with dog's flesh, first offering some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

12. In this month it is allowable to rear city and suburban walls, to establish cities and towns, to dig underground passages and grain-pits, and to repair granaries, round and square.

13. Orders are given to the proper officers to be urgent with the people, and (to finish) receiving their contributions and storing them. They should do their best to accumulate (large) stores of vegetables and other things.

14. They should (also) stimulate the wheat-sowing. (The husbandmen) should not be allowed to miss the proper time for the operation. Any who do so shall be punished without fail.

15. In this month day and night are equal. The thunder begins to restrain its voice. Insects stop up the entrances to their burrows. The influence to decay and death gradually increases. That of brightness and growth daily diminishes. The waters begin to dry up.

16. At the equinox, they make uniform the measures of length and capacity; equalise the steelyards and their weights; rectify the weights of 30 and 120 catties; and adjust the pecks and bushels.

17. In this month they regulate and reduce the charges at the frontier gates and in the markets, to encourage the resort of both regular and travelling traders, and the receipt of goods and money; for the convenience of the business of the people. When merchants and others collect from all quarters, and come from the most distant parts, then the resources (of the government) do not fail. There is no want of means for its use; and all things proceed prosperously.

18. In commencing great undertakings, there should be no opposition to the great periods (for them) as defined (by the motion of the sun). They must be conformed to the times (as thereby marked out), and particular attention paid to the nature of each.

19. If in this second month of autumn the proceedings proper to spring were observed, the autumnal rains would not fall; plants and trees would blossom; and in the states there would be alarms. If those proper to summer were observed, there would be droughts in the states; insects would not retire to their burrows; and the five grains would begin to grow again. If those proper to winter were observed, calamities springing from (unseasonable) winds would be constantly arising; the thunder now silent would be heard before its time; and plants and trees would die prematurely.

Kio corresponds to α (Spica) and ζ of Virgo; Khien-niû (see on page 262) to certain stars in the neck of Aquila; and Dze-hsî is said to be λ Orion.

Nan Lü, ‘the southern spine,’ is the tube that gives the fifth of the lower musical accords.

The wild geese are now returning to their winter quarters, from which they had come in the first month of spring; see page 251. So with the swallows, who had appeared in the second month of spring; see page 259.

This sentence is hardly translatable or intelligible. Some would read as in paragraph 95 of 'the Brief Calendar of Hsiâ' (###), translated by Professor Douglas: 'The red birds (i.e. fire-flies) devour the white birds (i.e. mosquitoes),' which be ingeniously supports by a reference to the habits of the fire-fly from Chambers' Encyclopædia. But his translation of hsiû by 'devour' is inadmissible. Wang Thâo says that this view is 'chisseling.' 'Sparrows and other birds,' he says, 'now collect seeds of grapes and trees, and store them in their nests and holes against the time of rain and snow.'

Kang says here: 'And if God accept them, of course there is no other spirit that will not do so.'

Callery translates this paragraph by: 'Toute personne ayant une chose importante à accomplir ne doit pas se mettre en opposition avec les grands principes (yin et yang); il doit se conformer au temps (propre à agir; mais il doit aussi) bien examiner la nature même de l'entreprise.' He appends to this the following note:— 'Les deux principes yin et yang auxquels se rapportent tous les êtres, ayant tour-à-tour la prédominance dans certaines époques de l'année, le temps convenable pour une chose quelconque est celui auquel prédomine le principe dont cette chose dépend par son affinité naturelle. Ainsi, par exemple, les travaux de terrassement et de construction conviennent en automne, parce que le principe yin dont ils dépendent est en progrès pendant l'automne. Néanmoins, de ce que cette époque de l'année est favorable sous ce point de vue, il ne s'ensuit pas que toute entreprise de construction faite en automne soit avantageuse en elle-même; une foule de circonstances peuvent la rendre ruineuse, et c'est à l'entrepreneur de bien l'examiner, abstraction faite de la saison.'

The text rendered by Callery, 'les deux principes (yin et yang),' is simply tâ shû, 'the grand numbers,' the meaning of which I have endeavoured to bring out by the supplements in my version. The yin and yang are not mentioned in the text of the paragraph. They are simply a binomial phrase for the course of nature, with special reference to the weather and its conditions, as regulated by the action of the sun on the earth in the coarse of the seasons.]

Part iii.

1. In the last month of autumn the sun is in Fang, the constellation culminating at dusk being Hsü , and that culminating at dawn Liû.

2. Its days are kang and hsin. Its divine ruler is Shâo Hâo, and the (attending) spirit is 3û-shâu. Its creatures are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang, and its pitch-tube is Wû Yî.

3. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

4. The wild geese come, (and abide) like guests.

Small birds enter the great water and become mollusks. Chrysanthemums show their yellow flowers. The khâi sacrifice larger animals, and kill (and devour) the smaller.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Zung-kang (Fane); rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flags; is dressed in the white robes, and wears the white jade. He eats hemp-seeds and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular, cornered, and rather deep.

6. In this month the orders are renewed and strictly enjoined, charging the various, officers (to see) that noble and mean all exert themselves in the work of ingathering, in harmony with the storing of heaven and earth. They must not allow anything to remain out in the fields.

7. Orders are also given to the chief minister, after the fruits of husbandry have all been gathered in, to take in hand the registers of the produce of the different grains (from all the country), and to store up the produce that has been gathered from the acres of God in the granary of the spirits; doing this with the utmost reverence and correctness.

8. In this month the hoarfrost begins to fall; and all labours cease (for a season).

9. Orders are given to the proper officers, saying, 'The cold airs are all coming, and the people will not be able to endure them. Let all enter within their houses (for a time).'

10. On the first ting day orders are given to the chief Director of music to enter the college, and to practise (with his pupils) on the wind instruments.

11. In this month an announcement is made to the son of Heaven that the victims for the great sacrifice to God, and the autumnal sacrifice in the ancestral temple' are fit and ready.

12. The princes of the states are assembled, and orders given to the officers of the various districts (in the royal domain). They receive the first days of the months for the coming year, and the laws for the taxation of the people by the princes, both light and heavy, and the amount of the regular contribution to the government, which is determined by the distance of the territories and the nature of their several productions. The object of this is to provide what is necessary for the suburban sacrifices and those in the ancestral temple. No private considerations are allowed to have place in this.

13. In this month the son of Heaven, by means of hunting, teaches how to use the five weapons of war, and the rules for the management of horses.

14. Orders are given to the charioteers and the seven (classes of) grooms to see to the yoking of the several teams, to set up in the carriages the flags and various banners, to assign the carriages according to the rank (of those who were to occupy them), and to arrange and set up the screens outside (the royal tent). The minister of Instruction, with his baton stuck in his girdle, addresses all before him with his face to the north.

15. Then the son of Heaven, in his martial ornaments, with his bow in one hand, and the arrows under the armpit of the other, proceeds to hunt. (Finally), he gives orders to the superintendent of Sacrifices, to offer some of the captured game to (the spirits of) the four quarters.

16. In this month the plants and trees become yellow and their leaves fall, on which the branches are cut down to make charcoal.

17. Insects in their burrows all try to push deeper, and from within plaster up the entrances. In accordance with (the season), they hurry on the decision and punishment of criminal cases, wishing not to leave them any longer undealt with. They call in emoluments that have been assigned incorrectly, and minister to those whose means are insufficient for their wants.

18. In this month the son of Heaven eats dog's flesh and rice, first presenting some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

19. If, in this last month of autumn, the proceedings proper to summer were observed, there would be great floods in the states; the winter stores would be injured and damaged; there would be many colds and catarrhs among the people. If those proper to winter were observed, there would be many thieves and robbers in the states; the borders would be unquiet; and portions of territory would be torn from the rest. If those proper to spring were observed, the warm airs would come; the energies of the people would be relaxed and languid; and the troops would be kept moving about.

Fang comprehends {beta}, {delta}, {pi}, {rho} Scorpio. Hsü corresponds to {beta} Aquarius; and Liû comprehends {delta}, {epsilon}, {zeta}, {eta}, {rho}, {sigma}, {phi} Hydra.

Wû Yî, 'the unwearied,' is the tube giving the sixth upper musical accord.

The addition of guests here is a difficulty. It is said on the previous month that 'the wild geese come;' are these here the same as those, or are they others, — the younger birds, as some suppose, which had waited after the former, and still found it necessary to remain on their passage to recruit their strength?

Professor Douglas has made it more than probable that the 'small birds' here are sand-pipers. What is said about them, however, will, not admit of his version,

that they ‘go into the sea or lakes for crustaceae.’ His ‘crustaceae’ should be ‘mollusks.’ According to all rules of Chinese composition, what he renders ‘for’ must be taken verbally, = ‘to become.’ It is not merely the Chinese ‘commentators,’ who consider the sentence to mean, ‘Sparrows go into the sea and become crustaceae (? mollusks);’ it is what the text says. It is indeed an absurd statement, but a translator is not responsible for that. The Khien-lung editors observe that there is no mention here of the little birds being ‘transformed,’ as in the paragraph about the ‘hawks’ on page 258, and hence they argue that we cannot understand the notice here metaphorically. They accept the fact (?). The marine Ko, which is mentioned here, as figured in the plates of the Pan Zhâo Kang-mû, is the Calyptroida Trochita.

Compare what is said. about the otter, page 251. Professor Douglas argues that the khâi is the polecat. But this identification cannot yet be received as certain. The khâi is ‘dogfooted,’ ‘hunts in troops,’ and has ‘a voice like that of the dog.’ In Japanese plates it is not at all like ‘the polecat.’ An English naturalist, to whom I submitted a Japanese work illustrative of the Shih King, many years ago, has written over the khâi, ‘a wild dog or wolf.’

This,’ says Hsü sze-zang (Ming dynasty), ‘is the great rule of making provision for the sustenance of men and for serving spiritual beings, — two things demanding the utmost inward reverence and outward reverential vigour.’ I suppose that the ‘spirit-granary’ contained the grain for all governmental sacrifices, as well as that gathered from ‘the acres of God,’ and to be used specially in sacrifices to Him.

This paragraph gives great trouble to the Khien-lung editors but we need not enter on their discussions.

This last month of autumn, the ninth from the first month of spring, was the last month of the year with the dynasty of Zhin, when it was high time to give out the calendar for the months of the next year.

The sovereign’s horses were divided into six classes, and every class had its own grooms, with one among them who had the superintendence of the rest. See a narrative in the Zo Kwan, under the eighteenth year of duke Khang.

Two of these insignia are mentioned in the text; — the Zing, which was only a pennant, and the Kâo, a large banner with a tortoise and serpent intertwined. No doubt the meaning is, ‘the various banners,’

Section iv. Part I.

1. In the first month of winter the sun is in Wei, the constellation culminating at dusk being Wei, and the constellation culminating at dawn Khih-hsing.

2. Its days are the zan and kwei.

3. Its divine ruler is Kwan-hsü, and the (attending) spirit is Hsüan-ming.

4. Its creatures are the shell-covered.

5. Its musical note is Yu, and its pitch-tube is Ying Kung.

6. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten.

7. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path, and among the parts of the victim the kidneys have the foremost place.

8. Water begins to congeal. The earth begins to be penetrated by the cold. Pheasants enter the great water and become large mollusks. Rainbows are hidden and do not appear.

9. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Hsüan Thang (Fane); rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag; is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep.

10. In this month there takes place the inauguration of winter. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of winter. The character of the season is fully seen in water.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-adjustment; and on the day of the inauguration he leads in person the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, and his Great officers to meet the winter in the northern suburbs. On his return he rewards (the descendants of) those who died in the service (of the kingdom), and shows his compassion to orphans and widows.

11. In this month orders are given to the Grand recorder to smear with blood the tortoise-shells and divining stalks', and by interpreting the indications of the former and examining the figures formed by the latter, to determine the good and evil of their intimations. (In this way) all flattery and partizanship in the interpretation of them (will become clear), and the crime of the: operators be brought home. No concealment or deceit will be allowed.

12. In this month the son of Heaven sets the example of wearing furs.

13. Orders are issued to the proper officers in the words:— 'The airs of heaven are ascended on high, and those of earth have descended beneath. There is no intercommunion of heaven and earth. All is shut up and winter is completely formed.'

14. Orders are given to all the officers to cover up carefully the stores (of their departments). The minister of Instruction is also ordered to go round (among the people and see) that they have formed their stores, and that nothing is left ungathered.

15. The city and suburban walls are put in good repair; the gates of towns and villages are looked after; bolts and nuts are put to rights; locks and keys are carefully attended to; the field-boundaries are strengthened; the frontiers are well secured; important defiles are thoroughly defended; passes and bridges are carefully seen after; and narrow ways and cross-paths are shut up.

16. The rules for mourning are revised; the distinctions of the upper and lower garments are defined; the thickness of the inner and outer coffins is decided on; with the size, height and other dimensions of graves. The measures for all these things are assigned, with the degrees and differences in them according to rank.

17. In this month orders are given to the chief Director of works to prepare a memorial on the work of the artificers; setting forth especially the sacrificial vessels with the measures and capacity (of them and all others), and seeing that there be no licentious ingenuity in the workmanship which might introduce an element of dissipation into the minds of superiors; and making the suitability of the article the first consideration. Every article should have its maker's name engraved on it, for the determination of its, genuineness. When the production is not what it ought to be, the artificer should be held guilty and an end be thus put to deception.

18. In this month there is the great festivity when they drink together, and each of the stands bears half its animal roasted.

19. The son of Heaven prays for (a blessing on) the coming year to the Honoured ones of heaven; sacrifices with an ox, a ram, and a boar at the public altar to the spirits of the land, and at the gates of towns and villages; offers the sacrifice three days after the winter solstice with the spoils of the chase to all ancestors, and at the five (household) sacrifices; -thus cheering the husbandmen and helping them to rest from their toils.

20. The son of Heaven orders his leaders and commanders to give instruction on military operations, and to exercise (the soldiers) in archery and chariot-driving, and in trials of strength.

21. In this month orders are given to the superintendent of waters and the master of fishermen to collect the revenues from rivers, springs, ponds, and meres, taking care not to encroach in any way on any among the myriads of the people, so as to awaken a feeling of dissatisfaction in them against the son of Heaven. If they do this, they shall be punished for their guilt without forgiveness.

22. If, in the first month of winter, the proceedings of government proper to spring were observed, the cold that shuts up all beneath it would not do so tightly; the vapours of the earth would rise up and go abroad; many of the people

would wander away and disappear. If those proper to summer were observed, there would be many violent winds in the states; winter itself would not be cold; and insects would come forth again from their burrows. If those proper to autumn were observed ‘ the snow and hoarfrost would come unseasonably; small military affairs would constantly be arising; and incursions and loss of territory would occur.

Wei (###) comprehends ε, μ Scorpio; Wei (###, as on page 272) corresponds to stars in Aquarius and Pegasus. Khih Hsing (as on) corresponds to stars in Hydra.

Kwan-hsü is the dynastic designation of the grandson of Hwang Tî, the commencement of whose reign is, assigned in B.C. 2510. He is known also by the personal designation of Kâo-yang, from the name of his second capital. Among the elements his reign is assigned to water, and thence to the north; and hence the designation of his minister as Hsüan-ming, ‘the dark and mysterious,’ who was called Hsiû (###) and Hsî (##), and is said to have been a son of Shâo Hâo.

Yü is the fifth of the notes of the scale; and Ying Kung, ‘the responsive tube,’ the name of the last of the tubes giving the six lower musical accords.

This altar was outside the gate leading to the ancestral temple, on the, west of it. Many say that here was the ‘well’ supplying the water used for the temple, and would read zang (###) for hsing (###).

The ‘great water’ here is said in the ‘Narratives of the States’ (Book XV) to be the Hwâi. The khan is said to be a large species of the ko, into which small birds are transformed (). Of course the transmutation of the pheasants into these is absurd. Professor Douglas has found in a Chinese Encyclopædia a statement that khan is sometimes an equivalent of phû lû (###), ‘sweet flags and rushes.’ The lû, however, is sometimes read lo, and said to have the same sound and meaning as ### ‘a spiral univalve;’ but the great objection to Professor Douglas’ view is the meaning he puts on the ### as pointed out on . The text cannot be construed as he proposes.

See in Mencius, I, 7, 4, on the consecration of a bell by smearing parts of it with blood.

Wang Thâo understands this paragraph as meaning that at this season all, both high and low, feast in expression and augmentation of their joy. The characters will bear this interpretation. The kang, of the text however, has also the meaning which appears in the translation; though on that view the statement is not so general. See the ‘Narratives of the States,’ I, ii. 8.

The most common view seems to be that we have here the various parts of one sacrificial service, three days after the winter solstice, called kâ (###), in the

time of Kâu, and lâ (###), in that of Khin. While the son of Heaven performed these services, it must have been at different places in the capital I suppose, analogous and modified services were celebrated generally throughout the kingdom.

There is no agreement as to who are intended by 'the Honoured ones of heaven.' Many hold that they are 'the six Honoured ones,' to whom Shun is said to have sacrificed in the second part of the Shû King. But the Khien-lung editors contend that the want of 'six' is a fatal objection to this view. Kâo Yû, supposing the six Honoured ones to be meant, argued that 'heaven, earth, and the four seasons' were intended by them, — those seasons co-operating with heaven and earth in the production of all things; but the same editors show, from the passages in the Shû, that heaven can in no sense be included among the six Honoured ones. They do not say, however, who or what is intended by the designation in the text. The lâ in the paragraph is taken in a pregnant sense, as if it were lieh (### and not ###), meaning 'to sacrifice with the spoils of the chase.']

Part ii.

1. In the second month of winter the sun is in Tâu, the constellation culminating at dusk being the eastern Pî, and that culminating at dawn Kan.

2. Its days are zan and kwei. Its divine ruler is Kwan-hsü, and the (attending) spirit is Hsüan-ming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yü, and its pitch-tube is Hwang Kung.

3. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path, and of the parts of the victim the kidneys have the foremost place.

4. The ice becomes more strong. The earth begins to crack or split. The night bird ceases to sing. Tigers begin to pair.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the Grand Fane Hsüan Thang; rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag. He is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured gems of jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep.

6. All things relating to the dead are revised and regulated.

7. Orders are given to the proper officer to the following effect:— 'There should nothing be done in works of earth; care should be taken not to expose anything that is covered, nor to throw open apartments and houses, and rouse the masses to action; — that all may be kept securely shut up. (Otherwise) the genial

influences of earth will find vent, which might be called a throwing open of the house of heaven and earth. In this case all insects would die; and the people be sure to fall ill from Pestilence, and various losses would ensue.' This charge is said to be giving full development to the (idea of the) month.

8. In this month orders are given to the Director of the eunuchs to issue afresh the orders for the palace, to examine all the doors, inner and outer, and look carefully after all the apartments. They must be kept strictly shut. All woman's-work must be diminished, and none of an extravagant nature permitted. Though noble and nearly related friends should come to visit the inmates, they must all be excluded.

9. Orders are given to the Grand superintendent of the preparation of liquors to see that the rice and other glutinous grains are all complete; that the leaven-cakes are in season; that the soaking and heating are cleanly conducted; that the water be fragrant; that the vessels of pottery be good; and that the regulation of the fire be right. These six things have all to be attended to, and the Grand superintendent has the inspection of them, to secure that there be no error or mistake.

10. The son of Heaven issues orders to the proper officers to pray and sacrifice to (the spirits presiding over) the four seas, the great rivers (with their) famous sources, the deep tarns, and the meres, (all) wells and springs.

11. In this month) if the husbandmen have any productions in the fields, which they have not stored or collected, or if there be any horses, oxen or other animals, — which have been left at large, any one may take, them without its being inquired into.

12. If there be those who are able to take from, the hills and forests, marshes and meres. edible fruits, or to capture game by hunting, the wardens and foresters should give them the necessary information and guidance. If there be among them those who encroach on or rob the others, they should be punished without fail.

13. In this month the shortest day arrives. The principle of darkness and decay (in nature) struggles with that of brightness and growth. The elements of life begin to move. Superior men give themselves to self-adjustment and fasting. They keep retired in their houses. They wish to be at rest in their persons; put away all indulgence in music and beautiful sights; repress their various desires; give repose to their bodies and all mental excitements. They wish all affairs to be quiet, while they wait for the settlement of those principles of darkness and decay, and brightness and growth.

14. Rice begins to grow. The broom-sedge rises up vigorously. Worms curl. The moose-deer shed their horns. The springs of water are (all) in movement.

15. When the shortest day has arrived, they fell trees, and carry away bamboos, (especially) the small species suitable for arrows.

16. In this month-offices in which there is no business may be closed, and vessels for which there is no use may be removed.

17. They plaster (and repair) the pillars and gateways (of the palace), and the courtyard (within), and also doors and other gateways; rebuilding (also all) prisons, to co-operate with the tendency of nature to shut up and secure (the genial influences at this season).

18. If in this second month of winter the proceedings of government proper to summer were observed, there would be droughts in the states; vapours and fogs would shed abroad their gloom, and thunder would utter its voice. If those proper to autumn were observed, the weather would be rainy and slushy; melons and gourds would not attain their full growth; and there would be great wars in the states. If those proper to spring were observed, locusts would work their harm; the springs would all become dry; and many of the people would suffer from leprosy and foul ulcers.

Tâu comprehends ζ, λ, μ, σ, τ, φ of Sagittarius; the eastern Pî, the fourteenth of the Chinese constellations, consists of Algenib or γ Pegasus, and α of Andromeda; Kan is the last of the constellations, and contains β, γ, δ and ε Corvus.

See page 281, paragraph 5.

The earth begins to crack;' some say from the increasing intensity of the cold; others from the warmth which has begun to return. The returning warmth is indicated by the undivided line with which Hi, the hexagram of the eleventh month, commences — ䷗. 'The night bird' sings during the night till the dawn; 'a hill bird, like a fowl.'

See paragraph 16, page 299. The paragraph may be inadvertently introduced here.

'The proper officer' here is said to be 'the minister of Instruction,' or 'the officer of the People.'

Winter is the season in which the element of water predominates, and it was in virtue of this that the dynasty of Zhin professed to rule. The Khwan-lun mountains (Koulkun), between the desert of Gobi and Thibet, are the source of the Hwang Ho; Yüan-min, the source of the Kiang; Thung-po, that of the Hwâi; the Kî grew out of the Yen, rising from the hill of Wang-wa. See Chinese Classics, Vol. iii, p-140.

Hazel-nuts and chestnuts are given as examples of the former; and the water-caltrops and Euryale ferox, or 'cock's head,' of the latter.

This description of the month is well illustrated by the lines of Fû, the hexagram of it referred to above, — ䷗ the lowest line representing the principle of light and growth, which just found readmission in the year, and is seeking to develop itself.]

This is called by Dr. Williams ‘a species of iris.’ The roots. are made into brooms.

This is a fancy. The commentators say that the worms curl and twist, with their heads turned downwards, as if seeking to return to the warmth beneath the surface.

The shedding of the horns in. winter shows that the mî here, (###), is a species of the elk or moose-deer, and different from the lû (###) which sheds its horns in the sixth month. The mî is described as being fond of the water, and as large as a small ox.

Part iii.

1. In the third month of winter the sun is in Wû-nü, the constellation culminating at dusk being Lâu, and that culminating at dawn Tî.

2. Its days are zan and kwei. Its divine ruler is Kwan-hsü, and the (attendant) spirit is Hsüan-ming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yü, and its pitch-tube is Tâ Lü.

3. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path; and the part of the victim occupying the foremost place is the kidneys.

4. The wild geese go northwards. The magpie begins to build. The (cock) pheasant crows. Hens hatch.

5. The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Hsüan Thang (Fane); rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron-black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag. He is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured gems of jade. He cats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep.

6. He issues orders to the proper officers to institute on a great scale all ceremonies against pestilence, to have (animals) torn in pieces on all sides, and (then) to send forth the ox of earth, to escort away the (injurious) airs of the cold.

7. Birds of prey fly high and rapidly.

8. They now offer sacrifices all round to (the spirits of) the hills and rivers, to the great ministers of the (ancient) deified sovereigns, and to the spirits of heaven (and earth).

9. In this month orders are given to the master of the Fishermen to commence the fishers' work. The son of Heaven goes in person (to look on). He partakes of the fish caught, first presenting some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

10. The ice is now abundant: thick and strong to the bottom of the waters and meres. Orders are given to collect it, which is done, and it is carried into (the ice-houses).

11. Orders are given to make announcement to the people to bring forth their seed of the five grains. The husbandmen are ordered to reckon up the pairs which they can furnish for the ploughing; to repair the handles and shares of their ploughs; and to provide all the other instruments for the fields.

12. Orders are given to the chief director of Music to institute a grand concert of wind instruments; and with this (the music of the year) is, closed.

13. Orders are given to the four Inspectors to collect and arrange the faggots to supply the wood and torches for the suburban sacrifices, those in the ancestral temple, and all others.

14. In this month the sun has gone through all his mansions; the moon has completed the number of her conjunctions; the stars return to (their places) in the heavens. The exact length (of the year) is nearly completed, and the year will soon begin again. (It is said), 'Attend to the business of your husbandmen. Let them not be employed on anything else.'

15. The son of Heaven, along with his ducal and other high ministers and his Great officers, revises the statutes for the states, and discusses the proceedings of the different seasons; to be prepared with what is suitable for the ensuing year.

16. Orders are given to the Grand recorder to make a list of the princes of the states according to the positions severally assigned to them, and of the victims required from them to supply the offerings for the worship of God dwelling in the great heaven, and at the altars of (the spirits of) the land and grain. Orders were also given to the states ruled by princes of the royal surname to supply the fodder and grain for the (victims used in the worship of the) ancestral temple. Orders are given, moreover, to the chief minister to make a list of (the appanages of) the various high ministers and Great officers, with the amount of the land assigned to the common people, and assess them with the victims which they are to contribute to furnish for the sacrifices to (the spirits presiding over) the hills, forests, and famous streams. All the people under the sky, within the nine provinces, must, without exception, do their utmost to contribute to the sacrifices:-to God dwelling in the great heaven; at the altars of the (spirits of the) land and grain; in the ancestral temple and the apartment at the back of it; and of the hills, forests, and famous streams.

17. If, in the last month of winter, the governmental proceedings proper to autumn were observed, the white dews would descend too early; the shelly creatures would appear in monstrous forms; throughout the four borders people would have to seek their places of shelter. If those proper to spring were observed, women with child and young children would suffer many disasters; throughout the states there would be many cases of obstinate disease; fate would appear to be adverse. If those proper to summer were observed, floods would work their ruin in the states; the seasonable snow would not fall, the ice would melt, and the cold disappear.

BOOK V. THE QUESTIONS OF ZANG-DZE.

Section 1.

Zang-dze asked, ‘If a ruler dies and a son and heir is born (immediately after), what course should be adopted?’

Confucius said, ‘The high nobles, Great officers and (other) officers, following the chief (minister), who takes charge of the government for the time, (should collect) at the south of the western steps, with their faces towards the north. (Then) the Grand officer of prayer, in his court robes and cap, bearing in his hands a bundle of rolls of silk, will go up to the topmost step, and (there), without ascending the hall, will order the wailing to cease. Mournfully clearing his voice three times, he will make announcement (to the spirit of the deceased ruler), saying, “The son of such and such a lady has been born. I venture to announce the fact.” He will then go up, and place the silks on a stool on the east of the body in the coffin, wail, and descend. All the relatives of the deceased who are there (at the mourning), the high nobles, the Great and other officers, (with the women) in the apartments, all will wail, but without the leaping. When this burst of sorrow is over, they will return to their (proper) places, and proceed forthwith to set forth the mourning offerings to the dead. The minor minister will ascend, and take away the bundle of silks.

2. ‘On the third day, all the relatives, high nobles, Great and other officers, should take their places as before, with their faces to the north. The Grand minister, the Grand master of the ancestral temple, and the Grand officer of prayer, should all be in their court-robes and caps. The master for the child will carry the child in his arms on a mat of sackcloth. The officer of prayer will precede, followed by the child, and the minister and master of the temple will come after. Thus they will enter the door (of the apartment where the coffin is), when the wailers will cease. The child has been brought up by the western steps, and is held in front of the coffin with his face to the north, while the officer of prayer stands at the south-east corner of it. Mournfully clearing his voice three times, he will say, “So and So, the son of such and such a lady, and we, his servants, who follow him, presume to appear before you.” The boy is (then made) to do obeisance, with his forehead on the ground, and to wail. The officer of prayer, the minister, the officer of the temple, all the relatives, the high nobles, with the Great and other officers, will wail and leap, leaping three times with each burst of grief. (Those who had gone up to the hall then) descend, and go back to their proper places on the east; where all bare the left arm and

shoulder. The son (in the arms of his bearer is made) to leap, and (the women) in the apartments also leap. Thrice they will do so, leaping three times each time. (The bearer for the son) will cover up his sackcloth, walk with a staff, (ascend and) set forth the offerings by the dead, and then quit the scene. The Grand minister will charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce the name all round, at the five altars of the house, and at those (to the spirits) of the hills and streams.'

3. Zang-dze asked, 'If the son and heir have been born after the burial (of the) ruler, what course should be followed?'

Confucius said, 'The Grand minister and the Grand master of the ancestral temple will follow the Grand officer of prayer, and announce the fact before the spirit tablet (of the deceased ruler). Three months after they will give the name in the same place, and announce it all round', and also at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain, in the ancestral temple, and (at the altars of) the hills and streams.'

4. Confucius said, 'When princes of states are about to go to the (court of the) son of Heaven, they must announce (their departure) before (the shrine of) their grandfather, and lay their offerings in that of their father. They then put on the court cap, and go forth to hold their own court. (At this) they charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce (their departure) to the (spirits of the) land and grain, in the ancestral temple, and at the (altars of the) hills and rivers. They then give (the business of) the state in charge to the five (subordinate) officers, and take their journey, presenting the offerings to the spirits of the road as they set forth. All the announcements should be completed in five days. To go beyond this in making them is contrary to rule. In every one of them they use a victim and silks. On the return (of the princes) there are the same observances.'

5. 'When princes of states are about to visit one another, they must announce (their departure) before the shrine of their father. They will then put on their court robes, and go forth to hold their own court. (At this) they charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce (their departure) at the five shrines in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the hills and rivers which they will pass. They then give (the business of) the state in charge to the five officers, and take their journey, presenting the offerings to the spirits of the road as they set forth. When they return, they will announce (the fact) in person to their grandfather and father, and will charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to make announcement of it at the altars where they announced (their departure). (When this has been done), they enter and give audience in the court.'

6. Zang-dze asked, 'If the funerals of both parents take place together, what course is adopted? Which is first and which last?'

Confucius said, ‘The rule is that the burying of the less important (mother) should have the precedence, and that of the more important (father) follow, while the offerings to them are set down in the opposite order. From the opening of the apartment and conveying out the coffin (of the mother) till its interment no offerings are put down; when the coffin is on the route to the grave, there is no wailing at the regular place for that ceremony. When they return from this interment, they set down the offerings (to the father), and afterwards announce (to his spirit) when the removal of his coffin will take place, and proceed to arrange for the interment. It is the rule that the sacrifice of repose should first be offered to the more important (father), and afterwards to the less important (mother).

7. Coufucius said, ‘The eldest son, even though seventy, should never be without a wife to take her part in presiding at the funeral rites. If there be no such eldest son, the rites may be performed without a presiding wife.’

8. Zang-dze asked, ‘It has been proposed to invest a son with the cap, and the investors have arrived, and after exchanging bows and courtesies (with the master of the house), have entered. If then news should come that the death of some relative has occurred, for whom a year’s mourning or that of nine months must be worn, what should be done?’

Confucius said, ‘If the death has taken place within (the circle of the same surname), the ceremony should be given up; but if without (that circle), it will go on, but the sweet wine will not be presented to the youth. The viands will be removed and the place swept, after which he will go to his proper position and wail. If the investors have not yet arrived, the capping will be given up (for the time).

9. ‘If the arrangements for the capping have been made, but before the day arrives, an occasion for the one year’s mourning, or for that of nine months, or five months, have arrived, the youth shall be capped in his mourning dress.’

10. ‘When all mourning is over, may a son continue to wear the cap which he has hitherto worn?’

Confucius said, ‘When the son of Heaven gives to the (young) prince of a state or a Great officer his robes and the cap proper to each in the grand ancestral temple, the youth on his return home-will set forth his offering (in his own ancestral temple), wearing the robes that have been given to him, and here he will drink the cup of capping (as if) offered by his father, without the cup of wine at the ceremony.

11. ‘When a son is (thus) capped after his father’s death, he is considered to be properly capped; he will sweep the ground, and sacrifice at his father’s shrine.

This being done, he will present himself before his uncles, and then offer the proper courtesies to the investors.'

12. Zang-dze asked, 'Under what circumstances is it that at sacrifice they do not carry out the practice of all drinking to one another?'

Confucius said, 'I have heard that at the close of the one year's mourning, the principal concerned in it sacrifices in his inner garment of soft silk, and there is not that drinking all round. The cup is set down beside the guests, but they do not take it up. This is the rule. Formerly duke Kâo of Lû, while in that silken garment, took the cup and sent it all round, but it was against the rule; and duke Hâo, at the end of the second year's mourning, put down the cup presented to him, and did not send it all round, but this also was against the rule.'

13. Zang-dze asked, 'In a case (of the) mourning for nine months, can (the principal) take part in contributing to the offerings (to the dead of others)?'

Confucius said, 'Why speak only of (the mourning for) nine months? In all cases from (the mourning for) three years downwards, it may be done. This is the rule.'

Zang-dze said, 'Would not this be making the mourning of little importance, and attaching (undue) importance to mutual helpfulness?'

Confucius said, 'This is not what I mean. When there is mourning for the son of Heaven or the prince of a state, (all) who wear the sackcloth with the jagged edges (will contribute to) the offerings. At the mourning of a Great officer, (all) who wear the sackcloth with the even edges will do so. At the mourner of an ordinary officer, his associates and friends will do so. If all these be not sufficient, they may receive contributions from all who should mourn for nine months downwards; and if these be still insufficient, they will repeat the process.'

14. Zang-dze asked, 'In a case of the mourning for five months, may (the principal) take part in the other sacrifices (of mourning)?'

Confucius said, 'Why speak only of the mourning for five months? In all cases from the mourning for three years downwards, (the principals) take part in those sacrifices.'

Zang-dze said, 'Would not this be making the mourning of little importance, and giving (undue) importance to the sacrifices?'

Confucius said, 'In the mourning sacrifices for the son of Heaven and the prince of a state, none but those who wear the sackcloth with the jagged edges take part in them. In those for a Great officer, they who wear the sackcloth with the even edges do so. In those for another officer, if the participants be insufficient, they add to them from their brethren who should wear mourning for nine months downwards.'

15. Zang-dze asked, ‘When acquaintances are in mourning, may they participate in one another’s sacrifices?’

Confucius said, ‘When wearing the three months’ mourning, one has no occasion to sacrifice (in his own ancestral temple), and how should he assist another man (out of his own line)?’

16. Zang-dze asked, ‘When one has put off his mourning, may he take part in contributing to the offerings (for the dead of another)?’

Confucius said, ‘To take part in the offerings (to another’s dead), on putting off one’s own sackcloth, is contrary to the rule. Possibly, he may perform the part of assisting him in receiving visitors.’

17. Zang-dze asked, ‘According to the rules for marriages, the presents have been received and a fortunate day has been fixed; — if then the father or mother of the young lady die, what course should be adopted?’

Confucius said, ‘The son-in-law will send some one to condole; and if it be his father or mother that has died, the family of the lady will in the same way send some to present their condolences. If the father have died, (the messenger) will name the (other) father (as having sent him); if the mother, he will name the (other) mother. If both parents be dead (on both sides), he will name the oldest uncle and his wife. When the son-in-law has buried (his dead), his oldest uncle will offer a release from the engagement to the lady, saying, “My son, being occupied with the mourning for his father or mother, and not having obtained the right to be reckoned among your brethren, has employed me to offer a release from the engagement.” (In this case) it is the rule for the lady to agree to the message and not presume to (insist on) the marriage (taking place immediately). When the son-in-law has concluded his mourning, the parents of the lady will send and request (the fulfilment of the engagement). The son-in-law will not (immediately come to) carry her (to his house), but afterwards she will be married to him; this is the rule. If it be the father or mother of the lady who died, the son-in-law will follow a similar course.’

18. Zang-dze asked, ‘The son-in-law has met the lady in person, and she is on the way with him: — if (then) his father or mother die, what course should be adopted?’

Confucius said, ‘The lady will change her dress; and in the long linen robe, with ‘the cincture of white silk round her hair, will hasten to be present at the mourning rites. If, while she is on the way, it be her own father or mother who dies, she will return.’

19. ‘If the son-in-law have met the lady in person, and before she has arrived at his house, there occur a death requiring the year’s or the nine months’ mourning, what course should be adopted?’

Confucius said, ‘Before the gentleman enters, be will change his dress in a place outside. The lady will enter and change her dress in a place inside. They will then go to the proper positions and wail.’

Zang-dze asked, ‘When the mourning is ended, will they not resume the marriage ceremonies?’

Confucius said, ‘It is the rule, that when the time of sacrifice has been allowed to pass by, it is not then offered. Why in this case should they go back to what must have taken place previously?’

20. Confucius said, ‘The family that has married a daughter away, does not extinguish its candles for three nights, thinking of the separation that has taken place. The family that has received the (new) wife for three days has no music; thinking her bridegroom is now in the place of his parents. After three months she presents herself in the ancestral temple, and is styled “The new wife that has come.” A day is chosen for her to sacrifice at the shrine of her father-in-law; expressing the idea of her being (now) the established wife.’

21. Zang-dze asked, ‘If the lady die before she has presented herself in the ancestral temple, what course should be adopted?’

Confucius said, ‘(Her coffin) should not be removed to the ancestral temple, nor should (her tablet) be placed next to that of her mother-in-law. The husband should not carry the staff; nor wear the shoes of straw; nor have a (special) place (for wailing). She should be taken back, and buried among her kindred of her own family; — showing that she had not become the established wife.’

22. Zang-dze asked, ‘The fortunate day has been fixed for taking the lady (to her new home), and she dies (in the meantime): — what should be done?’

Confucius said, ‘The son-in-law will come to condole, wearing the one year’s mourning, which he will lay aside when the interment has taken place. If it be the husband who dies, a similar course will be followed on the other side.’

23. Zang-dze asked, ‘Is it according to rule “that at the mourning rites there should be two (performing the part of) the orphan son (and heir, receiving visitors), or that at a temple-shrine there should be two spirit-tablets?’

Confucius said, ‘In heaven there are not two suns; in a country there are not two kings; in the seasonal sacrifices, and those to Heaven and Earth, there are not. two who occupy the highest place of honour. I do not know that what you ask about is according to rule. Formerly duke Hwan of Khî, going frequently to war, made fictitious tablets and took them with him on his expeditions, depositing them on his return in the ancestral temple. The practice of having two tablets in a temple-shrine originated from duke Hwan. As to two (playing the part of the) orphan son, it may be thus explained: — Formerly, on occasion of a visit to Lû by duke Ling of Wei, the mourning rites of Kî Hwan-dze were in

progress. The ruler of Wei requested leave to offer his condolences. Duke Âi (of Lû), declined (the ceremony), but could not enforce his refusal. He therefore acted as the principal (mourner), and the visitor came in to condole with him. Khang-dze stood on the right of the gate with his face to the north. The duke, after the usual bows and courtesies, ascended by the steps on the east with his face towards the west. The visitor ascended by those on the west, and paid his condolences. The duke bowed ceremoniously to him, and then rose up and wailed, while Khang-dze bowed with his forehead to the ground, in the position where he was. The superintending officers made no attempt to put the thing to rights. The having two now acting as the orphan son arose from the error of Kî Khang-dze.'

24. Zang-dze asked, 'Anciently when an army went on an expedition, was it not first necessary to carry with it the spirit-tablets that had been removed from their shrines?'

Confucius said, 'When the son of Heaven went on his tours of Inspection, he took (one of) those tablets along with him, conveying it in the carriage of Reverence, thus intimating how it was felt necessary to have with him that object of honour. The practice now-a-days of taking the tablets of the seven temple-shrines along with them on an expedition is an error. No shrine in all the seven (of the king), or in the five of the prince of a state, ought to be (left) empty. A shrine can only be so left without its tablet, when the son of Heaven has died, or the prince of a state deceased, or left his state, or when all the tablets are brought together at the united sacrifice, in the shrine-temple of the highest ancestor. I heard the following statement from Lâo Tan:— "On the death of the son of Heaven, or of the prince of a state, it is the rule that the officer of prayer should take the tablets from all the other shrines and deposit them in that of the high ancestor, When the wailing was over, and the business (of placing the tablet of the deceased in its shrine) was completed, then every other tablet was restored to its shrine. When a ruler abandoned his state, it was the rule that the Grand minister should take the tablets from all the shrines and follow him. When there was the united sacrifice in the shrine of the high ancestor, the officer of prayer met (and received) the tablets from the four shrines. When they were taken from their shrines or carried back to them all were required to keep out of the way." So said Lâo Tan.'

25. Zang-dze asked, 'Anciently, when they marched on an expedition, and carried no displaced tablets with them, what did they make their chief consideration?'

Confucius said, 'They made the instructions from the tablet their chief consideration.' 'What does that mean?' asked the other.

Confucius said, ‘When the son of Heaven or the prince of a state was about to go forth, he would, with gifts of silk, skins, and jade-tokens, announce his purpose at the shrines of his grandfather and father. He then took those gifts with him, conveying them on the march in the carriage of Reverence. At every stage (of the march), he would place offerings of food by them, and afterwards occupy the station. On returning, they would make announcement (at the same shrines), and when they had set forth (again) their offerings, they would collect the silk and jade, and bury them between the steps (leading) up to the fane of the high ancestor; after which they left the temple. This was how they made the instructions they received their chief consideration.’

26. Dze-yû asked, ‘Is it the rule to mourn for a foster-mother’ as for a mother?’

Confucius said, ‘It is not the rule. Anciently, outside the palace, a boy had his master, and at home his foster-mother; they were those whom the ruler employed to teach his son;-what ground should these be for wearing mourning for them? Formerly duke Kâo of Lû having lost his mother when he was little, had a foster-mother, who was good; and when she died, he could not bear (not) to mourn for her, and wished to do so. The proper officer on hearing of it, said, “According to the ancient rule, there is no mourning for a foster-mother. If you wear this mourning, you will act contrary to that ancient rule, and introduce confusion into the laws of the state. If you will after all do it, then we will put it on record, and transmit the act to the future; — will not that be undesirable?” The duke said, “Anciently the son of Heaven, when unoccupied and at ease, wore the soft inner garment, assumed after the year’s mourning, and the cap.” The duke could not bear not to wear mourning, and on this he mourned for his foster-mother in this garb. The mourning for a foster-mother originated with duke Kâo of Lû.’

See the introduction, p, 22.

These were also ministers; see paragraph 4, page 213.

The usual place was at the eastern steps.

To call the attention of the spirit of the deceased.

The rolls of silk were, I suppose, the introductory present proper on an interview with a superior.

And bury it in the court between the two flights of stairs.

Thus early is it made to appear that the child is put under a master; p. Zottoli translates the name by ‘secundus magister.’

The child had been brought by the master from the women’s apartments, and carried to the court, that he might thus go up again to the hall by these steps.

A most expressive indication of the sorrow proper to the occasion.

The breast and shoulder of the child had also been bared.

The ‘five household altars’ are those at which the sacrifices were offered in the palace or house, often mentioned in the last Book.

The characters of the text, ‘in the shrine temple of the father,’ denote the special shrine or smaller temple assigned to the father in the great ancestral temple; but that was not assigned till after all the rites of mourning were over. The characters here denote the spirit tablet which had been before the burial set up over the coffin, and which was now removed to a rear apartment. p. Zottoli simply has ‘coram tabellâ.’

At the courts of the sovereign and of the other princes.

The characters here are the same as in the preceding paragraph, but here they have their usual force. Announcement and offerings were made at both shrines.

The most likely opinion is that these five officers were-two belonging to the department of the minister of Instruction, two to that of the minister of Works, and one to that of the minister of War. On them, for reasons which we may not be able to give, devolved on such occasions the superintendence of the state.

There seems to be no doubt of the meaning here, but this significance of ### not given in the Khang-hsî dictionary. The more common term is ###.

There would seem. to be an omission in the former of these sentences of the announcement to the grandfathers.

Or grandparents.

The words of Confucius are here, as in some other paragraphs, not preceded by the formula, ‘Zang-dze asked.’ Some say this is an omission, intentional or unintentional, of the compiler. Some commentators deride the judgment (see especially Ho Kung-yü), holding it unworthy of Confucius.

Because then a festal and a mourning service would come together in the ancestral temple.

The investors may have previously heard of the death, and not kept their appointment.

Till he was capped, a youth wore nothing on his head. But in the case supposed the youth’s time for capping had arrived; and he had assumed a cap without the ceremony.

When a father gave orders to his son about his capping or marriage, he gave him a cup of ordinary wine. The sweet wine was given to the youth by a friend or friends who had invested him with the cap. The real answer to Zang-dze’s question is in paragraph 11.

B.C. 541-510.

B.C. 795-769. This is going a long way back.

On this paragraph p. Zottoli says:— ‘Zang-dze petit an aliquis in novem mensium luctu constitutus possit adjuvare alterius funestae familiae oblationem. Confucius intelligit de adjuvanda proprii funeris oblatione.’ There appears to be a similar misunderstanding between the two in the next paragraph.

Khung Ying-tâ makes this out to be the sacrifices of repose, and at the end of the wailing. I think the reference is more general.

Is the final marriage of the lady to the original betrothed ‘son-in-law,’ or bridegroom as we should say; or to another, that she may not pass the proper time for her marrying? Khung Ying-tâ, and other old commentators, advocate the latter view. Others, and especially the Khien-lung editors, maintain the former; and I have indicated in the version my agreement with them. There are difficulties with the text; but Confucius would hardly have sanctioned the other course.

At the house of him who was now her husband.

This, called ‘the deep garment,’ had the body and skirt sown together. See Book XXXIV.

This would be done, it is said, by Hsü Sze-zhang (Ming dynasty), to allow play to her filial piety, but she would live at the house of ‘the son-in-law.’

This and the statements that follow suppose that the bridegroom’s parents are dead.

The Chinese characters mean simply ‘two orphans.’ Neither Khang-hsî nor any English-Chinese dictionary explains the peculiar use of the term here; nor is Confucius’ explanation satisfactory, or to the point.

Compare paragraphs 5, 8, III, iii, pages 224-226.

See the ‘Doctrine of the Mean,’ 19, 6, Chinese Classics, vol. i.

B.C. 685-643.

Literally ‘the temple-shrine of his grandfather;’ but I think the name must have the general meaning I have given.

It has been shown that the ruler of Wei here could not be duke Ling. He must have been duke Khû. But this error discredits the view of the statement having come from Confucius.

See note 2 and plan of the royal ancestral temple of Mu on pages 223-225.

This, it is said, was the tablet of the royal ancestor which had been last removed from its shrine, and placed in the shrine-house for all such removed tablets. The carriage of Reverence was the ‘metal-guilt’ carriage of the king, second to that adorned with jade, in which he rode to sacrifice. Zottoli renders:— ‘Imperator perlustrans custodita, cum translatitii delubri tabella peragrabat, imposita super casti curru, significatum necessariam praesentiam superioris.’

This was, most probably, Lâo-dze, though some of the commentators deny it. Kang says: ‘Lâo Tan, the title of old for men of longevity, was a contemporary of Confucius;’ and Khan Hâo quotes a note on this from Wang of Shih-liang, that ‘This was not the author of the “Five thousand words,”’ *i.e.* of the Tâo Teh King.

While the special sacrifices and other funeral rites were going on, the other sacrifices, which belonged to a different category of rites, were suspended.

Zottoli gives for this phrase simply ‘adhaerebant numini,’ subjoining no note on it. The parties spoken of put down their offerings before the shrines, announcing that they were about to undertake such an expedition; and taking it for granted that their progenitors approved of their object, proceeded to carry it out, as if they had received a charge from them to do so, carrying the offerings with them in token of that charge from the spirits in the tablets of the shrines. This view is distinctly set forth by Hwang Khan (end of early Sung dynasty) and others.

This foster-mother was not what we call ‘a nurse;’ but a lady of the harem to whom the care of an orphan boy was entrusted; — it may have been after he ceased to be suckled. The reasoning of Confucius goes on the assumption that mourning should be worn only in cases of consanguinity or affinity; and it may be inferred from this that concubinage was not the most ancient rule in China.

See the eleventh article in the forty-third chapter of the ‘Narratives of the School,’ where a similar, probably the same, conversation, with some variations, is found. The duke of Lû in it, however, is not Kâo, but Hâo; see paragraph 12, page 315.

Section ii.

1. Zang-dze asked, ‘The princes are assembled in a body to appear before the son of Heaven; they have entered the gate, but are not able to go through with the rites (of audience); — how many occurrences will make these be discontinued?’

Confucius said, ‘Four.’ ‘May I ask what they are?’ said the other. The reply was:— ‘The grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; funeral rites of the queen; their robes all unsightly through soaking rain. If, when the princes are all there, an eclipse of the sun take place, they follow the son of Heaven to save it; each one dressed in the colour of his quarter, and with the weapon proper to it. If there be a fire in the grand ancestral temple, they follow him to extinguish it without those robes and weapons.

2. Zang-dze said, ‘Princes are visiting one another. (The strangers) have entered the gate after the customary bowings and courtesies, but they are not able to go through with the rites (of audience);how many occurrences will make these be discontinued?’

Confucius said, ‘Six;’ and, in answer to the question as to what they were, replied:— ‘The death of the son of Heaven; the grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; the funeral rites of the queen or of the princess of the state; and their robes all unsightly through soaking rain.’

3. Zang-dze said, ‘At the seasonal sacrifices of the son of Heaven, at those to Heaven and Earth, and at (any of) the five sacrifices of the house, after the vessels, round and square, with their contents have been set forth, if there occur the death of the son of Heaven or mourning rites for the queen, what should be done?’

Confucius, said, ‘The sacrifice should be stopped.’ The other asked, ‘If, during the sacrifice, there occur an eclipse of the sun, or the grand ancestral temple take fire ‘ what should be done?’ The reply was, ‘The steps of the sacrifice should be hurried on. If the victim have arrived, but has not yet been slain, the sacrifice should be discontinued.

4. ‘When the son of Heaven has died and is not yet coffined, the sacrifices of the house are not offered. When he is coffined, they are resumed; but at any one of them the representative of the dead takes (only) three mouthfuls (of the food), and is not urged (to take more). He is then presented with a cup, but does not respond by presenting another, and there is an end (of the ceremony). From the removal of the coffin to the return (from the burial) and the subsequent wailing, those sacrifices (again) cease. After the burial they are offered, but when the officer of prayer has finished the cup presented to him, they stop.’

5. Zang-dze asked, ‘At the sacrifices to the spirits of the land and grain proper to the feudal princes, if, after the stands and vessels, with their contents, have been arranged, news arrive of the death of the son of Heaven or of the mourning rites for his queen, or if the ruler die or there be mourning rites for his consort, what should be done?’

Confucius said, ‘The sacrifice should be discontinued. From the ruler’s death to the coffining, and from the removal of the coffin to the return (from the burial) and the (subsequent) wailing, they will follow the example set by the son of Heaven.’

6. Zang-dze asked, ‘At the sacrifices of a Great officer, when the tripods and stands have been arranged, and the dishes of bamboo and wood, with their contents, have been set forth, but they are not able to go through with the rites, how many occurrences will cause them to be discontinued?’

Confucius said, ‘Nine;’ and when asked what they were, he added:— ‘The death of the son of Heaven; funeral rites for his queen; the death of the ruler (of the state); funeral rites for his consort; the ruler’s grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; (a call to) the three years’ mourning; to that of one year; or to that of nine months. In all these cases the sacrifice should be given up. If the mourning be merely for relatives by affinity, from all degrees of it up to the twelve months, the sacrifice will go on. At one where the mourning is worn for twelve months, the representative of the dead, after entering, will take (only) three mouthfuls (of the food), and not be urged to take (any more).

He will be presented with a cup, but will not respond by presenting one in return, and there will be an end (of the ceremony). Where the mourning is for nine months, after he has presented the responsive cup, the thing will end. Where it is for five or for three months, it will not end till all the observances in the apartment are gone through. What distinguishes the proceedings of an ordinary officer is, that he does not sacrifice when wearing the three months’ mourning. He sacrifices, however, if the dead to whom he does so had no relationship with him requiring him to wear mourning.’

7. Zang-dze asked, ‘May one, wearing the three years’ mourning for a parent, go to condole with others?’

Confucius said, ‘On the completion of the first of the three years, one should not be seen standing with others, or going along in a crowd. With a superior man the use of ceremonies is to give proper and elegant expression to the feelings. Would it not be an empty form to go and condole and wail with others, while wearing the three years’ mourning?’

8. Zang-dze asked, ‘If a Great officer or ordinary officer be in mourning for a parent he may put it off; and if he be in mourning for his ruler, under what conditions will he put that off?’

Confucius said, ‘If he have the mourning for his ruler on his person, he will not venture to wear any private mourning; — what putting off can there be? In this case, even if the time be passed (for any observances which the private mourning would require), he will not put it off. When the mourning for the ruler is put off, he will then perform the great sacrifices (of his private mourning). This is the rule.’

9. Zang-dze asked, ‘But is it allowable thus to give up all the mourning rites for a parent through this keeping on of the mourning (for a ruler)?’

Confucius said, ‘According to the ceremonies as determined by the ancient kings, it is the rule that when the time has passed (for the observance of any ceremony), there should be no attempt to perform it. It is not that one could not keep from not putting off the mourning; but the evil would be in his going

beyond the definite statute. Therefore it is that a superior man does not offer a sacrifice, when the proper time for doing so has passed.'

I0. Zang-dze said, 'If, when the ruler has died, and is now lying in his coffin, the minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what course will he pursue?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home and remain there; going indeed to the ruler's for the great services (to the departed), but not for those of every morning and evening.'

11. (Zang-dze asked), 'If, when they have begun to remove the coffin, the minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, how should he do?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home and wail, and then return and accompany the funeral of the ruler.'

12. 'If,' said (Zang-dze), 'before the ruler has been coffined, a minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what should be his course?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home, and have the deceased put into the coffin, returning (then) to the ruler's. On occasion of the great services, he will go home, but not for those of every morning and evening. In the case of a Great officer, the chief servant of the household will attend to matters'; in the case of an ordinary officer, a son or grandson. When there are the great services at the ruler's, the wife of the Great officer will also go there, but not for those of every morning and evening.'

13. One in a low position should not pronounce the eulogy of another in a high, nor a younger man that of one older than himself. In the case of the son of Heaven, they refer to Heaven as giving his eulogy. It is not the rule for princes of states to deliver the eulogy of one another.

14. Zang-dze asked, 'When a ruler goes across the boundary of his own state, he takes with him his inner coffin as a precaution for the preparations against the three years'(mourning rites) for him. If he die (abroad), what are the proceedings on his being brought back?'

Confucius said, 'The clothes to be put on him after the coffining having been provided, the son in the linen cap, with the sackcloth band round it, wearing coarse sackcloth and the shoes of straw, and carrying a staff, will enter by the opening made in the wall of the apartment for the coffin, having ascended by the western steps. If the slighter dressing (preparatory to the coffining) have still (to be made), the son will follow the bier without a cap, enter by the gate, and ascend by the steps on the east. There is one and the same rule for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.'

15. Zang-dze asked, ‘If one is occupied in drawing (the carriage with the bier on it) at the funeral rites of his ruler, and is then called to the funeral rites of his father or mother, what should he do?’

Confucius said, ‘He should complete what he is engaged in; and when the coffin has been let down into the grave, return home, without waiting for the departure of the (ruler’s) son.’

16. Zang-dze asked, ‘If one, occupied with the, funeral rites of a parent, has (assisted in) drawing the bier to the path (to the grave), and there hear of the death of his ruler, what should he do?’

Confucius said, ‘He should complete the burial; and, when the coffin has been let down, he should change his dress, and go to (the ruler’s).’

17. Zang-dze asked, ‘If the eldest son by the proper wife be (only) an officer, and a son by a secondary wife be a Great officer, how will the latter proceed in his sacrificing?’

Confucius said, ‘He will sacrifice, with the victims belonging to his higher rank, in the house of the eldest son., The officer of prayer will say, “So and So, the filial son, in behalf of So and So, the attendant son, presents his regular offering.”’

18. ‘If the eldest son, now the head of the family, be residing, in consequence of some charge of guilt, in another state, and a son by a secondary wife be a Great officer, when (the latter) is offering a sacrifice (for the other), the officer of prayer will say, “So and So, the filial son, employs the attendant son, So and So, to perform for him the regular service.” (In this case, however), the principal in this vicarious service will not conduct the sacrifice so as to see that the spirit of the deceased is satisfied to the full; nor send the cup round among all who are present, nor receive the blessing (at the close); nor lay on the ground the portions of the sacrifice as thank-offerings; nor have with him (the wife of the elder brother) who should appear before the spirit-tablet of her mother-in-law, the wife of the deceased. He will put down the cup before the (principal) guests, but they will put it down (in another place), and not send it round. He will not send to them portions of the flesh. In his address to the guests (at the beginning of the service), he will say, “My honoured brother, the honoured son (of our father), being in another state, has employed me, So and So, to make announcement to you.”’

19. Zang-dze asked, ‘If the eldest son have gone and is in another state, while a son by a secondary wife, and without rank, remains at home, may the latter offer the sacrifice?’

Confucius said, ‘Yes, certainly.’ ‘And how will he sacrifice?’ ‘He will rear an altar in front of the (family-)grave, and there he will sacrifice at the different

seasons. If the oldest son die, he will announce the event at the grave, and afterwards sacrifice in the house, calling himself, however, only by his name, and abstaining from the epithet “filial.” This abstinence will cease after his death.’ The disciples of Dze-yû, in the case of sons by inferior wives sacrificing, held that this practice was in accordance with what was right. Those of them who sacrifice now-a-days do not ground their practice on this principle of right; — they have no truthful ground for their sacrifices.

20. Zang-dze asked, ‘Is it necessary that there should be a representative of the dead in sacrifice? or may he be dispensed with as when the satisfying offerings are made to the dead?’

Confucius said, ‘In sacrificing to a full-grown man for whom there have been the funeral rites, there must be such a representative, who should be a grandson; and if the grandson be too young, some one, must be employed to carry him in his arms. If there be no grandson, some one of the same surname should be selected for the occasion. In sacrificing to one who has died prematurely, there are (only) the satisfying offerings, for he was not full-grown. To sacrifice to a full-grown man, for whom there have been the funeral rites without a representative, would be to treat him as if he had died prematurely.’

21. Confucius said, ‘There is the offering of satisfaction made in the dark chamber, and that made in the brighter place.’

Zang-dze answered with a question, ‘But to one who has died prematurely there is not made a complete sacrifice; what do you mean by speaking of two satisfying offerings, the dark and the bright?’

Confucius said, ‘When the oldest son, who would take the father’s place, dies prematurely, no brother by an inferior wife can be his successor. At the auspicious sacrifice to him’, there is a single bullock; but the service being to one who died prematurely, there is no presentation (of the lungs), no stand with the heart and tongue, no dark-coloured spirits, no announcement of the nourishment being completed. This is what is called the dark satisfying offering. In regard to all others who have died prematurely and have left no offspring, the sacrifice is offered to them in the house of the oldest son, where the apartment is most light, with the vases in the chamber on the east. This is what is called the bright satisfying offering.’

22. Zang-dze asked, ‘At a burial, when the bier has been drawn to the path (leading to the place), if there happen an eclipse of the sun, is any change made or not?’

Confucius said, ‘Formerly, along with Lâo Tan, I was assisting at a burial in the village of Hsiang, and when we had got to the path, the sun was eclipsed. Lâo Tan said to me, “Khiû, let the bier be stopped on the left of the road; and

then let us wail and wait till the eclipse pass away. When it is light again, we will proceed." He said that this was the rule. When we had returned and completed the burial, I said to him, "In the progress of a bier there should be no returning. When there is an eclipse of the sun, we do not know whether it will pass away quickly or not, would it not have been better to go on?" Lâo Tan said, "When the prince of a state is going to the court of the son of Heaven, he travels while he can see the sun. At sun-down he halts, and presents his offerings (to the spirit of the way). When a Great officer is on a mission, he travels while he can see the sun, and at sun-down he halts. Now a bier does not set forth in the early morning, nor does it rest anywhere at night; but those who travel by star-light are only criminals and those who are hastening to the funeral rites of a parent. When there is an eclipse of the sun, how do we know that we shall not see the stars? And moreover, a superior man, in his performance of rites, will not expose his relatives to the risk of distress or evil." This is what I heard from Lâo Tan.'

23. Zang-dze asked, 'In the case of one dying where he is stopping, when discharging a mission for his ruler, the rules say that, (if he die) in a government hotel his spirit shall be recalled; but not, (if he die) in a private one. But to whatever state a commissioner may be sent, the lodging which may be assigned to him by the proper officer becomes a public hotel; — what is the meaning of his spirit not being recalled, (if he die) in a private one?'

Confucius said, 'You have asked well. The houses of a high minister, a Great officer, or an ordinary officer, may be called private hotels. The government hotel, and any other which the government may appoint, may be called a public hotel. In this you have the meaning of that saying that the spirit is recalled at a public hotel.'

24. Zang-dze asked, 'Children dying prematurely, between eight and eleven, should be buried in the garden in a brick grave, and carried thither on a contrivance serving the purpose of a carriage, the place being near; but now if the grave is chosen at a distance, what do you say about their being buried there?'

Confucius said, 'I have heard this account from Lâo Tan:— "Formerly," he said, "the recorder Yî had a son who died thus prematurely, and the grave was distant. The duke of Shâo said to him, 'Why not shroud and coffin him in your palace?' The recorder said, 'Dare I do so?' The duke of Shâo spoke about it to the duke of Kâu, who said, 'Why may it not be done?' and the recorder did it. The practice of coffins for boys who have died so prematurely, and shrouding them, began with the recorder Yî."

25. Zang-dze asked, 'A minister or a Great officer is about to act the part of a personator of the dead for his ruler; If, when he has received (orders) to pass the

night in solemn vigil, there occur in his own family an occasion for him to wear the robe of hemmed sackcloth, what should he do?'

Confucius said, 'The rule is for him to leave (his house) and lodge in a state hotel, and wait till (the ruler's) business is accomplished.'

26. Confucius said, 'When one who has represented the dead comes forth in the (officer's) leathern cap, or the (Great officer's) tasseled cap (which he has worn), ministers, Great officers, and other officers, all will descend from their carriages (when his passes). He will bow forward to them, and he will also have a forerunner (to notify his approach).'

27. Dze-hsiâ asked, 'There is such a thing as no longer declining military service, after the wailing in the three years I mourning has come to an end. Is this the rule? or was it at first required by the officers (of the state)?'

Confucius said, 'Under the sovereigns of Hsiâ, as soon as the coffining in the three year's mourning was completed, they resigned all their public duties. Under Yin they did so as soon as the interment was over. Is not this the meaning of what we find in the record, that "the ruler does not take from men their affection to their parents, nor do men take from their parents their filial duty?"'

28. Dze-hsiâ asked, 'Is then not declining military service (during mourning) to be condemned?' 'Confucius said, 'I heard from Lâo Tan that duke Po-khin engaged once in such service, when there was occasion for it; but I do, not know if I should allow it in those who seek (by it) their own advantage during the period of the three years' mourning.'

BOOK VI. WAN WANG SHIH SZE

or

King Wan as Son and Heir.

Section 1.

1. Thus did king Wan act when he was eldest son and heir: — Thrice a day he made a visit in due form to king Kî. When the cock first crowed he dressed himself, and going to the outside of the bedroom, asked one of the servants of the interior who was in attendance how the king was and if he were well. When told that he was well, the prince was glad. At midday he repeated the visit in the same way; and so he did again in the evening. If the king were not so well as usual, the servant would tell the prince, and then his sorrow appeared in his countenance, and his walk was affected and disturbed. When king Kî took his food again, Wan recovered his former appearance. When the food went up (to the king), he would examine it and see if it were cold and hot as it ought to be. When it came down, he asked of what dishes the king had eaten. He gave orders to the cook that none of the dishes should go up again, and withdrew on receiving the cook's assurance accordingly.

2. King Wû acted according to the example (of Wan), not presuming to go (in anything) beyond it. When king Wan was ill, Wû nursed him without taking off his cap or girdle. When king Wan took a meal, he also took a meal; and when king Wan took a second, he did the same. It was not till after twelve days that he intermitted his attentions.

King Wan said to Wû, 'What have you been dreaming?' 'I dreamt,' was the reply, 'that God gave me nine ling?' 'And what do you think was the meaning?' King Wû said, 'There are nine states in the west; — may it not mean that you will yet bring them all under your happy sway?' Wan said, 'That was not the meaning. Anciently they called a year ling. The age is also called ling. I am 100; and you are go. I give you three years.' King Wan was 97 when he died, and king Wû was 93.

3. King Khang, being quite young, could not perform his part at the eastern steps. The duke of Kâu acted as regent, trod those steps, and administered the government. He illustrated the rules for the behaviour of a young heir in his treatment of Po-khin, that king Khang might thereby know the courses to be pursued by father and son, ruler and minister, old and young. When he

committed an error, the duke punished Po-khin. This was the way in which he showed king Khang his duty as the son and heir.

4. So much on the way in which king Wan acted as son and heir.

5. In teaching the heir-sons (of the king and feudal princes), and young men (chosen from their aptitude) for' learning', the subjects were different at different seasons. In spring and summer they were taught the use of the shield and spear; in autumn and winter that of the feather and flute: — all in the eastern school. The inferior directors of music taught the use of the shield aided by the great assistants. The flute masters taught the use of the spear, aided by the subdirectors, while the assistants regulated by the drum (the chanting of) the Nan.

In spring they recited (the pieces), and in summer they played on the guitar, — being taught by the grand master in the Hall of the Blind. In autumn they learned ceremonies, — being instructed by the masters of ceremonies. In winter they read the book of History, — being instructed by the guardians of it. Ceremonies were taught in the Hall of the Blind; the book in the upper school.

6. All the rules about sacrificial offerings and at the nourishing of the old begging them to speak (their wise counsels) and the conversation at general reunions, were taught by the lower directors of Music in the eastern school.

7. The Grand director of Music taught how to brandish the shield and axe. He also delivered the graduated rules relating to conversations and the charges about begging the old to speak. The Grand perfecter (of Instruction) discussed all about (these matters) in the eastern school.

8. Whenever a pupil was sitting with the Grand completer (of Instruction), there was required to be between them the width of three mats. He might put questions to him; and when he had finished, sit back on the mat near to the wall. While the instructor had not finished all he had to say on any one point, he did not ask about another.

9. In all the schools, the officer (in charge), in spring set forth offerings to the master who first, taught (the subjects); and in autumn and winter he did the same.

10. In every case of the first establishment of a school the offerings must be set forth to the earlier sages and the earlier teachers; and in the doing of this, pieces of silk must be used.

11. In all the cases of setting forth the offerings, it was required to have the accompaniments (of dancing and singing). When there were any events of engrossing interest in a state (at the time), these were omitted.

12. When there was the accompaniment of music on a great scale, they proceeded immediately to feast the aged.

13. At all examinations in the suburban schools, the rule was to select the best and mark out the most talented. The pupils might be advanced for their virtue, or commended for something they had accomplished, or distinguished for their eloquence. Those who had studied minor arts were encouraged and told to expect a second examination. If they (then) had one of the three things (above mentioned), they were advanced to a higher grade, according to their several orders, and were styled ‘Men of the schools.’ They were (still, however,) kept out of the royal college, and could not receive the cup from the vase restricted to the superior students.

14. On the first establishment of schools (in any state), when the instruments of music were completed, offerings of silk were set forth; and afterwards those of vegetables. But there was no dancing and (consequently) no giving out of the spears and other things used in it. They simply retired and received visitors in the eastern school. Only one cup was passed round. The ceremony might pass without (parade of) attendants or conversation.

15. (All these things) belonged to the education of the young princes.

16. In the education of the crown princes adopted by the founders of the three dynasties the subjects were the rules of propriety and music. Music served to give the interior cultivation; the rules to give the external. The two, operating reciprocally within, had their outward manifestation, and the result was a peaceful serenity, — reverence of inward feeling and mild elegance of manners.

17. The Grand tutor and the assistant tutor were appointed for their training, to make them acquainted with the duties of father and son, and of ruler and minister. The former made himself perfectly master of those duties in order to exhibit them; the latter guided the princes to observe the virtuous ways of the other and fully instructed him about them. The Grand tutor went before them, and the assistant came after them. In the palace was the guardian, outside it was the master; and thus by this training and instruction the virtue (of the princes) was completed. The master taught them by means of occurring things, and made them understand what was virtuous. The guardian watched over their persons, and was as a stay and wings to them, leading them in the right way. The history says, ‘Under the dynasties of Yü, Hsiâ, Shang, and Kâu, there were the master, the guardian, the Î, and the Khang, and there were appointed the four aides and the three ducal ministers. That these offices should all be filled was not so necessary as that there should be the men for them;’ — showing how the object was to employ the able.

18. When we speak of ‘a superior man’ we intend chiefly his virtue. The virtue perfect and his instructions honoured; his instructions honoured and the

(various) officers correct; the officers correct and order maintained in the state: — these things give the ideal of a ruler.

19. Kung-nî said, ‘Formerly, when the duke of Kâu was administering the government, he did so while he (continued to) go up by the eastern steps. He (also) set forth the rules for a crown prince in (his dealing with) Po-khin, and it was thus that he secured the excellence of king Khang. I have heard it said, “A minister will sacrifice himself to benefit his ruler, and how much more will he swerve from the ordinary course to secure his excellence!” This was what the duke of Kâu did with ease and unconcern.

20. ‘Therefore he who knows how to show himself what a son should be can afterwards show himself what a father should be; he who knows how to show himself what a minister should be can afterwards show himself what a ruler should be; he who knows how to serve others can afterwards employ them. King Khang, being quite young, could not discharge the duties of the government. He had no means of learning how to show himself what the crown prince should be. On this account the rules for a crown prince were exhibited in (the treatment of) Po-khin, and he was made to live with the young king that the latter might thus understand all that was right between father and son, ruler and minister, elders and youngers.’

21. Take the case of the sovereign and his son and heir. Looked at from the standpoint of affection, the former is father; from that of honour, he is ruler. If the son can give the affection due to the father, and the honour due to the ruler, hereafter he ‘will (be fit to) be the lord of all under the sky. On this account the training of crown princes ought to be most carefully attended to.

22. It is only in the case of the crown prince that by the doing of one thing three excellent things are realised; and it is with reference to his taking his place in the schools according to his age that this is spoken. Thus it is that when he takes his place in them in this way, the people observing it, one will say, ‘He is to be our ruler, how is it that he gives place to us in the matter of years?’ and it will be replied, ‘While his father is alive, it is the rule that he should do so.’ Thus all will understand the right course as between father and son. A second will make the same remark, and put the same question; and it will be replied, ‘While the ruler is alive, it is the rule that he should do so;’ and thus all will understand the righteousness that should obtain between ruler and minister. To a third putting the same question it will be said, ‘He is giving to his elders what is due to their age;’ and thus all will understand the observances that should rule between young and old. Therefore, while his father is alive, he is but a son; and, while his ruler is alive, he may be called merely a minister. Occupying aright the position of son and Minister is the way in which he shows the honour due to a

ruler and the affection due to a father. He is thus taught the duties between father and son, between ruler and minister, between old and young; and when he has become master of all these, the state will be well governed. The saying,

'Music's Director the foundation lays;
The Master this doth to perfection raise.
Let him but once the great and good be taught,
And all the states are to correctness brought,'

finds its application in the case of the heir-son.

23. So much for the duke of Kâu's going up by the eastern steps.

See the introduction, pages 22, 23.

If was the duty of a son to wait on his father twice a day,-at morning and night. King Win showed his filial duty by paying king Kî a third visit.

According to the season.

According to the ordinary dates in Chinese chronology, king Wan was born in B.C. 1258, and named Khang (###). King Ki died in 1185, when he was in his seventy-fourth year.

It is difficult to understand and interpret the latter half of this paragraph. The Khien-lung editors say that, according to the ordinary accounts, king Wû was born when wan was fifteen years old, and there was an elder son, Yî-khâo, who died prematurely; whereas king Wû died at 93, leaving his son Sung (king Khang) only seven years old. 'Wan,' they said, 'must have married very early, and Wû very late.' They say also that they cannot understand the text that Wan gave to his son 'three years,' &c., and suppose that some erroneous tradition has here been introduced.

The king received his nobles at the top of the eastern steps. The phrase = 'in the government of the kingdom.'

These 'scholars' no doubt, were those of whose selection for the higher instruction we have an account in the fourth and other paragraphs of Section IV, Book III.

These are mentioned in the 'Royal Regulations, though the title does not occur in the Kâu Lî. They are supposed to be the same as its 'music masters' (Yo Sze, Book XXII).

This clause about the 'drum' is perplexing to a translator. It destroys the symmetry of the paragraph, What we are to understand by the 'Nan' is also much disputed. I suppose the term should embrace the two Nan, or two first Books of the Shih, Part I. Compare the Shih II, vi, 4. 4.

The names of these different schools are also very perplexing; and I here give a note about them by Liû Khang of our eleventh century. 'Under the Kiu dynasty they had its own schools and those of the three former dynasties; four buildings,

all erected in proximity to one another. Alost in the centre was the Pî Yung of Kâu itself. On the north of it was the school of Shun (the lord Yü); on the east that of Hsiâ; and on the west that of Shang. Those who were learning the use (in dancing) of the shield and spear, and of the plume and flute, went to the eastern school; those who were learning ceremonies went to that of Shang; and those who were learning history, to that of Shun. In the Pî Yung the son of Heaven nourished the old, sent forth his armies, matured his plans, received prisoners, and practised archery. When he came to the Pî Yung, they came from all the other three schools, and stood round the encircling water to look at him. There were also schools on the plan of Shun — the hsiang (###) — in the large districts (the ###, containing 12500 families); others on the plan of Hsiâ — the hsü (###) in the Kâu, or smaller districts (the ###, containing 2500 families); and others still on the plan of Shang — the hsiâo (###)-in the Tang (###) or those still smaller (containing 500 families). These were all schools for young boys. The most promising scholars (in the family schools) were removed to the hsiang; the best in the hsiang, again to the hsü; and the best in the hsü, to the hsiâo. The best in these were removed finally to the great school (or college) in the suburbs (of the capital).' Such is the account of Liû Khang. Other scholars differ from him in some points; but there is a general agreement as to the existence of a system of graduated training.

Probably, not sacrifices in general, but offerings to sages, distinguished old men, &c.

This asking the old men to speak was a part of the festal nourishment of them.

I do not think this officer appears in the lists of the Kâu Lî. He seems to be named as giving the finishing touch to the training of the young princes.

No mention is made of summer; but, no doubt, there were then the same observances as in the other seasons, — a tribute to the merit of the past, and a stimulus to the students.

See paragraphs 2-4, p-233.

These minor arts, it is understood, were such as medicine and divination.

The name for this college here perhaps indicates that on reaching it, all from the other schools were 'on the same level.' The youths would appear to have passed into it with a festive ceremony. The 'suburban schools' were those in the note on , with the addition of the 'Eastern Kiâo' (###), which it is not easy to distinguish from 'the eastern school,' already mentioned.

'Were completed,' should be, according to Khang-khang, were consecrated.' For the character in the text he would substitute that which we find in Mencius, I. i, 7, 4, applied to the consecration of a bell. Compare vol. iii, .

The ordinary offerings (see above, paragraph 9); but now a sequel to the offerings of silk. These two offerings, it is understood, were in the school on the west (the hsiang), and thence the parties officiating adjourned to that on the east (the hsü).

The Khien-lung editors seem to say that ‘the Grand tutor’ and ‘the assistant tutor,’ who had the charge of the young prince from his infancy, must have been ladies of the harem; so that, in fact, the government of a ruler’s household was regulated after the model of the government of the state in his maturer years. There are no materials to illustrate the duties of the ministers who are called ‘the Î and the Khang.’

Wû Khang thinks that the first three characters here should be translated— ‘The superior man (Kün-dze) says;’ a sequel to ‘The history says’ of the preceding paragraph. He then proposes to suppress one of the virtues (###) that follow. But the structure of the whole will not admit this way of dealing with it. There is a play on the characters rendered ‘a superior man’ and ‘a ruler,’ — Kün-dze (###) and Kun (###); like our English ‘a noble man’ and ‘a noble,’ ‘a princely man’ and ‘a prince.’

His father being dead.

With reference to this paragraph, which, he thinks, appears here as from Confucius, Wû Khang says:-,When king Wû died, Khang was quite young. (His uncles of) Kwan and Zhâi sent their reports abroad, and the people of Yin planned their rebellion. Then the duke of Kâu left the capital, and dwelt in the east, and Po-khin went to his jurisdiction, and defeated the people of Hsü and the Zung. Three years afterwards the duke of Kâu returned, took the regency and made his expedition to the east,-it was impossible for Khang and Po-khin to be always together. Perhaps the duke made them keep so, while king Wû was alive; and the account in the text was an erroneous tradition.’ To this the Khien-lung editors reply:— ‘Immediately on the death of king Wû, the duke of Kâu must have adopted the method described in the text. Thâi Kung was Grand master; the duke of Shâo, Grand guardian; and the duke of Kâu himself Grand tutor. They, no doubt, made Po-khin, Kün Khan, Lü Ki, Wang-sun Mâu, and others associate with the young king. In the winter of his first year, the duke removed to the eastern capital, while the other two continued in their places, and Po-khin was daily with Khang, and there was no change in the rules for a son and heir. Next year happened the storm which changed the king’s views about the duke, who returned to the court. The third year saw the removal of the people of Yen, and Po-khin proceeded to his jurisdiction in Lû. But by this time king Khang’s virtue and ability were matured. Wû’s objections to the ordinary view of the text are without foundation.’

Section ii.

1. The Shû-dze, who had the direction of the (other) members of the royal and princely families, inculcated on them filial piety and fraternal duty, harmony and friendship, and kindly consideration; illustrating the righteousness that should prevail between father and son, and the order to be observed between elders and juniors.

2. When they appeared at court, if it were at a reception in the innermost (courtyard of the palace), they took their places, facing the east, those of the most honourable rank among them, as ministers, being to the north (of the others); but they were arranged according to their age. If it were a reception in the outer (and second courtyard), they were arranged according to their offices; — (as in the former case), by the superintendents of the official lists.

3. When they were in the ancestral temple, they took their places as at the reception in the outer (and second courtyard); and the superintendent of the temple assigned his business to each according to rank and office. In their ascending (to the hall), partaking of what had been left (by the personator of the dead), presenting (the cup to him), and receiving it (from him), the eldest son by the wife took the precedence. The proceedings were regulated by the Shû-dze. Although one might have received three of the gifts of distinction, he did not take precedence of an uncle or elder cousin.

4. At the funeral rites for rulers, they were arranged according to the character of their mourning-dress in the fineness or coarseness of the material. In case of such rites among themselves, the same order was observed, the principal mourner, however, always taking precedence of all others.

5. If the ruler were feasting with his kindred, then all of a different kindred were received as guests. The cook acted as master of the ceremonies. The ruler took place among his uncles and cousins according to age. Each generation of kindred took a lower place as it was a degree removed from the parent-stem.

6. When with the army, the kindred guarded the spirit-tablets that had been brought from their shrines. If any public duties called the ruler beyond the limits of the state, those officers of the kindred employed the members of it, who had not other duties, to guard the ancestral temple and the apartments of the palace, the eldest sons by the proper wives guarding the temple of the Grand ancestor; the various uncles, the most honoured temple-shrines and apartments; the other sons and grandsons, the inferior shrines and apartments.

7. All descended from any of the five rulers to whom the temple-shrines were dedicated, even those who were now classed among the common people, were required to announce the events of capping and marriage, so long as the temple-

shrine of the (Grand ancestor) had not been removed. Their deaths had to be announced; and also their sacrifices during the period of mourning. In the relations of the kindred among themselves, the proper officers punished any neglect of the regulations for condoling and not condoling, leaving off and not leaving off the cap (in mourning). There were the correct rules for the mourning gifts of articles, money, robes, and jade to put into the mouth (of the deceased).

8. When one of the ruler's kindred was found guilty of a capital offence, he was hanged by some one of the foresters' department. If the punishment for his offence were corporal infliction or dismemberment, it was also handed over to the same department. No one of the ruler's kindred was punished with castration.

When the trial was concluded, the proper officer reported the sentence to the ruler. If the penalty were death, he would say, 'The offence of So and So is a capital crime.' If the penalty were less, he would say, 'The offence of So and So has received a lighter sentence.' The ruler would say', 'Let the sentence be remitted for another;' and the officer would say, 'That is the sentence.' This was repeated till the third time, when the officer would make no answer, but hurry off and put the execution into the hands of the appointed forester. Still the ruler would send some one after him, and say, 'Yes, but grant forgiveness,' to which there would be the reply, 'It is too late.' When the execution was reported to the ruler, he put on white clothes, and did not have a full meal or music, thus changing his usual habits. Though the kinsman might be within the degree for which there should be mourning rites, the ruler did not wear mourning, but wailed for him himself (in some family of a different surname).

9. That the rulers kindred appeared at the reception in the innermost (court) showed how (the ruler) would honour the relatives of his own surname. That they took places according to their age, even those among them of high rank, showed the relation to be maintained between father and son. That they took places at the reception in the outer court according to their offices, showed how (the ruler) would show that they formed one body with (the officers of) other surnames.

10. Their taking their places in the ancestral temple according to rank served to exalt the sense of virtue. That the superintendent of the temple assigned to them their several services according to their offices was a tribute of honour to worth. That the eldest son by the proper wife was employed to ascend, take precedence in partaking of what had been left, and in receiving the cup, was to do honour to their ancestor.

11. That the distinctions at the funeral rites were arranged according to the fineness or coarseness of their mourning robes was not to take from any one the degree of his relationship.

12. The ruler, when feasting with his kindred, took his place among them according to age, and thus development was given to filial piety and fraternal duty. That each generation took a lower place as it was removed a degree from the parent-stem showed the graduation of affection among relatives.

13. The guard maintained during war over the spirit-tablets in the army showed the deep sense of filial piety and love. When the eldest son by the proper wife guarded the temple of the Grand ancestor, honour was done to the temple by the most honoured, and the rule as between ruler and minister was exhibited. When the uncles guarded the most honoured shrines and apartments, and the cousins those that were inferior, the principles of subordination and deference were displayed.

14. That the descendants of the five rulers, to whom the temple-shrines were dedicated, were required, so long as the shrine of the Grand ancestor had not been removed, to announce their cappings and marriages, and their death was also required to be announced, showed how kinship was to be kept in mind. While the kinship was yet maintained, that some were classed among the common people showed how mean position followed on want of ability. The reverent observance of condoling, wailing, and of presenting contributions to the funeral rites in articles and money, Was the way taken to maintain harmony and friendliness.

15. Anciently, when the duties of these officers of the royal or princely kindred were well discharged, there was a constant model for the regions and states; and when this model was maintained, all knew to what to direct their views and aims.

16. When any of the ruler's kindred were guilty of offences, notwithstanding their kinship, they were not allowed to transgress with impunity, but the proper officers had their methods of dealing with them: — this showed the regard cherished for the people. That the offender was punished in secret, and not associated with common people, showed (the ruler's) concern for his brethren. That he offered no condolence, wore no mourning, and wailed for the criminal in the temple of a different surname, showed how he kept aloof from him as having disgraced their ancestors. That he wore white, occupied a chamber outside, and did not listen to music, was a private mourning for him, and showed how the feeling of kinship was not extinguished. That one of the ruler's kindred was not subjected to castration, showed how he shrank from cutting off the perpetuation of their family.

17. When the son of Heaven was about to visit the college, the drum was beaten at early dawn to arouse all (the students). When all were come together, the son of Heaven then arrived and ordered the proper officers to discharge their

business, proceeding in the regular order, and sacrificing to the former masters and former Sages. When they reported to him that everything had been done, he then began to go to the nourishing (of the aged).

18. Proceeding to the school on the east, he unfolded and set forth the offerings to the aged of former times, and immediately afterwards arranged the mats and places for the three (classes of the) old, and the five (classes of the) experienced, for all the aged (indeed who were present),.

19. He (then) went to look at the food and examine the liquor. When the delicacies for the nourishment of the aged were all ready, he caused the song to be raised (as a signal for the aged to come). After this he retired and thus it was that he provided for (the aged) his filial nourishment.

20. When (the aged) had returned (to their seats after partaking of the feast), the musicians went up and sang the Khang Miâo, after which there was conversation to bring out fully its meaning. They spoke of the duties between father and son, ruler and minister, elders and juniors. This union (of the conversation) with the highest description of virtue in the piece constituted the greatest feature of the ceremony.

21. Below (in the courtyard), the flute-players played the tune of the Hsiang, while the Tâ-wei was danced, all uniting in the grand concert according to their parts, giving full development to the spirit (of the music), and stimulating the sense of virtue. The positions of ruler and minister, and the gradations of noble and mean were correctly exhibited, and the respective duties of high and low took their proper course.

22. The officers having announced that the music was over, the king then charged the dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons, with all the officers, saying, ‘Return, and nourish the aged and the young in your eastern schools.’ Thus did he end (the ceremony) with (the manifestation of) benevolence.

23. The above statements show how the sage (sovereign) bore in mind the various steps (of this ceremony). He anxiously thought of it as its greatness deserved; his love for the aged was blended with reverence; he carried the thing through with attention to propriety; he adorned it with his filial nourishing; he connected with it the exhibition of the legitimate distinctions (of rank); and concluded it with (the manifestation of) benevolence. In this way the ancients, in the exhibition of this one ceremony, made all know how complete was their virtue. Among them, when they undertook any great affair, they were sure to carry it through carefully from beginning to end, so that it was impossible for any not to understand them. As it is said in the Yüeh Ming’, ‘The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on (this) learning.’

24. The Record of (king Wan's) son and heir says, 'Morning and evening he went to the outside of the door of the great chamber, and asked the attendant of the interior whether his father were well, and how he was. If told that he was well, his joy appeared in his countenance. If his father were not so well, the attendant would tell him so, and then his sorrow and anxiety appeared, and his demeanour was disturbed. When the attendant told him that his father was better, he resumed his former appearance. Morning and evening when the food went up, he would examine it and see if it were hot or cold as it ought to be. When it came down, he asked what his father had eaten. He made it a point to know what viands went in, and to give his orders to the cook; and then he retired. 'If the attendant reported that his father was ill, then he himself fasted and waited on him in his dark-coloured dress. He inspected with reverence the food prepared by the cook, and tasted himself the medicine for the patient. If his father ate well of the food, then he was able to eat. If his father ate but little, then he could not take a full meal. When his father had recovered, then he resumed his former ways.'

BOOK VII. THE, LÎ YUN

or

Ceremonial Usages; Their Origin, Development, and Intention.

Section I.

1. Formerly Kung-nî was present as one of the guests at the Kâ sacrifice; and when it was over, he went out and walked backwards and forwards on the terrace over the gate of Proclamations, looking sad and sighing. What made him sigh was the state of Lû. Yen Yen was by his side, and said to him, 'Master, what are you sighing about?' Confucius replied, 'I never saw the practice of the Grand course, and the eminent men of the three dynasties; but I have my object (in harmony with theirs).

2. 'When the Grand course was pursued, a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky; they chose men of talents, virtue, and ability; their words were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony. Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained. Males had their proper work, and females had their homes. (They accumulated) articles (of value), disliking that they should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep them for their own gratification. (The), laboured) with their strength, disliking that it should not be exerted, but not exerting it (only) with a view to their own advantage. In this way (selfish) schemings were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers, and rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors remained open, and were not shut. This was (the period of) what we call the Grand Union.

3. 'Now that the Grand course has fallen into disuse and obscurity, the kingdom is a family inheritance. Every one loves (above all others) his own parents and cherishes (as) children (only) his own sons. People accumulate articles and exert their strength for their own advantage. Great men imagine it is the rule that their states should descend in their own families. Their object is to make the walls of their cities and suburbs strong and their ditches and moats secure. The rules of propriety and of what is right are regarded as the threads by which they seek to maintain in its correctness the relation between ruler and minister; in its generous regard that between father and son; in its harmony that

between elder brother and younger; and in a community of sentiment that between husband and wife; and in accordance with them they frame buildings and measures; lay out the fields and hamlets (for the dwellings of the husbandmen); adjudge the superiority to men of valour and knowledge; and regulate their achievements with a view to their own advantage. Thus it is that (selfish) schemes and enterprises are constantly taking their rise, and recourse is had to arms; and thus it was (also) that Yü, Thang, Wan and Wû, king Khang, and the duke of Kâu obtained their distinction. Of these six great men every one was very attentive to the rules of propriety, thus to secure the display of righteousness, the realisation of sincerity, the exhibition of errors, the exemplification of benevolence, and the discussion of courtesy, showing the people all the normal virtues. Any rulers who did not follow this course were driven away by those who possessed power and position, and all regarded them as pests. This is the period of what we call Small Tranquillity.'

4. Yen Yen again asked, 'Are the rules of Propriety indeed of such urgent importance?' Confucius said, 'It was by those rules that the ancient kings sought to represent the ways of Heaven, and to regulate the feelings of men. Therefore he who neglects or violates them may be (spoken of) as dead, and he who observes them, as alive. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

Look at a rat-how small its limbs and fine!
Then mark the course that scorns the proper line.
Propriety's neglect may well provoke
A wish the man would quickly court death's stroke.

Therefore those rules are rooted in heaven, have their correspondencies in earth, and are applicable to spiritual beings. They extend to funeral rites, sacrifices, archery, chariot-driving, capping, marriage, audiences, and friendly missions. Thus the sages made known these rules, and it became possible for the kingdom, with its states and clans, to reach its correct condition.'

5. Yen Yen again asked, 'May I be allowed to hear, Master, the full account that you would give of these rules?' Confucius said, 'I wished to see the ways of Hsiâ, and for that purpose went to Khî. But it was not able to attest my words, though I found there "The seasons of Hsiâ." I wished to see the ways of Yin, and for that purpose went to Sung. But it was not able to attest my words, though I found there "The Khwan Khien." In this way I got to see the meanings in the Khwan Khien, and the different steps in the seasons of Hsiâ.

6. 'At the first use of ceremonies, they began with meat and drink. They roasted millet and pieces of pork; they excavated the ground in the form of a jar, and scooped the water from it with their two hands; they fashioned a handle of clay, and struck with it an earthen drum. (Simple as these arrangements were),

they yet seemed to be able to express by them their reverence for Spiritual Beings.

7. ‘(By-and-by), when one died, they went upon the housetop, and called out his name in a prolonged note, saying, “Come back, So and So.” After this they filled the mouth (of the dead) with uncooked rice, and (set forth as offerings to him) packets of raw flesh. Thus they looked up to heaven (whither the spirit was gone), and buried (the body) in the earth. The body and the animal soul go downwards; and the intelligent spirit is on high.

Thus (also) the dead are placed with their heads to the north, while the living look towards the south. In all these matters the earliest practice is followed.

8. ‘Formerly the ancient kings’ had no houses. In winter they lived in caves which they had excavated, and in summer in nests which they had framed. They knew not yet the transforming power of fire, but ate the fruits of plants and trees, and the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking their blood, and swallowing (also) the hair and feathers. They knew not yet the use of flax and silk, but clothed themselves with feathers and skins.

9. ‘The later sages then arose, and men (learned) to take advantage of the benefits of fire. They moulded the metals and fashioned clay, so as to rear towers with structures on them, and houses with windows and doors. They toasted, grilled, boiled, and roasted. They produced must and sauces. They dealt with the flax and silk so as to form linen and silken fabrics. They were thus able to nourish the living, and to make offerings to the dead; to serve the spirits of the departed and God. In all these things we follow the example of that early time.

10. ‘Thus it is that the dark-coloured liquor is in the apartment (where the representative of the dead is entertained); that the vessel of must is near its (entrance) door; that the reddish liquor is in the hall; and the clear, in the (court) below. The victims (also) are displayed, and the tripods and stands are prepared. The lutes and citherns are put in their places, with the flutes, sonorous stones, bells, and drums. The prayers (of the principal in the sacrifice to the spirits) and the benedictions (of the representatives of the departed) are carefully framed. The object of all the ceremonies is to bring down the spirits from above, even their ancestors; serving (also) to rectify the relations between ruler and ministers; to maintain the generous feeling between father and son, and the harmony between elder and younger brother; to adjust the relations between high and low; and to give their proper places to husband and wife. The whole may be said to secure the blessing of Heaven.

11. ‘They proceed to their invocations, using in each the appropriate terms. The dark-coloured liquor is employed in (every) sacrifice. The blood with the hair and feathers (of the victim) is presented. The flesh, uncooked, is set forth on

the stands. The bones with the flesh on them are sodden; and rush mats and coarse cloth are placed underneath and over the vases and cups. The robes of dyed silk are put on. The must and clarified liquor are presented. The flesh, roasted and grilled, is brought forward. The ruler and his wife take alternate parts in presenting these offerings, all being done to please the souls of the departed, and constituting a union (of the living) with the disembodied and unseen.

12. 'These services having been completed, they retire, and cook again all that was insufficiently done. The dogs, pigs, bullocks, and sheep are dismembered. The shorter dishes (round and square), the taller ones of bamboo and wood, and the soup vessels are all filled. There are the prayers which express the filial piety (of the worshipper), and the benediction announcing the favour (of his ancestors). This may be called the greatest omen of prosperity; and in this the ceremony obtains its grand completion.'

See the introduction, pages 23, 24.

Offered in the end of the year, in thanksgiving for all the crops that had been reaped. See in Book IX, ii, paragraphs 9, 10.

The gateway where illustrated copies of the laws and punishments were suspended, It belonged of right only to the royal palace, but it was among the things which Lû had usurped, or was privileged to use.

As usurping royal rites, and in disorder.

This sounds Tâoistic. It is explained of the time of the five Tîs.

The founders of the Hsiâ, Shang, and Kâu, and their great ministers.

'They chose;' who are intended by the 'they?' Shall we find them in the 'all under the sky' of the preceding clause? Callery has:— 'Sous le grand régne de la vertu, l'empire était la chose publique. On choisissait pour le gouverneur les hommes éminents,' &c. Khung Ying-tâ explains the clause by 'They made no hereditary princes., Perhaps it would be well to translate passively,— 'Men of virtue and ability were chosen (to govern).' The writer has before him the Tâoistic period of the primitive simplicity, when there was no necessity for organised government as in after ages.

It is rather difficult to construe and translate these two sentences. Callery gives for them, not very successfully:— 'Quant aux objets matériels, ceux qu'on n'aimait pas, on les abandonnait (aux personnes qui en avaient besoin), sans les mettre en réserve pour soi. Les choses dont on était capable, on regardait comme fort mauvais de ne pas les faire, lors même que cc n'était pas pour soi.'

The Tâoism in this and the preceding paragraph is evident, and we need not be surprised that Wang of Shih-liang should say that they ought not to be

ascribed to Confucius. The Khien-lung editors try to weaken the force of his judgment by a theory of misplaced tablets and spurious additions to the text.

The Shih, I, iv, 8; metrical version, page 99.

Compare with this paragraph the ninth in the third Book of the Analects. In that Confucius tells of his visits to Khî and Sung; but says nothing of his finding any book or fragment of a book in either, dwelling instead on the insufficiency of their records. ‘The seasons of Hsü,’ which it is said here ‘he got in Khî,’ is supposed to be the ‘small calendar of Hsiâ,’ preserved by the Greater Tai, and ‘the Khwan Khien’ to have been the ‘Kwei Zhang Yî,’ attributed by many to the Shang dynasty. But all this is very uncertain.

In an unartificial manner, we are told, ‘by placing them on heated stones.’ It is only the last sentence of the paragraph which makes us think that the previous parts have anything to do with sacrifice or religion.

Khung Ying-t-â thinks that this describes the practices of the period of ‘the five Tîs.’ The north is the quarter of darkness and decay, the south that of brightness and life. ‘The paragraph teaches us,’ says Hsu Shih-zang, ‘that the burial and other mourning ceremonies were not inventions of later sages, but grew from the natural feelings and sorrow of the earliest men.’

This was, says King, ‘the time of the highest antiquity;’ ‘the time,’ says Ying-Lâ, ‘before the five Tîs.’

According to Ying-tâ, ‘this is descriptive of the times of Shan Nang in middle antiquity, of the five Tîs, and of the three kings.’ This would extend it over a very long space of time. When it is said that men in their advancing civilisation were able to serve the spirits of the departed and God, the peculiarity of style by which those spirits (literally, the Kwei Shan) are placed before God (Shang Tî) does not fail to attract the notice of the student. The explanation of it was given ingeniously, and I believe correctly, by Dr. Medhurst (Theology of the Chinese, page 78), who says, I it was done, probably, in order to distinguish the one from the other, and to prevent the reader from imagining that the Kwei Shans belonged to the Shang Tî, which mistake might have occurred had the characters been differently arranged! I translate the last sentence in the present tense, the, speaker having, I think, his own times in mind.

The ‘dark-coloured’ liquor was water, which was employed in the earliest times, before there was any preparation of liquor made from grain, either by fermentation or distillation, and the use of it was continued in the subsequent times of which this paragraph speaks, in honour of the practice of antiquity; and is continued, probably, to the present day. The other liquors are mentioned in the order of their invention, following one another in the historical line of their discovery, the older always having a nearer and more honourable place.

Dr. Medhurst rendered this— ‘to bring down the Shans of the upper world, together with the manes of their first ancestors.’ In giving to the two phrases one and the same reference I am following Ying-tâ and others.

The last three observances were in imitation of what was done in the earliest antiquity.

In these six things the ways of ‘ middle antiquity’ were observed. The whole paragraph is descriptive of a sacrifice in the ancestral temple under Kâu, where an effort was made to reproduce all sacrificial customs from the earliest times.

This last paragraph appears to me to give a very condensed account of the banquet to a ruler’s kindred, with which a service in the ancestral temple concluded. Paragraphs 10, 11, 12 are all descriptive of the parts of such a service. Compare the accounts of it in the Shih II, vi, ode 5, and other pieces.

Section ii.

1. Confucius said, ‘Ah! Alas! I look at the ways of Kâu. (The kings) Yû and Lî corrupted them indeed, but if I leave Lû, where shall I go (to find them better)? The border sacrifice of Lû, (however,) and (the association with it of) the founder of the line (of Kâu) is contrary to propriety; — how have (the institutions of) the duke of Kâu fallen into decay! At the border sacrifice in Khî, Yü was the assessor, and at that in Sung, Hsieh; but these were observances of the sons of Heaven, preserved (in those states by their descendants). The rule is that (only) the son of Heaven sacrifices to heaven and earth, and the princes of states sacrifice at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain.’

2. When no change is presumptuously made from the constant practice from the oldest times between the prayer and blessing (at the beginning of the sacrifice), and the benediction (at the end of it), we have what might be called a great and happy service.

3. For the words of prayer and blessing and those of benediction to be kept hidden away by the officers of prayer of the ancestral temple, and the sorcerers and recorders, is a violation of the rules of propriety. This may be called keeping a state in darkness.

4. (The use of) the kan cup (of Hsiâ) and the kiâ cup (of Yin), and (the pledging in them) between the representative of the dead and the ruler are contrary to propriety;-these things constitute ‘a usurping ruler.’

5. (For ministers and Great officers to) keep the cap with pendents and the leathern cap, or military weapons, in their own houses is contrary to propriety. To do so constitutes ‘restraint of the ruler.’

6. For Great officers to maintain a full staff of employés, to have so many sacrificial vessels that they do not need to borrow any; and have singers and musical instruments all complete, is contrary to propriety. For them to do so leads to ‘disorder in a state’.

7. Thus, one sustaining office under the ruler is called a minister, and one sustaining office under the head of a clan is called a servant. Either of these, who is in mourning for a parent, or has newly married, is not sent on any mission for a year.

To enter court in decayed robes, or to live promiscuously with his servants, taking place among them according to age: — all these things are contrary to propriety. Where we have them, we have what is called ‘ruler and minister sharing the state.’

8. Thus, the son of Heaven has his domain that he may settle there his sons and grandsons; and the feudal princes have their states; and Great officers their appanages that they may do the same for theirs. This constitutes ‘the statutory arrangement.’

9. Thus, when the son of Heaven goes to visit a feudal prince, the rule is that he shall lodge in the ancestral temple, and that he do not enter it without having with him all the rules to be observed. If he act otherwise, we have an instance of ‘The son of Heaven perverting the laws, and throwing the regulations into confusion.’ A prince, unless it be to ask about the sick or to condole with a mourner, does not enter the house of a minister. If he act otherwise, we have the case of ‘ruler and minister playing with each other.’

10. Therefore, ceremonies form a great instrument in the hands of a ruler. It is by them that he resolves what is doubtful and brings to light what is abstruse; that he conducts his intercourse with spiritual beings, examines all statutory arrangements, and distinguishes benevolence from righteousness; it is by them, in short, that government is rightly ordered, and his own tranquillity secured.

11. When government is not correct, the ruler’s seat is insecure. When the ruler’s seat is insecure, the great ministers revolt, and smaller ones begin pilfering. Punishments (then) are made severe, and manners deteriorate. Thus the laws become irregular, and the rules of ceremony uncertain. When these are uncertain, officers do not perform their duties; and when punishments become severe, and manners deteriorate, the people do not turn (to what is right). We have that condition which may be described as ‘an infirm state.’

12. In this way government is the means by which the ruler keeps and protects his person, and therefore it must have a fundamental connection with Heaven. This uses a variety of ways in sending down the intimations of Its will. As learned from the altars of the land, these are (receptivity and docility)

imparted to the earth. As learned from the ancestral temple, they are benevolence and righteousness. As learned from the altars of the hills and streams, they are movement and activity. As learned from the five sacrifices of the house, they are the statutes (of their various spirits). It is in this way that the sage rulers made provision for the safe keeping of their persons.

13. Hence the sage forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth, and stands side by side with spiritual beings, in order to the right ordering of government. Taking his place on the ground of the principles inherent in them, he devised ceremonies in their order; calling them to the happy exercise of that in which they find pleasure, he secured the success of the government of the people.

14. Heaven produces the seasons. Earth produces all the sources of wealth. Man is begotten by his father, and instructed by his teacher. The ruler correctly uses these four agencies, and therefore he stands in the place where there is no error.

15. Hence the ruler is he to whose brightness men look; he does not seek to brighten men. It is he whom men support; he does not seek to support men. It is he whom men serve; he does not seek to serve men. If the ruler were to seek to brighten men, he would fall into errors. If he were to seek to nourish men, he would be unequal to the task. If he were to seek to serve men, he would be giving up his position. Therefore the people imitate the ruler, and we have their self-government; they nourish their ruler, and they find their security in doing so; they serve the ruler, and find their distinction in doing so. Thus it is by the universal application of the rules of propriety, that the lot and duty (of different classes) are fixed; thus it is that men (acting contrary to those rules,) would all have to account death a boon, and life an evil.

16. Therefore (the ruler), making use of the wisdom of others, will put away the cunning to which that wisdom might lead him; using their courage, he will (in the same way) put away passion; and using their benevolence, he will put away covetousness.

17. Therefore, when calamity comes on a state, for the ruler to die for its altars is to be regarded as right; but for a Great officer to die for the ancestral temple is to be regarded as a change (of the duty required from him).

18. Therefore when it is said that (the ruler being) a sage can look on all under the sky as one family, and on all in the Middle states as one man, this does not mean that he will do so on premeditation and purpose. He must know men’s feelings, lay open to them what they consider right, show clearly to them what is advantageous, and comprehend what are their calamities. Being so furnished, he is then able to effect the thing.

19. What are the feelings of men? They are joy, anger, sadness, fear, love, disliking, and liking. These seven feelings belong to men without their learning them. What are ‘the things which men consider right?’ Kindness on the part of the father, and filial duty on that of the son; gentleness on the part of the elder brother, and obedience on that of the younger; righteousness on the part of the husband, and submission on that of the wife; kindness on the part of elders, and deference on that of juniors; with benevolence on the part of the ruler, and loyalty on that of the minister; — these ten are the things which -men consider to be right. Truthfulness in speech and the cultivation of harmony constitute what are called ‘the things advantageous to men.’ Quarrels, plundering, and murders are ‘the things disastrous to men.’ Hence, when a sage (ruler) would regulate the seven feelings of men, cultivate the ten virtues that are right; promote truthfulness of speech, and the maintenance of harmony; show his value for kindly consideration and complaisant courtesy; and put away quarrelling and plundering, if he neglect the rules of propriety, how shall he succeed?

20. The things which men greatly desire are comprehended in meat and drink and sexual pleasure; those which they greatly dislike are comprehended in death, exile, poverty, and suffering. Thus liking and disliking are the great elements in men’s minds. But men keep them hidden in their minds, where they cannot be fathomed or measured. The good and the bad of them being in their minds, and no outward manifestation of them being visible, if it be wished to determine these qualities in one uniform way, how can it be done without the use of the rules of propriety (implied in the ceremonial usages)?

B.C. 791-771.

B.C. 878-828.

That the sacrificial ceremonies of Lû were in many things corrupted in Lû in the time of Confucius is plain to the reader of the Analects. How the corruption first began is a subject of endless controversy. it seems to be established that special privileges were granted in this respect to the duke of Kâu and his son, Po-khin. Guarded at first and innocent, encroachments were made by successive princes, as the vigour, of the royal authority declined; and by-and-by as those princes became themselves more and more weak, their ministers followed in their wake, and usurped the same ceremonies in their own services.

The commentators throw little light on the special corruption selected here for condemnation by Confucius. I have interpreted it by the analogy of the cases of Khî and Sung. The lords of those states were descended from the sovereigns of Hsiâ and Shang respectively, and were invested with them at the rise of the Kâu dynasty, that they might continue in them the sacrifices of their royal ancestors. They did so not as the lords of Khî and Sung, but as representing the lines of

Hsiâ and Shang. But the case was different with the lords of Lû, belonging to the time of Kâu, but not representing it. Its kings were still reigning. Whether the words of Confucius should be extended over all the paragraph is a doubtful point.]

See paragraph 12 of the last section.

In this way new forms of prayer and benediction came into use, and the old forms were forgotten. The sorcerers; see page 172, paragraph 42.

It would be of little use to give representations of those cups, as they are ordinarily figured. Only in Khî, Sung, and Lû could they be used with any degree of propriety. In the times referred to in these paragraphs they were used by other states; which was an act of usurpation.

Certain styles of these caps were peculiar to the king, and of course could not be used by inferiors. Others might be used by them, but were kept in public offices, and given out when required. Sometimes they were conferred by special gift; but none could make them for themselves.

A Great officer, if he had land, might have a ruler or steward, to whom everything was entrusted; and he might have some sacrificial vessels, but not a complete set. He did not have music at his sacrifices, unless it were by special permission.

Compare Deuteronomy xxiv. 5.

On this paragraph M. Callery has the following note:— 'Très difficile à comprendre dans nos idées, ce passage offre un sens tout simple et naturel aux Chinois, dont la bizarre métaphysique va chercher dans la nature une analogie essentielle entre les accidents divers des êtres, et les phénomènes rationnels ou psychologiques. Ainsi, suivant les philosophes Chinois, tant anciens que modernes, la société présente des inégalités dans ses classes d'individus, comme la terre présente à sa surface des montagnes et des vallées; telle loi provoque l'action et le mouvement, comme les rivières pleines de poissons et les montagnes couvertes de forêts sont des foyers de vie et de développement; telle autre loi impose des obligations humanitaires, comme les temples inspirent la piété filiale envers les ancêtres, ou le respect envers les Dieux. Ces analogies sont quelquefois poussées jusqu'au dernier ridicule; mais les Chinois ne les trouvent jamais forcées, et semblent faire très peu de cas de la logique Européenne, qui ne les admire pas.'

The Khien-lung editors say on it:-'Hsiâo (###) gives the idea of distribution. All the principles under the sky are simply expressive of the mind of the one Heaven. Heaven is everywhere, and its distributions from which we see its ordinations are also everywhere. Khien (###) 'great and originating,' contains all the meaning belonging to the name Heaven. Earth (###) obediently receives the

influences of heaven. Consequently, when we see how earth supports all things, we know how the ordination of Heaven has descended on it. Heaven is the author of all things. It produced men, and men go on to produce one another, in succession. From this we see that every man has his ancestor, and know how the ordination of Heaven has descended on the ancestral temple. Hills and streams are also the productions of Heaven, but every one of them is also able to produce other things; and when we see their productiveness, we know that the ordination of Heaven to that effect has descended on them. The productive power of Heaven is distributed in the five elements, and their results, which are most important to men, are exhibited in the five sacrifices of the house, so that we see those results in these, and know that the ordination of Heaven has descended on them. Now the ancestral temples, the hills and streams, and those five altars of the house, are all distributed on the earth, but in reality have their root in Heaven. And so it is that the sages after the pattern of Heaven made their ordinations; and their filial piety and righteousness, and all the duties enjoined by them, effective, though unseen, secure the issues of government.']

'If the ruler,' says Khung Ying-tâ, 'were to undertake to do all the work of these agencies himself, he would commit many errors. Employing them according to the natural operation of each, the work is easily performed, and without error.'

I have here followed the Khien-lung editors in preference to Kang Khang-khang and others. The latter consider that the cunning, passion, and covetousness are those of the men whom the ruler employs,-vices generally found, along with the good qualities belonging to them.

It is not easy to see the ground of the reprehension of the devotion of a Great officer which is here implied. 'The care of the state is a trust committed to the ruler by the sovereign,-he should die in maintaining it. An officer has services to discharge, and not trusts to maintain. When the services can no longer be discharged, he may leave them and save himself'(?).

Section iii.

1. Man is (the product of) the attributes of Heaven and Earth, (by) the interaction of the dual forces of nature, the union of the animal and intelligent (souls), and the finest subtile matter of the five elements.

2. Heaven exercises the control of the strong and light force, and hangs out the sun and stars. Earth exercises the control of the dark and weaker force, and gives vent to it in the hills and streams. The five elements are distributed through

the four seasons, and it is by their harmonious action that the moon is produced, which therefore keeps waxing for fifteen days and waning for fifteen.

3. The five elements in their movements alternately displace and exhaust one another. Each one of them, in the revolving course of the twelve months of the four seasons, comes to be in its turn the fundamental one for the time.

4. The five notes of harmony, with their six upper musical accords, and the twelve pitch-tubes, come each, in their revolutions among themselves, to be the first note of the scale.

5. The five flavours, with the six condiments, and the twelve articles of diet, come each one, in their revolutions (in the course of the year), to give its character to the food.

6. The five colours, with the six elegant figures, which they form on the two robes, come each one, in their revolutions among themselves, to give the character of the dress that is worn.

7. Therefore Man is the heart and mind of Heaven and Earth, and the visible embodiment of the five elements. He lives in the enjoyment of all flavours, the discriminating of all notes (of harmony), and the enrobing of all colours.

8. Thus it was that when the sages would make rules (for men), they felt it necessary to find the origin (of all things) in heaven and earth; to make the two forces (of nature) the commencement (of all); to use the four seasons as the handle (of their arrangements); to adopt the sun and stars as the recorders (of time), the moon as the measurer (of work to be done), the spirits breathing (in nature) as associates, the five elements as giving substance (to things), rules of propriety and righteousness as (their) instruments, the feelings of men as the field (to be cultivated), and the four intelligent creatures as domestic animals (to be reared).

9. The origin of all things being found in heaven and earth, they could be taken in hand, one after the other. The commencement of these being found in the two forces (of nature), their character and tendencies could be observed. The four seasons being used as a handle, (the people) could be stimulated to the business (of each). The sun and stars being constituted the measures of time, that business could be laid out in order. The moon being taken as the measure (of work to be done), that work could be accomplished successfully. The spirits breathing (in nature) being considered as associates, what is done will be maintained permanently. The five elements being considered as giving substance (to things), what has been done could be repeated. Rules of propriety and righteousness being viewed as the instruments, whatever was done would be completed. The feelings of men being the field to be cultivated, men would look

up (to the sages) as to their lords. The four intelligent creatures being made to become domestic animals, there would be constant sources of food and drink.

10. What were the four intelligent creatures? They were the Khî-lin, the phoenix, the tortoise, and the dragon. When the dragon becomes a domestic animal, (all other) fishes and the sturgeon do not lie hidden from men (in the mud). When the phoenix becomes so, the birds do not fly from them in terror. When the Khî-lin does so, the beasts do not scamper away. When the tortoise does so, the feelings of men take no erroneous course.

Callery's translation of this paragraph is the following:— 'L'homme émane, (pour le moral), de la vertu du Ciel et de la Terre; (pour le physique il émane) de la combinaison des (deux principes) Yin et Yang; (pour la partie spirituelle, il émane) de la réunion des esprits et des Dieux; et pour la forme qui lui est propre, il émane de l'essence la plus subtile des cinq éléments.' To this be subjoins the following note:— 'Il m'est difficile de croire que les Chinois eux-mêmes aient jamais rien compris à ces théories androgénésiques, dont tout le mérite gît dans le vague de l'énoncé.' The Khien-lung editors say:— 'The characteristic attributes of Heaven and Earth are blended and hid in the two forces of nature; and this is called the truth that is unlimited. If we speak of those forces in their fundamental character, we call them the Yin and Yang. If we speak of them as they develop their power, we call them Kwei and Shan. If we speak of them as they become substantial, we call them the five elements. And this is what is called the essence of what is meant by the second and fifth lines of the Khien hexagram,' &c. &c.

Callery says here:-' Cest toujours l'application de la théorie des affinités naturelles dont nous avons parlé (see note,) et dont il importe de bien se pénétrer lorsqu'on veut comprendre quelque chose aux dissertations philosophiques des Chinois.' But after the student has done his best to get hold of the theory, he will often be baffled in trying to follow the applications of it. For example, I cannot get hold of what is said here about the genesis of the moon. Much of the next four paragraphs is very obscure. A little light seems to flash on them from parts of different sections of Book IV, but it is neither bright nor steady.

For this paragraph M. Callery gives:— 'L'homme est donc le cœur du Ciel et de la Terre, la fine essence des cinq éléments, et vit en mangeant des choses sapides, en distinguant les sons, et en s'habillant de différentes couleurs (contrairement à la brute, dont les goûts sont grossiers, et les instincts sans raison).' Of course the first predicate about man, and, we might almost say, the second also, are metaphorical. 'La fine essence' is not a correct translation of the text in the second predicate, the Chinese character so rendered is different from the two characters in paragraph 1. On the former predicate Hsiang An-shih

(Sung dynasty) says:— ‘The heart of Heaven and Earth is simply benevolence. The perfect benevolence of Heaven and Earth is lodged in man. Given the human body, and forthwith there is the benevolent heart. Hence it is said (Mencius VII, ii, 16), “Man is benevolence;” “Benevolence is the heart of man.” Moreover, the heart of Heaven and Earth is seen in the very idea of life, so that the heart (or kernel) of all fruits is called Zan (###) or benevolence, which is again a name for man (###).’

Callery has for this:— ‘Les Esprits et les Dieux pour compagnons;’ Medhurst, ‘the Kwei Shins, as the associates.’ Kang and Khung say that by Kwei Shan are to be understood ‘the hills and streams of last section,’ paragraph 12, for ‘those help the respiration of the earth.’

See paragraph 10.

Callery calls these four creatures ‘le cerf, l’aigle, la tortue, et le dragon;’ and says:— ‘D’après la mythologie historique des Chinois, ces quatre animaux ne se montrent sur la terre que sous le règne des empereurs d’une vertu extraordinaire. Alors, la plus grande paix règne dans l’univers; tous les hommes sont heureux; personne ne manque de rien: — C’est l’âge d’or, moins les idées poétiques des Grecs et des Latins.’ All the four excepting the tortoise are fabulous animals, and even Confucius believed in them (Ana. IX, 8). The lesson drawn from the text by many is that men’s goodness is the pledge of, and the way to, all prosperity.

Section iv.

1. The ancient kings made use of the stalks and the tortoise-shell; arranged their sacrifices; buried their offerings of silk; recited their words of supplication and benediction; and made their statutes and measures. In this way arose the ceremonial usages of the states, the official departments with their administrators, each separate business with its own duties, and the rules of ceremony in their orderly arrangements.

2. Thus it was that the ancient kings were troubled lest the ceremonial usages should not be generally understood by all below them. They therefore sacrificed to God in the suburb (of the capital), and thus the place of heaven was established. They sacrificed at the altar of the earth inside the capital, and thus they intimated the benefits derived from the earth. Their sacrifices in the ancestral temple gave their fundamental place to the sentiments of humanity. Those at the altars of the hills and streams served to mark their intercourse with the spirits breathing (in nature). Their five sacrifices (of the house) were a recognition of the various business which was to be done.

For the same reason, there are the officers of prayer in the ancestral temple; the three ducal ministers in the court; and the three classes of old men in the college. In front of the king there were the sorcerers, and behind him the recorders; the diviners by the tortoise-shell and by the stalks, the blind musicians and their helpers were all on his left and right. He himself was in the centre. His mind had nothing to do, but to maintain what was entirely correct.

3. By means of the ceremonies performed in the suburb, all the spirits receive their offices. By means of those performed at the altar of the earth, all the things yielded (by the earth) receive their fullest development. By means of those in the ancestral temple, the services of filial duty and of kindly affection come to be discharged. By means of those at the five sacrifices of the house, the laws and rules of life are correctly exhibited. Hence when the ideas in these sacrifices in the suburb, at the altar of the earth, in the ancestral temple, at the altars of the hills and streams, and of the five sacrifices of the house are fully apprehended, the ceremonies used are found to be lodged in them.

4. From all this it follows that rules of ceremony Must be traced to their origin in the Grand Unity.

This separated and became heaven and earth. It revolved and became the dual force (in nature).

It changed and became the four seasons. It was distributed and became the breathings (thrilling in the universal frame). Its (lessons) transmitted (to men) are called its orders; the law and authority of them is in Heaven.

5. While the rules of ceremony have their origin in heaven, the movement of them reaches to earth. The distribution of them extends to all the business (of life). They change with the seasons; they agree in reference to the (variations of) lot and condition. In regard to man, they serve to nurture (his nature). They are practised by means of offerings, acts of strength, words and postures of courtesy, in eating and drinking, in the observances of capping, marriage, mourning, sacrificing, archery, chariot-driving, audiences, and friendly missions.

6. Thus propriety and righteousness are the great elements for man’s (character); it is by means of them that his speech is the expression of truth and his intercourse (with others) the promotion of harmony; they are (like) the union of the cuticle and cutis, and the binding together of the muscles and bones in strengthening (the body). They constitute the great methods by which we nourish the living, bury the dead, and serve the spirits of the departed. They supply the channels by which we can apprehend the ways of Heaven and act as the feelings of men require. It was on this account that the sages knew that the rules of ceremony could not be dispensed with, while the ruin of states, the destruction of

families, and the perishing of individuals are always preceded by their abandonment of the rules of propriety,

7. Therefore the rules of propriety are for man what the yeast is for liquor. The superior man by (his use of them) becomes better and greater. The small man by his neglect of them becomes meaner and worse.

8. Therefore the sage kings cultivated and fashioned the lever of righteousness and the ordering of ceremonial usages, in order to regulate the feelings of men. Those feelings were the field (to be cultivated by) the sage kings. They fashioned the rules of ceremony to plough it. They set forth the principles of righteousness with which to plant it. They instituted the lessons of the school to weed it. They made love the fundamental subject by which to gather all its fruits, and they employed the training in music to give repose (to the minds of learners).

9. Thus, rules of ceremony are the embodied expression of what is right. If an observance stand the test of being judged by the standard of what is right, although it may not have been among the usages of the ancient kings, it may be adopted on the ground of its being right.

10. (The idea of) right makes the distinction between things, and serves to regulate (the manifestation of) humanity. When it is found in anything and its relation to humanity has been discussed, the possessor of it will be strong.

11. Humanity is the root of right, and the embodying of deferential consideration. The possessor of it is honoured.

12. Therefore to govern a state without the rules of propriety would be to plough a field without a share. To make those rules without laying their foundation in right would be to plough the ground and not sow the seed. To think to practise the right without enforcing it in the school would be to sow the seed and not weed the plants. To enforce the lessons in the schools, and insist on their agreement with humanity, would be to weed and not to reap. To insist on the agreement of the lessons with humanity, and not give repose to (the minds of) the learners by music, would be to reap, and not eat (the product). To supply the repose of music and not proceed to the result of deferential consideration would be to eat the product and get no fattening from it.

13. When the four limbs are all well proportioned, and the skin is smooth and full, the individual is in good condition. When there is generous affection between father and son, harmony between brothers, and happy union between husband and wife, the family is in good condition. When the great ministers are observant of the laws, the smaller ministers pure, officers and their duties kept in their regular relations and the ruler and his ministers are correctly helpful to one another, the state is in good condition. When the son of Heaven moves in his

virtue as a chariot, with music as his driver, while all the princes conduct their mutual intercourse according to the rules of propriety, the Great officers maintain the order between them according to the laws, inferior officers complete one another by their good faith, and the common people guard one another with a spirit of harmony, all under the sky is in good condition. All this produces what we call (the state of) great mutual consideration (and harmony).

14. This great mutual consideration and harmony would ensure the constant nourishment of the living, the burial of the dead, and the service of the spirits (of the departed). However greatly things might accumulate, there would be no entanglement among them. They would move on together without error, and the smallest matters would proceed without failure. However deep some might be, they would be comprehended. However thick and close their array, there would be spaces between them. They would follow one another without coming into contact. They would move about without doing any hurt to one another. This would be the perfection of such a state of mutual harmony.

15. Therefore the clear understanding of this state will lead to the securing of safety in the midst of danger. Hence the different usages of ceremony, and the maintenance of them in their relative proportions as many or few, are means of keeping hold of the feelings of men, and of uniting (high and low, and saving them from) peril.

16. The sage kings showed their sense of this state of harmony in the following way: — They did not make the occupants of the hills (remove and) live by the streams, nor the occupants of the islands (remove and live) in the plains; and thus the (people) complained of no hardship. They used water, fire, metal, wood, and the different articles of food and drink, each in its proper season. They promoted the marriages of men and women, and distributed rank and office, according to the years and virtues of the parties. They employed the people with due regard to their duties and wishes. Thus it was that there were no plagues of flood, drought, or insects, and the people did not suffer from bad grass or famine, from untimely deaths or irregular births. On account of all this heaven did not grudge its methods; earth did not grudge its treasures; men did not grudge (the regulation of) their feelings. Heaven sent down its fattening dews; earth sent forth its springs of sweet wine; hills produced implements and chariots; the Ho sent forth the horse with the map (on, his back)'. Phoenixes and Khî-lins were among the trees of the suburbs, tortoises and dragons in the ponds of the palaces, while the other birds and beasts could be seen at a glance in their nests and breeding places. All this resulted from no other cause but that the ancient kings were able to fashion their ceremonial usages so as to convey the

underlying ideas of right, and embody their truthfulness so as to secure the universal and mutual harmony. This was the realisation of it.

BOOK VIII. THE LÎ KHÎ

or

Rites in the Formation of Character.

Section I.

1. The rules of propriety serve as instruments to form men's characters, and they are therefore prepared on a great scale. Being so, the value of them is very high. They remove from a man all perversity, and increase what is beautiful in his nature. They make him correct, when employed in the ordering of himself; they ensure for him free course, when employed towards others. They are to him what their outer coating is to bamboos, and what its heart is to a pine or cypress. These two are the best of all the productions of the (vegetable) world. They endure through all the four seasons, without altering a branch or changing a leaf. The superior man observes these rules of propriety, so that all in a wider circle are harmonious with him, and those in his narrower circle have no dissatisfactions with him. Men acknowledge and are affected by his goodness, and spirits enjoy his virtue.

2. The rules as instituted by the ancient kings had their radical element and their outward and elegant form. A true heart and good faith are their radical element. The characteristics of each according to the idea of what is right in it are its outward and elegant form: Without the radical element, they could not have been established; without the elegant form, they could not have been put in practice.

3. (The things used in performing) the rites should be suitable to the season, taken from the resources supplied by the ground, in accordance with (the requirements of) the spirits, and agreeable to the minds of men;-according to the characteristics of all things. Thus each season has its productions, each soil its appropriate produce, each sense its peculiar power, and each thing its advantageousness. Therefore what any season does not produce, what any soil does not nourish, will not be used by a superior man in performing his rites, nor be enjoyed by the spirits. If mountaineers were to (seek to) use fish and turtles in their rites, or the dwellers near lakes, deer and pigs, the superior man would say of them that they did not know (the nature of) those usages.

4. Therefore it is necessary to take the established revenues of a state as the great rule for its ceremonial (expenditure). Important for the determination of

this is the size of its territory. The amount of the offerings (also) should have regard to the character of the year as good or bad. In this way, though the harvest of a year may be very defective, the masses will not be afraid, and the ceremonies as appointed by the superiors will be economically regulated.

5. In (judging of) rites the time should be the great consideration. (Their relation to) natural duties, their material substance, their appropriateness to circumstances, and their proportioning are all secondary.

Yâo's resignation of the throne to Shun, and Shun's resignation of it to Yü; Thang's dethronement of Kieh; and the overthrow of Kâu by Wan and Wû: — all these are to be judged of by the time. As the Book of Poetry says,

It was not that he was in haste to gratify his wishes;

It was to show the filial duty that had come down to him.'

The sacrifices to heaven and earth; the services of the ancestral temple; the courses for father and son; and the righteousness between ruler and minister: — these are to be judged of as natural duties.

The services at the altars of the land and grain and of the hills and streams; and the sacrifices t6 spirits: — these are to be judged of by the material substance of the offerings. The use of the funeral rites and sacrifices; and the reciprocities of host and guest: — these are to be judged of by their appropriateness to circumstances.

Sacrificing with a lamb and a sucking pig, by the multitude of officers, when yet there was enough; and sacrificing with an ox, a ram, and a boar, when yet there was nothing to spare: — in these we have an instance of the proportioning.

6. The princes set great store by the tortoise, and consider their jade-tokens as the insignia of their rank, while the (chiefs of) clans have not the tortoises that are so precious, nor the jade-tokens to keep (by themselves), nor the towered gateways: — these (also) are instances of the proportioning.

7. In some ceremonial usages the multitude of things formed the mark of distinction, The son of Heaven had 7 shrines in his ancestral temple; the prince of a state, 5; Great officers, 3; and other officers, 1. The dishes of the son of Heaven on stands were 26; of a duke, 16; of another prince, 12; of a Great officer of the upper class, 8; of one of the lower class, 6, To a prince there were given 7 attendants and 7 oxen; and to a Great officer, 5 of each, The son of Heaven sat on 5 mats placed over one another; a prince, on 3; and a Great officer, on 2. When the son of Heaven died, he was buried after 7 months, in a fivefold coffin, with 8 plumes; a prince was buried after 5 months, in a threefold coffin, with 6 plumes; a Great officer after 3 months, in a twofold coffin, with 4 Plumes. In these cases, the multitude of things was the mark of distinction.

8. In other usages, the paucity of things formed the mark of distinction. To the son of Heaven there were given no attendants, and he sacrificed to Heaven with a single victim; when he visited the princes (on his tours of inspection), he was feasted with a single bullock. When princes went to the courts of one another, fragrant spirits were used in libations, and there were no dishes on stands, either of wood or bamboo. At friendly missions by Great officers, the ceremonial offerings were slices of dried meat and pickles. The son of Heaven declared himself satisfied after 1 dish; a prince, after 2; a Great officer and other officers, after 3; while no limit was set to the eating of people who lived by their labour. (The horses of) the Great carriage had 1 ornamental tassel at their breast-bands; those of the other carriages had 7 (pieces of) jade for rank-tokens; and libation cups were presented singly; as also the tiger-shaped and yellow cups. In sacrificing to spirits a single mat was used; when princes were giving audience to their ministers, they (bowed to) the Great officers one by one, but to all the other officers together. In these cases the fewness of the things formed the mark of distinction.

9. In others, greatness of size formed the mark. The dimensions of palaces and apartments; the measurements of dishes and (other) articles; the thickness of the inner and outer coffins; the greatness of eminences and mounds: — these were cases in which the greatness of size was the mark.

10. In others, smallness of size formed the mark. At the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, the highest in rank presented a cup (of spirits to the representative of the dead), and the low, a san (containing five times as much): (at some other sacrifices), the honourable took a khih (containing 3 cups), and the low a horn (containing 4). (At the feasts of viscounts and barons), when the vase went round 5 times, outside the door was the earthenware fâu (of supply), and inside, the hû; while the ruler's vase was an earthenware wei: — these were cases in which the smallness of size was the mark of distinction.

11. In others, the height formed the mark of distinction. The hall of the son of Heaven was ascended by 9 steps; that of a prince, by 7; that of a Great officer, by 5; and that of an ordinary officer, by 3. The son of Heaven and the princes had (also) the towered gateway. In these cases height was the mark.

12. In others, the lowness formed the mark. In sacrificing, the highest reverence was not shown on the raised altar, but on the ground beneath, which, had been swept. The vases of the son of Heaven and the princes were set on a tray without feet; those of Great and other officers on one with feet (3 inches high). In these cases the lowness was the mark of distinction.

13. In others, ornament formed the mark. The son of Heaven wore his upper robe with the dragons figured on it; princes, the lower robe with the axes'

embroidered on it; Great officers, their lower robe with the symbol of distinction; and other officers, the dark-coloured upper robe, and the lower one red. The cap of the soil of Heaven had 12 pendents of jade beads set on strings hanging-down of red and green silk; that of princes, 9; that of Great officers of the highest grade, 7; and if they were of the lowest grade, 5; and that of other officers, in these cases the ornament was the mark of distinction.

14. In others, plainness formed the mark. Acts of the greatest reverence admit of no ornament.

The relatives of a father do not put themselves into postures (like other visitors). The Grand jade-token has no engraving on it. The Grand soup has no condiments. The Grand carriage is plain, and the mats in it are of rushes. The goblet with the victim-ox carved on it is covered with a plain white cloth. The ladle is made of white-veined wood. These are cases in which plainness is the mark.

15. Confucius said,' Ceremonial usages should be most carefully considered.' This is the meaning of the remark that 'while usages are different, the relations between them as many or few should be maintained.' His words had reference to the proportioning of rites.

16. That in the (instituting of) rites the multitude of things was considered a mark of distinction, arose from the minds (of the framers) being directed outwards. The energy (of nature) shoots forth and is displayed everywhere in all things, with a great discriminating control over their vast multitude. In such a case, how could they keep from making multitude a mark of distinction in rites? Hence the superior men, (the framers), rejoiced in displaying (their discrimination).

But that in (the instituting of) rites the paucity of things was (also) considered a mark of distinction, arose from the minds (of the framers) being directed inwards. Extreme as is the energy (of nature) in production, it is exquisite and minute. When we look at all the things under the sky, they do not seem to be in proportion to that energy, In such a case, how could they keep from considering paucity a mark of distinction? Hence the superior men, (the framers), watched carefully over the solitude (of their own thoughts).

17. The ancient sages (thus) gave honour to what was internal, and sought pleasure in what was external; found a mark of distinction in paucity, and one of what was admirable in multitude; and therefore in the ceremonial usages instituted by the ancient kings we should look neither for multitude nor for paucity, but for the due relative proportion.

18. Therefore, when a man of rank uses a large victim in sacrifice, we say he acts according to propriety, but when an ordinary officer does so, we say be

commits an act of usurpation.

19. Kwan Kung had his sacrificial dishes of grain carved, and red bands to his cap; fashioned hills on the capitals of his pillars, and pondweed on the small pillars above the beams: — the superior man considered it wild extravagance. :2o. An Phing-kung, in sacrificing to his father, used a sucking-pig which did not fill the dish, and went to court in an (old) washed robe and cap: — the superior man considered it was niggardliness.

21 Therefore the superior man thinks it necessary to use the utmost care in his practice of ceremonies. They are the bond that holds the multitudes together; and if the bond be removed, those multitude's fall into confusion. Confucius said, 'If I fight, I overcome; when I sacrifice, I receive blessing.' He said so, because he had the right way (of doing everything).

22. A superior man will say, 'The object in sacrifices is not to pray; the time of them should not be hastened on; a great apparatus is not required at them; ornamental matters are not to be approved; the victims need not be fat and large; a profusion of the other offerings is not to be admired.'

23. Confucius said, 'How can it be said that Zang Wan-kung was acquainted with the rules of propriety? When Hsiâ Fû-khî went right in the teeth of sacrificial order, he did not stop him, (nor could he prevent) his burning a pile of firewood in sacrificing to the spirit of the furnace. Now that sacrifice is paid to an old wife. The materials for it might be contained in a tub, and the vase is the (common) wine-jar.'

See the introductory notice, .

The author evidently knew the different conditions of their structure on which the growth and vigour of Endogens (the monocotyledonous plants) and Exogens (dicotyledons) respectively depend.

Callery gives for this short paragraph— 'Les rites établis par les anciens rois ont leur essence intimé et leur dehors; la droiture est l'essence des rites; leur accord patent avec la raison en est le dehors. Sans essence, ils ne peuvent exister; sans dehors ils ne peuvent fonctionner.' He appends a long note on the difficulty of translation occasioned by the character ### (wan), which he renders by 'le dehors,' and I by 'the outward, elegant form;' and concludes by saying, 'Traduise mieux qui pourra.' I can only say that I have done the best I could (at the time) with this and every other paragraph.

Khung Ying-tâ says here that 'the spirits were men who, when alive, had done good service, and were therefore sacrificed to when dead. From which it follows that what was agreeable to the minds of men would be in accordance with (the requirements of) the spirits.'

‘The time’ comes about by the ordering of heaven. The instances given of it are all great events in the changing of dynasties. But such changes can hardly be regarded as rites. Perhaps the writer thought that the abdication in some cases, and the violent dethroning in others, were precedents, which might be regarded as having that character. For the quotation from the Shih, which is not very happy, see Part III, ode 10, 2.

The different views in attempting to verify all the numbers and other points in the specifications here are endless.

The attendants waited on the visitors. But the son of Heaven was lord of all under the sky. He was at home everywhere; and could not be received as a visitor.

Both these names refer, probably, to mounds raised over the dead. Those over the emperors of the Ming dynasty, about midway between Peking and the Great Wall, and that over Confucius at Khü-fû in Shan-tung, are the best specimens of these which I have seen.

It is difficult to explain fully and verify all the statements in this paragraph, for want of evidence. The unit in them is the shang (###), or ‘pint,’ now = 1.031 litre; the cup, (zio, ###) contained one shang; the khih (###), three; the kio (###) four; and the san (###), five. The hû (###) contained one ‘stone’ (###) = 10.310 litre; and the wû (###) 51.55. The size of the fâu (###) is unknown.

This literally is ‘nine cubits;’ each step, it is said, was a cubit high.

This tray was four cubits long, two cubits four inches wide, and five inches deep.

See page 392, paragraph 15. We may conclude that the Lî Yun was compiled and published before the Lî Khî; or it may be that the sentences common to them both had long been in use.

Callery thinks that the theory about rites underlying this paragraph is ‘éminemment obscure.’ One difficulty with me is to discover any connection between its parts and what is said in paragraphs 7 and 8 about the ‘multitude and paucity of rites.’

See the Analects, V, xvii, and the note there. In that passage the extravagance is charged on the Zang Win-kung of paragraph 23.

An Phing-kung was a Great officer of Khî, and ought not to have been so niggardly.

It is understood that the ‘I’ is not used by Confucius of himself, but as personating one who knew the true nature of ceremonial usages. See the language again in the next Book, Sect. i, 22; it is found also in the ‘Narratives of the School.’

Khan Hâo remarks that the compiler of the Book intends himself by ‘the superior man.’ Thus the compiler delivers his own judgment in an indirect way. Most of what he says will be admitted. It is to the general effect that simple offerings and sincere worship are acceptable, more acceptable than rich offerings and a formal service. But is he right in saying that in sacrificing we should not ‘pray?’ So long as men feel their own weakness and needs, they will not fail to pray at their religious services. So it has been in China in all the past as much as elsewhere.

Hsiâ Fû-khî was the keeper, or minister in charge, of the ancestral temple of Lû, and contemporary with Zang Wan-kung during the marquisates of Kwang, Wan, and Hsî. He introduced at least one great irregularity in the ancestral temple, placing the tablet of Hsî above that of wan; and Win-kung made no protest. Of the other irregularity mentioned in the text we have not much information; and I need not try to explain it. It seems to me that it must have been greater than the other.

Section ii.

I. The rules of propriety may be compared to the human body. When the parts of one’s body are not complete, the beholder’ will call him ‘An imperfect man;’ and so a rule which has been made unsuitably may be denominated ‘incomplete.’

Some ceremonies are great, and some small; some are manifest, and some minute. The great should not be diminished, nor the small increased. The manifest should not be hidden, nor the minute made great. But while the important rules are 300, and the smaller rules 3000, the result to which they all lead is one and the same. No one can enter an apartment but by the door.

2. A superior man in his observance of the rules, where he does his utmost and uses the greatest care, is extreme in his reverence and the manifestation of sincerity. Where they excite admiration and an elegant attractiveness, there is (still) that manifestation of sincerity.

3. A superior man, in his consideration of the rules, finds those which are carried directly into practice; those in which one has to bend and make some modification; those which are regular and the same for all classes; those which are diminished in a certain order; those in which (a kind of) transplantation takes place, and (the ceremony) is distributed; those in which individuals are pushed forward and take part in the rules of a higher grade; those in which there are ornamental imitations (of natural objects); those in which the ornamental

imitations are not carried out so fully; and those where appropriation (of higher observances) is not deemed usurpation.

4. The usages of the three dynasties had one and the same object, and the people all observed them. In such matters as colour, whether it should be white or dark, Hsiâ instituted and Yin adopted (its choice, or did not do So).

5. Under the Kâu dynasty the representatives of the dead sat. Their monitors and cup-suppliers observed no regular rules, The usages were the same (as those of Yin), and the underlying principle was one. Under the Hsiâ dynasty, the personators had stood till the sacrifice was ended, (whereas) under Yin they sat. Under Kâu, when the cup went round among all, there were six personators'. Zang-dze said, 'The usages of Kâu might be compared to those of a subscription club.'

6. A superior man will say, 'The usages of ceremony that come closest to our human feelings are not those of the highest sacrifices; (as may be seen in) the blood of the border sacrifice; the raw flesh in the great offering (to all the royal ancestors) of the ancestral temple; the sodden flesh, where the spirits are presented thrice; and the roast meat, where they are presented once.'

7. And so those usages were not devised by superior men in order to give expression to their feelings. There was a beginning of them from (the oldest times); as when (two princes) have an interview, there are seven attendants to wait on them and direct them. Without these the interview would be too plain and dull. They reach (the ancestral temple) after the visitor has thrice declined the welcome of the host, and the host has thrice tried to give precedence to the other. Without these courtesies the interview would be too hurried and abrupt.

In the same way, when in Lû they were about to perform the service to God (in the suburb), they felt it necessary first to have a service in the college with its semicircular pool. When they were about in Zin to sacrifice to the Ho, they would first do so to the pool of Wû. When in Khî they were about to sacrifice to mount Thâi, they would do so first in the forest of Phei.

Moreover, the keeping the victims (for the altar of Heaven) for three months (in the stable); the abstinence (of the worshippers) for seven days; and the vigil of three days:-all showed the extreme degree of (preparatory) care (for the service).

The ritual arrangements, further, of the reception (of guests) and communication between them and the host, and for assisting and guiding the steps of the (blind) musicians, showed the extreme degree of kindly (provision).

8. In ceremonial usages we should go back to the root of them (in the mind), and maintain the old (arrangements of them), not forgetting what they were at first. Hence there is no (need to be) calling attention to the demonstrations

expressive of grief; and those which (more particularly) belong to the court are accompanied by music. There is the use of sweet spirits, and the value set on water; there is the use of the (ordinary) knife, and the honour expressed by that furnished with (small) bells; there is the comfort afforded by the rush and fine bamboo mats, and the (special) employment of those which are made of straw. Therefore the ancient kings in their institution of the rules of propriety had a ruling idea, and thus it is that they were capable of being transmitted, and might be learned, however many they were.

9. The superior man will say, 'If a man do not have in himself the distinctions (embodied in ceremonies), he will contemplate that embodiment without any intelligent discrimination; if he wish to exercise that discrimination, and not follow the guidance of the rules, he will not succeed in his object. Hence if his practice of ceremonies be not according to the rules, men will not respect them; and if his words be not according to those rules, men will not believe them. Accordingly it is said, "The rules of ceremony are the highest expression of (the truth of) things."'

10. Hence it was that in old times, when the ancient kings instituted ceremonies, they conveyed their idea by means of the qualities of the articles and observances which they employed. In their great undertakings, they were sure to act in accordance with the seasons; in their doings morning and evening, they imitated the sun and moon; in what required a high situation, they took advantage of mounds and hillocks, and in what required a low situation, of the (banks of the) rivers and lakes. Hence each season has its rains and benefits, and those wise men sought to make use of them with intelligence with all the earnestness they could command.

11. The ancient kings valued (men's) possession of virtue, honoured those who pursued the right course, and employed those who displayed ability. They selected men of talents and virtue, and appointed them. They assembled the whole of them and solemnly addressed them.

12. Then in accordance with (the height of) heaven they did service to Heaven, in accordance with (the lower position of) earth they did service to Earth; taking advantage of the famous hills they ascended them, and announced to Heaven the good government (of the princes). When thus at the felicitous spot (chosen for their capitals) they presented their offerings to God in the suburb and announced to Heaven (the general good government from the famous hills), the phoenix descended, and tortoises and dragons made their appearance. When they presented their offerings to God in the suburb the winds and rains were duly regulated, and the cold and heat came each in its proper time, so that the sage

(king) had only to stand with his face to the south, and order prevailed all under the sky.

13. The courses of the heavenly (bodies) supply the most perfect lessons, and the sages possessed the highest degree of virtue. Above, in the hall of the ancestral temple, there was the jar, with clouds and hills represented on it on the east, and that with the victim represented on it on the west. Below the hall the larger drums were suspended on the west, and the smaller drums answering to them on the east. The ruler appeared at the (top of the) steps on the cast; his wife was in the apartment on the west. The great luminary makes his appearance in the east; the moon makes her appearance in the west. Such are the different ways in which the processes of darkness and light are distributed in nature, and such are the arrangements for the positions (corresponding thereto) of husband and wife. The ruler fills his cup from the jar with an elephant represented on it; his wife fills hers from that with clouds and hills. With such reciprocation do the ceremonies proceed above, while the music responds in the same way below; — there is the perfection of harmony.

14. It is the object of ceremonies to go back to the circumstances from which they sprang, and of music to express pleasure in the results which first gave occasion to it. Thus it was that the ancient kings, in their institution of ceremonies, sought to express their regulation of circumstances, and, in their cultivation of music, to express the aims they had in mind. Hence by an examination of their ceremonies and music, the conditions of order and disorder in which they originated can be known. Kü Po-yü said, ‘A wise man, by his intelligence, from the sight of any article, knows the skill of the artificer, and from the contemplation of an action knows the wisdom of its performer.’ Hence there is the saying, ‘The superior man watches over the manner in which he maintains his intercourse with other men.’

15. Within the ancestral temple reverence prevailed. The ruler himself led the victim forward, while the Great officers assisted and followed, bearing the offerings of silk. The ruler himself cut out (the liver) for (the preliminary) offering, while his wife bore the dish in which it should be presented. The ruler himself cut up the victim, while his wife presented the spirits.

The high ministers and Great officers followed the ruler; their wives followed his wife. How grave and still was their reverence! How were they absorbed in their sincerity! How earnest was their wish that their offerings should be accepted! The arrival of the victim was announced (to the spirits) in the courtyard; on the presentation of the blood and the flesh with the hair on it, announcement was made in the chamber; on the presentation of the soup and boiled meat, in the hall. The announcement was made thrice, each time in a

different place; indicating how they were seeking for the spirits, and had not yet found them. When the sacrifice was set forth in the hall, it was repeated next day outside (the gate of the temple); and hence arose the saying, ‘ Are they there? Are they here?’

16. One offering of the cup showed the simplicity of the service; three offerings served to ornament it; five, to mark discriminating care; and seven, to show (the reverence for) the spirits.

17. Was not the great quinquennial sacrifice a service belonging to the king? The three animal victims, the fish, and flesh, were the richest tributes for the palate from all within the four seas and the nine provinces. The fruits and grain presented in the high dishes of wood and bamboo were the product of the harmonious influences of the four seasons, The tribute of metal showed the harmonious submission (of the princes). The rolls of silk with the round pieces of jade placed on them showed the honour they rendered to virtue. The tortoise was placed in front of all the other offerings, because of its knowledge of the future; the tribute of metal succeeded to it, showing the (hold it has on) human feelings. The vermilion, the varnish, the silk, the floss, the large bamboos and the smaller for arrows-the articles which all the states contribute; with the other uncommon articles, which each state contributed according to its resources, even to those from the remote regions:-(these followed the former). When the Visitors left they were escorted with the music of the Sze Hsiâ. All these things showed how important was the sacrifice.

18. In the sacrifice to God in the suburb, we have the utmost expression of reverence. In the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, we have the utmost expression of humanity. In the rites d mourning, we have the utmost expression of leal-heartedness. In the preparation of the robes and vessels for the dead, we have the utmost expression of affection. In the use of gifts and offerings between host and guest, we have the utmost expression of what is right. Therefore when the superior man would see the ways of humanity and righteousness, he finds them rooted in these ceremonial usages.

19. A superior man has said, ‘What is sweet may be tempered; what is white may be coloured. So the man who is right in heart and sincere can learn the (meaning of the) rites.’ The rites should not be perfunctorily performed by the man who is not right in heart and sincere. Hence it is all important (in the performance of them) to get the proper men.

20. Confucius said, ‘One may repeat the three hundred odes, and not be fit to offer the sacrifice where there is (but) one offering of the cup. He may offer that sacrifice, and not be fit to join in a great sacrifice. He may join in such a sacrifice, and not be fit to offer a great sacrifice to the hills. He may perform that

fully, and yet not be able to join in the sacrifice to God, Let no one lightly discuss the subject of rites.'

21. When Dze-lû was steward to the House of Kî, its chief had been accustomed to commence his sacrifices before it was light, and when the day was insufficient for them, to continue them by torchlight. All engaged in them, however strong they might appear, and however reverent they might be, were worn out and tired. The officers limped and leaned, wherever they could, in performing their parts, and the want of reverence was great. Afterwards, when Dze-lû took the direction of them, the sacrifices proceeded differently. For the services in the chamber, he had parties communicating outside and inside the door; and for those in the hall, he had parties communicating at the steps. As soon as it was light, the services began, and by the time of the evening audience all were ready to retire. When Confucius heard of this management, he said, 'Who will say that this Yû does not understand ceremonies?'

BOOK IX. THE KIÂO THEH SANG

or

The Single Victim at the Border Sacrifices.

Section I.

1. At the border sacrifices a single victim was used, and at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain there was (the full complement of) three Victims. When the son of Heaven went on his inspecting tours to the princes, the viands of the feast to him were composed of a (single) calf; and when they visited him, the rites with which he received them showed the three regular animals. (The feasting of him in such a manner) was to do honour to the idea of sincerity. Therefore if the animal happened to be pregnant, the son of Heaven did not eat of it, nor did he use such a victim in sacrificing to God.

2. The horses of the Grand carriage had one ornamental tassel at the breast; those of the carriages that preceded had three; and those of the carriages that followed had five. There were the blood at the border sacrifice; the raw flesh in the great offering of the ancestral temple; the sodden flesh where spirits are presented thrice; and the roast meat where they are presented once: — these were expressive of the greatest reverence, but the taste was not valued; what was held in honour was the scent of the air. When the princes appeared as guests, they were presented with herb-flavoured spirits, because of their fragrance; at the great entertainment to them the value was given to (the preliminary) pieces of flesh prepared with cinnamon and nothing more.

3. At a great feast (to the ruler of another state), the ruler (who was the host) received the cup seated on his three mats. (On occasion of a visit through a minister or Great officer) when the cup was thrice presented, the ruler received it on a single mat: — so did he descend from the privilege of his more honourable rank, and assume the lower distinction (of his visitor).

4. In feasting (the orphaned young in spring) and at the vernal sacrifice in the ancestral temple they had music; but in feeding (the aged) and at the autumnal sacrifice they had no music:-these were based in the developing and receding influences (prevalent in nature). All drinking serves to nourish the developing influence; all eating to nourish the receding influence. Hence came the different character of the vernal and autumnal sacrifices; the feasting the orphaned young in spring, and the feeding the aged in autumn:-the idea was the same. But in the feeding and at the autumnal sacrifice there was no music. Drinking serves to nourish the developing influence and therefore is accompanied with music.

Eating serves to nourish the receding influence, and therefore is not accompanied with music. All modulation of sound partakes of the character of development.

5. The number of tripods and meat-stands was odd, and that of the tall dishes of wood and bamboo was even; this also was based in the numbers belonging to the developing and receding influences. The stands were filled with the products of the water and the land. They did not dare to use for them things of extraordinary flavours or to attach a value to the multitude and variety of their contents, and it was thus that they maintained their intercourse with spiritual intelligences.

6. When the guests had entered the great door, the music struck up the Sze Hsiâ, showing the blended ease and respect (of the king). (While feasting), at the end of (every) cup the music stopped (for a moment), a practice of which Confucius often indicated his admiration. When the last cup had been put down, the performers ascended the hall, and sang; — exhibiting the virtues (of host and guests). The singers were (in the hall) above, and the organists were (in the court) below; — the honour being thus given to the human voice. Music comes from the expanding influence (that operates in nature); ceremonies from the contracting. When the two are in harmony, all things obtain (their full development).

7. There were no fixed rules for the various articles of tribute. They were the different products of the different territories according to their several suitabilities, and were regulated by their distances (from the royal domain). The tortoises were placed in front of all the other offerings;-because (the shell.) gave the knowledge of the future. The bells succeeded to them;-because of their harmony, they were a symbol of the union of feeling that should prevail'. Then there were the skins of tigers and leopards;-emblems of the fierce energy with which insubordination would be repressed; and there were the bundles of silks with disks of jade on them, showing how (the princes) came to (admire and experience) the virtue (of the king).

8. (The use of) a hundred torches in his courtyard began with duke Hwan of Khî. The playing of the Sze Hsiâ (at receptions) of Great officers began with Kâo Wan-dze.

9. When appearing at another court, for a Great officer to have a private audience was contrary to propriety. If he were there as a commissioner, bearing his own prince's token of rank, this served as his credentials. That he did not dare to seek a private audience showed the reverence of his loyalty. What had he to do with the tribute-offerings in the court of the other prince that he should

seek a private audience? The minister of a prince had no intercourse outside his own state, thereby showing how he did not dare to serve two rulers.

10. For a Great officer to receive his ruler to an entertainment was contrary to propriety. For a ruler to put to death a Great officer who had violently exercised his power was (held) an act of righteousness; and it was first seen in the case of the three Hwan.

The son of Heaven did not observe any of the rules for a visitor or guest;-no one could presume to be his host. When a ruler visited one of his ministers, he went up to the hall by the steps proper to the master;-the minister did not presume in such a case to consider the house to be his own. According to the rules for audiences, the son of Heaven did not go down from the hall and meet the princes. To descend from the hall and meet the princes, was an error on the part of the son of Heaven, which began with king Î , and was afterwards observed.

11. For the princes to suspend (their drums and bells) in four rows like the walls of an apartment (after the fashion of the king), and to use a white bull in sacrificing; to strike the sonorous jade; to use the red shields with their metal fronts and the cap with descending tassels in dancing the Tâ-wû; and to ride in the grand chariot: — these were usages which they usurped. The towered gateway with the screen across the path, and the stand to receive the emptied cups; the axes embroidered on the inner garment with its vermilion colour: — these were usurpations of the Great officers. Thus, when the son of Heaven was small and weak, the princes pushed their usurpations; and when the Great officers were strong, the princes were oppressed by them, In this state (those officers) gave honour to one another as if they had been of (high) degree; had interviews with one another and made offerings; and bribed one another for their individual benefit: and thus all usages of ceremony were thrown into disorder. It was not lawful for the princes to sacrifice to the king to whom they traced their ancestry, nor for the Great officers to do so to the rulers from whom they sprang. The practice of having a temple to such rulers in their private families, was contrary to propriety. It originated with the three Hwan.

12. The son of Heaven preserved the descendants of (the sovereigns of) the two (previous) dynasties, still honouring the worth (of their founders). But this honouring the (ancient) worthies did not extend beyond the two dynasties.

13. Princes did not employ as ministers refugee rulers. Hence anciently refugee rulers left no son who continued their title.

14. A ruler stood with his face towards the south, to show that he would be (in his sphere) what the influence of light and heat was (in nature). His ministers stood with their faces to the north, in response to him. The minister of a Great

officer did not bow his face to the ground before him, not from any honour paid to the minister, but that the officer might avoid receiving the homage which he had paid himself to the ruler.

15. When a Great officer was presenting (anything to his ruler), he did not do so in his own person; when the ruler was making him a gift, he did not go to bow in acknowledgment to him:-that the ruler might not (have the trouble of) responding to him.

16. When the villagers were driving away pestilential influences, Confucius would stand at the top of his eastern steps, in his court robes, to keep the spirits (of his departed) undisturbed in their shrines.

17. Confucius said, 'The practice of archery to the notes of music (is difficult). How shall the archer listen, and how shall he shoot, (that the two things shall be in harmony)?'

Confucius said, 'When an officer is required to shoot, if he be not able, he declines on the ground of being ill, with reference to the bow suspended at the left of the door (at his birth).'

18. Confucius said, 'There are three days' fasting on hand., If one fast for the first day, he should still be afraid of not being (sufficiently) reverent. What are we to think of it, if on the second day he beat his drums?'

19. Confucius said, 'The repetition of the sacrifice next day inside the Khû gate; the searching for the spirits in the eastern quarter; and the holding the market in the morning in the western quarter: — these all are errors.'

20. At the Shû, they sacrificed to (the spirits of) the land, and on the tablet rested the power of the darker and retiring influence of nature. The ruler stands (in sacrificing) with his face to the south at the foot of the wall on the north, responding to the idea of that influence as coming from the north. A kiâ day is used (for the sacrifice), — to employ a commencing day (in the Cycle).

The great Shê altar of the son of Heaven was open to receive the hoarfrost, dew, wind, and rain, and allow the influences of heaven and earth to have full development upon it. For this reason the Shê altar of a state that had perished was roofed in, so that it was not touched by the brightness and warmth of Heaven. The altar (of Yin) at Po had an opening in the wall on the north, so that the dim and cold (moon) might shine into it.

21. In the sacrifice at the Shê altars they dealt with the earth as if it were a spirit. The earth supported all things, while heaven hung out its brilliant signs. They derived their material resources from the earth; they derived rules (for their courses of labour) from the heavens. Thus they were led to give honour to heaven and their affection to the earth, and therefore they taught the people to render a good return (to the earth). (The Heads of) families provided (for the

sacrifice to it) at the altar in the open court (of their houses); in the kingdom and the states they did so at the Shê altars; showing how it was the source (of their prosperity).

When there was a sacrifice at the Shê altar of a village, some one went out to it from every house. When there was such a sacrifice in preparation for a hunt, the men of the state all engaged in it. When there was such a sacrifice, from the towns, small and large, they contributed their vessels of rice, thereby expressing their gratitude to the source (of their prosperity) and going back in their thoughts to the beginning (of all being).

22. In the last month of spring, 'the fire star having appeared, they set fire to (the grass and brushwood). When this was done, they reviewed the chariots and men, numbering the companies, of a hundred and of five. Then the ruler in person addressed them in front of the Shê altar, and proceeded to exercise their squadrons, now wheeling to the left, now wheeling to the right, now making them lie down, now making them rise up; and observing how they practised these evolutions. When the game came in sight and the desire of capturing it was exerted, (he watched) to see that (the hunters) did not break any of the rules (for their proceedings). It was thus sought to bring their wills into subjection, and make them not pursue the animals (in an irregular way). In this way such men conquered in fight, and such sacrificing obtained blessing.

See the introductory notice, .

The object of the statements here and some other paragraphs is to show that the degree of honour was expressed by the 'paucity' of the articles; compare last Book, Sect. i, paragraph 8. Perhaps the name Kiâo (###) in the title should be translated in the plural as the name for all the border sacrifices, or those offered in the suburbs of the capital. There were several of them, of which the greatest was that at the winter solstice, on the round hillock in the southern suburb. Besides this, there was in the first month the border sacrifice for 'grain,' — to pray for the blessing of Heaven on the agricultural labours of the year, in which Hâu Kî, the father of the line of Kâu, and its 'Father of Husbandry,' was associated by that dynasty. There were also the five seasonal border sacrifices, of which we have mention in the different parts of Book IV, though, so far as what is said in them goes, the idea of Heaven falls into the background, and the five deified ancient sovereigns come forward as so many Tîs. In the first month of summer there was, further, a great border sacrifice for rain, and in the last month of autumn a great border sacrifice of thanks giving. 'Of all these border sacrifices,' say the Khien-lung editors, there is clear evidence in classical texts.' Into the discussions growing out of them about 'one Heaven,' or 'five Heavens,' and about their origin, it is not necessary that I should enter; it would be foreign,

indeed, to my object in this translation to do so. The border sacrifices were the greatest religious or ceremonial services of the ancient Chinese; and the fact to which our attention is called in this Book, is that at them there was used only a single victim.

Why ‘a calf? Because of its guileless simplicity,’ says Kâu Hsü of our eleventh century; earlier than Kû Hsî, who adopted his explanation. The calf, whether male or female, has not yet felt the appetency of sex, and is unconscious of any ‘dissipation.’ This is a refinement on the Hebrew idea of the victim lamb, ‘without blemish.’

This might be referred to his unwillingness, to take life unnecessarily, but for what has just been said about the calf.

See last Book, Sect. i, 8; and Sect. ii, 6.

Little is said on the meaning of this statement, which appears to say that the most subtle and ethereal thing in sacrifices, the ‘sweet savour’ of the offerings, was the most important, and should excite the worshippers to add to their sincerity and reverence all other graces of character. The same lesson was given to the feudal princes when they were entertained as visitors at the royal court.

Every Chinese scholar knows that odd numbers all belong to the category of Yang (—— ———), and even numbers to that of Yin (—— ——).

The meaning of this clause is uncertain, and I have not found it anywhere sufficiently explained, considering what the characters are (###).

This paragraph and the next describe ceremonies on occasion of the king’s reception of the great nobles, when they appeared in great force at court. With this the expurgated Lî Kî begins.

See note 1, page 413.

As we have no account anywhere of bells, made, being sent as tribute, many understand the name as merely = ‘metal.’

This and the five paragraphs that follow seem the work of another hand, and are not in the expurgated Kî. Duke Hwan was the first and greatest of ‘the five presiding princes’ of the Khun Khiû period. He died B.C. 643. Kâo Wan-dze was a Great officer and chief minister of Zin about a century after. The king alone might have a hundred torches in his courtyard.

The ‘three Hwan’ intended here were three sons of duke Hwan’ of Lû, known as Khing-fû, Yâ, and Kî-yû; see the Zo Kwan, and Kung-yang, on the last year of duke Kwang. Instances of the execution of strong and insubordinate officers in different states, more to the point, bad occurred before; but the writer had in mind only the history of Lû.

I was the ninth of the sovereigns of Kâu (B.C. 894-879); with him appeared the first symptoms of decline in the dynasty.

That a white bull was used in Lû in sacrificing to the duke of Kâu, appears from the fourth of the Praise Odes of Lû. See vol. iii, .

These must be the three families of Lû, so powerful in the time of Confucius, all descended from duke Hwan. The expression in this (state) shows that the writer was a man of Lû.

We must think of this ‘son of Heaven’ as the founder of a new dynasty. Thus it was that king Wû of Kâu enfeoffed the duke of Sung as representing the kings of Shang, and the rulers of Kü as representing those of Hsiâ.

Rulers expelled from their own state. But the princes might employ their sons as ministers, who ceased to be named from their former dignity.

See the Confucian Analects X, 10, 2, and note. Dr. Williams (on ###) says that the ceremony is now performed by the Board of Rites ten days before the new year.

Every gentleman was supposed to learn archery as one of the six liberal arts;’ and a bow was suspended near the door on the birth of a boy in recognition of this. The excuse in the paragraph is a lame one. See the ‘Narratives of the School,’ article 28; and Book XLIII, 19.

‘Narratives of the School,’ XLIV, 9.

There are of course six decades of days in the Cycle, each beginning with a kiâ day.

Po had been the capital of the Shang dynasty. The site was in the present Ho-nan; changed more than once, but always retaining the name. We have the Northern, the Southern, and the Western Po.

See page 259, Paragraph 7.

Section ii.

1. The son of Heaven, in his tours (of Inspection) to the four quarters (of the kingdom), as the first thing (on his arrival at each) reared the pile of wood (and set fire to it).

2. At the (Great) border sacrifice, he welcomed the arrival of the longest day. It was a great act of thanksgiving to Heaven, and the sun was the chief object considered in it’. The space marked off for it was in the southern suburb; — the place most open to the brightness and warmth (of the heavenly influence). The sacrifice was offered on the ground which had been swept for the purpose; — to mark the simplicity (of the ceremony). The vessels used were of earthenware and of gourds; — to emblem the natural (productive power of) heaven and earth. The place was the suburb, and therefore the sacrifice was called the suburban or

border. The victim was red, that being the colour preferred by the (Kâu) dynasty; and it was a calf; — to show the estimation of simple sincerity.

3. For (all) sacrifices in the border they used a hsin day; because when Kâu first offered the border sacrifice, it was the longest day, and its name began with hsin.

4. When divining about the border sacrifice, (the king) received the reply in the fane of his (great) ancestor, and the tortoise-shell was operated on in that of his father;-honour being thus done to his ancestor, and affection shown to his father. On the day of divination, he stood by the lake, and listened himself to the declarations and orders which were delivered, — showing an example of receiving lessons and reproof. (The officers) having communicated to him the orders (to be issued), he gives warning notice of them to all the officers (of a different surname from himself), inside the Khû gate (of the palace), and to those of the same surname, in the Grand temple.

5. On the day of the sacrifice, the king in his skin cap waits for the news that all is ready,-showing the people how they ought to venerate their superiors. Those who were engaged in mourning rites did not wail nor venture to put on their mourning dress. (The people) watered and swept the road, and turned it up afresh with the spade; at (the top of) the fields in the neighbourhood they kept torches burning, — thus without special orders complying with (the wish of) the king.

6. On that day, the king assumed the robe with the ascending dragons on it as an emblem of the heavens. He wore the cap with the pendants of jade-pearls, to the number of twelve, which is the number of heaven. He rode in the plain carriage, because of its simplicity. From the flag hung twelve pendants, and on it was the emblazonry of dragons, and the figures of the sun and moon, in imitation of the heavens. Heaven hangs out its brilliant figures, and the sages imitated them. This border sacrifice is the illustration of the way of Heaven.

7. If there appeared anything infelicitous about the victim intended for God, it was used for that intended for Kî. That intended for God required to be kept in its clean stall for three months. That intended for Kî simply required to be perfect in its parts. This was the way in which they made a distinction between the spirits of Heaven and the manes of a man.

8. All things originate from Heaven; man originates from his (great) ancestor. This is the reason why Kî was associated with God (at this sacrifice). In the sacrifices at the border there was an expression of gratitude to the source (of their prosperity and a going back in their thoughts to the beginning of (all being).

9. The great kâ sacrifice of the son of Heaven consisted of eight (sacrifices). This sacrifice was first instituted by Yin Khî. (The word) kâ expresses the idea

of searching out. In the twelfth month of a year, they brought together (some of) all the productions (of the harvest), and sought out (the authors of them) to present them to them as offerings.

10. In the kâ sacrifice, the principal object contemplated was the Father of Husbandry. They also presented offerings to (ancient) superintendents of husbandry, and to the (discoverers of the) various grains, to express thanks for the crops which had been reaped.

They presented offerings (also) to the (representatives of the ancient inventors of the overseers of the) husbandmen, and of the buildings marking out the boundaries of the fields, and of the birds and beasts. The service showed the highest sentiments of benevolence and of righteousness.

The ancient wise men had appointed all these agencies, and it was felt necessary to make this return to them. They met the (representatives of the) cats, because they devoured the rats and mice (which injured the fruits) of the fields, and (those of) the tigers, because they devoured the (wild) boars (which destroyed them). They met them and made offerings to them. They offered also to (the ancient Inventors of) the dykes and water-channels; — (all these were) provisions for the husbandry.

11. They said, —

‘May the ground no sliding show,
Water in its channels flow,
Insects to keep quiet know;
Only in the fens weeds grow!’

They presented their offerings in skin caps and white robes;-in white robes to escort the closing year (to its grave). They wore sashes of dolychos cloth, and carried staffs of hazel, — as being reduced forms of mourning. In the kâ were expressed the highest sentiments of benevolence and righteousness. (After this) they proceeded to sacrifice in yellow robes and yellow caps, — releasing the field-labourers from the toils (of the year). Countrymen wore yellow hats, which were made of straw.

12. The Great Netter was the officer who had the management for the son of Heaven of his birds and (captured) beasts, and to his department belonged (all such creatures) sent by the princes as tribute. (Those who brought them) wore hats of straw or bamboo splints, appearing, by way of honour to it, in that country dress. The Netter declined the deer and women (which they brought), and announced to the visitors the message (of the king) to this effect, that they might warn the princes with it: —

‘He who loves hunting and women,
Brings his state to ruin.’

The son of Heaven planted gourds and flowering plants; not such things as might be reaped and stored.

13. The kâ with its eight sacrifices served to record (the condition of the people) throughout all the quarters (of the country). If in any quarter the year had not been good, it did not contribute to those services, — out of a careful regard to the resources of the people. Where-. the labours of a good year had been successfully completed, they took part in them, — to give them pleasure and satisfaction. Alt the harvest having by this time been gathered, the people had nothing to do but to rest, and therefore after the kâ wise (rulers) commenced no new work.

14. The pickled contents of the ordinary dishes were water-plants produced by the harmonious powers (of nature); the brine used with them was from productions of the land. The additional dishes contained productions of the land with the brine from productions of the water.

The things in the dishes on stands were from both the water and land'. They did not venture to use in them the flavours of ordinary domestic use, but variety was considered admirable. It was in this way that they sought to have communion with the spirits; it was not intended to imitate the flavours of food.

15. The things set before the ancient kings served as food, but did not minister to the pleasures of the palate. The dragon-robe, the tasseled cap, and the great carriage served for display, but did not awaken a fondness for their use.

The various dances displayed the gravity of the performers, but did not awaken the emotion of delight. The ancestral temple produced the impression of majesty, but did not dispose one to rest in it. Its vessels might be employed (for their purposes in it), but could not be conveniently used for any other. The idea which leads to intercourse with spiritual Beings is not interchangeable with that which finds its realisation in rest and pleasure.

16. Admirable as are the spirits and sweet spirits, a higher value is attached to the dark spirit and the bright water, — in order to honour that which is the source of the five flavours. Beautiful as is the elegant embroidery of robes, a higher value is set on plain, coarse cloth, — going back to the commencement of woman's work. Inviting as is the rest afforded by the mats of fine rushes and bamboos, the preference is given to the coarse ones of reeds and straw, — distinguishing the (character of the service in which they were employed). The Grand soup is unseasoned,-in honour of its simplicity. The Grand symbols of jade have no engraving on them, — in admiration of their simple plainness. There is the beauty of the red varnish and carved border (of a carriage), but (the king) rides in a plain one, doing honour to its plainness. In all these things it is simply the idea of the simplicity that is the occasion of the preference and

honour. In. maintaining intercourse with spiritual and intelligent Beings, there should be nothing like an extreme desire for rest and ease in our personal gratification. It is this which makes the above usages suitable for their purpose.

17. The number of the tripods and meat-stands was odd, but that of the tall dishes of wood and bamboo was even, — having regard to the numbers belonging to the developing and receding influences of nature. The vase with the yellow eyes was the most valued of all, and contained the spirit with the fragrant herbs. Yellow is the colour (of earth) which occupies the central places. In the eye the energy (of nature) appears most purely and brilliantly. Thus the spirit to be poured out is in that cup, the (emblem of the) centre, and (the symbol of) what is Most pure and bright appears outside.

18. When Sacrificing to Heaven, the earth is swept, and the sacrifice presented on the ground, — from a regard to the simplicity of such an unartificial altar. Admirable as are the vinegar and pickles, suet boiled and produced through evaporation is preferred, — to do honour to the natural product of heaven. An ordinary knife might be employed (to kill the victim), but that fitted with bells is preferred, — giving honour to the idea thereby indicated; there is the harmony of sound, and then the cutting work is done.

Perhaps ‘the last month’ should be ‘the second month.’ There is much contention on the point.

This paragraph is not in the expurgated Lî. It does seem out of place, for the book goes on to speak of the border or suburban sacrifices presented in the vicinity of the capital, and having nothing to do with the tours of Inspection, of which we first read in the Canon of Shun, in the Shû. Those tours, however, were understood to be under the direction of Heaven, and the lighting of the pile of wood, on reaching the mountain of each quarter, is taken as having been an announcement to Heaven of the king’s arrival.

P. Callery has here the following note:— ‘Il résulte de ce passage et de plusieurs autres des chapitres suivants, que dès les temps les plus anciens, les Chinois rendaient au soleil un véritable culte, sans même y supposer un esprit ou génie dont il fût la demeure, ainsi qu’ils le faisaient pour les montagnes, les rivières et tous les autres lieux auxquels ils offraient des sacrifices. De nos jours encore on sacrifie au soleil et h la lune; mais c’est plutôt un acte officiel de la part des autorités, qu’une pratique de conviction, car le peuple Chinois n’a pas, comme les Japonais, une grande dévotion pour l’astre du jour. Voyez la fin du chapitre XVIII.’

The text conveys no idea to me of such an ancient worship, but I call the attention of the reader to Callery’s view. The other passages to which he refers will be noticed as they occur. For my, ‘and the sun was the principal object

regarded in it,' he says, 'C'est le soleil qui est le principal objet (des adorations).' The original text is simply ###. I let my translation stand as I first made it; but on a prolonged consideration, I think, it would be more accurate to say, 'and the sun was considered (for the occasion) as the residence of (the spirit of) Heaven.' Such an acceptation of ### is quite legitimate. The sun became for the time the 'spirit-tablet (###)' of Heaven. Fang Küeh says:—'(The Son of Heaven) was welcoming the arrival of the longest day, and therefore he regarded the sun as the residence (for the time) of the spirit of Heaven. That spirit could not be seen; what could be looked up to and beheld were only the sun, moon, and stars.']

The mention of the 'hsin day' requires that we should understand kiâo (###) here of other sacrifices so called, and not merely of the great one at the winter solstice. The Khien-lung editors say:— 'The border sacrifices for which they used the hsin days were those at which they prayed for a good year. They used such a day, because when king Wû offered his great sacrifice after the battle of Mû-yêh, and announced the completion of his enterprise, the day was hsin-hâi, and from it dated Kâu's possession of the kingdom, and the hsin days became sacred days for the dynasty.' There were of course three hsin days in every month.

The 'lake' here must be a name for the royal college with the water round it. So Lû Tien and others explain it (###) and Yüan Yüan's dictionary with reference to this paragraph, defines it as 'the place where they practised ceremonies.'

By the officers as the result of the divination.

It was an established custom that they should do so.

The robe with the dragons on it,' — Kwan (###), — is thus described in the dictionary. But there must have been also some emblazonry of the heavenly figures on it also; otherwise it would not have emblemed the heavens. But I have not been able to find this in any dictionary.

Having now changed the skin cap mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

'The heavenly number;' — with reference, I suppose, to the twelve months of the year.

Kî, better known as Hâu Kî, the prince, the minister of agriculture,' appears in the Shû as Shun's minister of agriculture (Khî ###, vol. iii, p), and one of the principal assistants of Yü, in his more than Herculean achievement (vol. iii, p-58); and in the Shih as the father of agriculture (vol. iii, p-399). To him the kings of Kâu traced their lineage, and they associated him with God at the Great border sacrifice. See the ode to him, so associated, vol. iii, . In that service there was thus the expression of reverence for God and of filial piety, the second

virtue coming in as the complement of the other. It would seem to be implied that they used the ox for Kî for the blemished one.

By ‘ spirit’ and ‘manes’ I have endeavoured to come as near as I could to the different significance of the characters shan (###) and kwei (###).

Who this Yin Khî was is unknown. Mang thought he was an ancient sovereign. The Khien-lung editors seem to prove in opposition to him and others that he was the minister of some ancient sovereign. His descendants were subordinate ministers under Mu, having to do with sacrifice. They are mentioned at the end of the 37th Book of the Kâu Lî.

This and the other paragraphs down to 13 about the kâ sacrifice are not in the expurgated copies. It is difficult to understand what it really was. What is said of it leads us to think of it as a Chinese Saturnalia at the end of the year, when all the crops had been gathered in, and the people abandoned themselves to license and revel under the form of sacrificial services. ‘The Father of Husbandry’ was probably Shan Nang, the successor of Fû-hsî; see vol. iii, p, 372. ‘The Superintendents of Husbandry’ would be Hâu Kî and others, though Hâu Kî appears in the Shih as really the father of agriculture. ‘The overseer’ occurs in the Shih (vol. iii, et al.) as ‘the surveyor of the fields.’ The commentators, so far as I have read, are very chary of giving us any information about the offerings to ‘the cats and tigers.’ Kiang Kâo-hsî says, ‘They met the cats and tigers, that is, their spirits (###).’

This seems to introduce another service, following that of the kâ. It is understood to be the lâ sacrifice of Khin, described on page 300, paragraph 19.

We find ‘the Netter’ called Lo as if Lo had become the surname of the family in which the office was hereditary, as the last but one of the departments described in the 30th Book of the Kâu Lî.

Those would be ‘Great officers’ from the various states, personating for the occasion hunters or labouring men.

The ‘deer’ would be taken in the chase; the ‘women,’ attractive captives, taken in war, But they would not have such to present from year to year. We can say nothing more about this article of tribute.

Many take this concluding sentence as part of the king’s message. The Khien-lung editors decide against that view; its meaning is that the king never farmed for his own gain.

This paragraph treats of the kâ as celebrated in the states.

The conclusion of this paragraph leads us to take all the dishes spoken of in it as containing sacrificial offerings. It would take too long to discuss all that is said about the ‘regular’ and the ‘additional’ dishes in the first part.

We have seen, before, that ‘the dark spirit’ is water. Was there a difference between this and ‘the bright water?’ The Khien lung editors think so, and refer to the functions of the Sze Hsüan officer (###, Kâu Lî, Book XXXVII. 41-44), who by means of a mirror drew the bright water from the moon. How be did so, I do not understand. The object of the writer in this part of the section is to exhibit the value of simple sincerity in all religious services.

See the fifth paragraph of Section i, and the note. It may be added here, after Khung Ying-tâ, that ‘the tripod and stand contained the body of the victim, which, as belonging to an animal that moved, was of the category of Yang, but the dishes contained the products of trees and vegetables, — which were of the category of Yin.’

In pictures, this vase was figured with two eyes. They were carved on the substance of the vessel and then gilt, so as to appear yellow.

On the central place assigned to the element of earth and its yellow colour, see the supplementary section appended to Book IV, Section ii, Part iii.

P. Callery characterises the reasoning of this paragraph as ‘puéril et grotesque;’ and concludes a long note on it with the sentence:— ‘Je laisse à ceux qui peuvent suivre ce logogriphe dans le texte Chinois, le soin d’en saisir toutes les finesses; car, mon sens, ce n’est qu’une ineptie.’

Section iii.

1. (As to) the meaning of (the ceremony of) capping: — The cap used for the first act of the service was of black cloth, — the cap of the highest antiquity. It was originally of (white) cloth, but the colour when it was used in fasting was dyed black. As to its strings, Confucius said, ‘I have not heard anything about them.’ This cap, after it had been once put upon (the young man), might be disused.,

2. The son by the wife proper was capped by the eastern stairs (appropriate to the use of the master), to show how he was in their line of succession to him. The father handed him a cup in the guests’ place (without receiving one in return). The capping showed that he had reached maturity. The using of three caps was to give greater importance (to the ceremony), and show its object more clearly. The giving the name of maturity in connexion with the ceremony was to show the reverence due to that name.

3. The wei-mâo was the fashion of Kâu; the kang-fû, that of Yin; and the mâu-tui, that of the sovereigns of Hsiâ. Kâu used the pien; Yin, the hsü; and Hsiâ, the shâu. The three dynasties all used the skin cap, with the skirt-of-white gathered up at the waist.

4. There were no observances peculiar to the capping (in the families) of Great officers, though there were (peculiar) marriage ceremonies. Anciently a man was fifty when he took the rank of a Great officer; how should there have been peculiar ceremonies at his cappings? The peculiar ceremonies at the cappings as used by the princes arose in the end of the Hsiâ dynasty.

5. The eldest son of the son of Heaven by his proper queen (was capped only as) an ordinary officer. There was nowhere such a thing as being born noble. Princes received their appointments on the hereditary principle, (to teach them) to imitate the virtue of their predecessors. Men received office and rank according to the degree of their virtue. There was the conferring of an honourable designation after death; but that is a modern institution. Anciently, there was no rank on birth, and no honorary title after death.

6. That which is most important in ceremonies is to understand the idea intended in them. While the idea is missed, the number of things and observances in them may be correctly exhibited, as that is the business of the officers of prayer and the recorders. Hence that may all be exhibited, but it is difficult to know the idea. The knowledge of that idea, and the reverent maintenance of it was the way by which the sons of Heaven secured the good government of the kingdom.

7. By the united action of heaven and earth all things spring up. Thus the ceremony of marriage is the beginning of a (line that shall last for a) myriad ages. The parties are of different surnames; thus those who are distant are brought together, and the separation (to be maintained between those who are of the same surname) is emphasised. There must be sincerity in the marriage presents; and all communications (to the woman) must be good. She should be admonished to be upright and sincere. Faithfulness is requisite in all service of others, and faithfulness is (specially) the virtue of a wife. Once mated with her husband, all her life she will not change (her feeling of duty to him) and hence, when the husband dies she will not marry (again).

8. The gentleman went in person to meet the bride, the man taking the initiative and not the woman, according to the idea that regulates the relation between the strong and the weak (in all nature). It is according to this same idea that heaven takes precedence of earth, and the ruler of the subject.

9. Presents are interchanged before (the parties) see each other; — this reverence serving to illustrate the distinction (that should be observed between man and woman). When this distinction (between husband and wife) is exhibited, affection comes to prevail between father and son. When there is this affection, the idea of righteousness arises in the mind, and to this idea of righteousness succeeds (the observance of) ceremonies. Through those

ceremonies there ensues universal repose. The absence of such distinction and righteousness is characteristic of the way of beasts.

10. The bridegroom himself stands by (the carriage of the bride), and hands to her the strap (to assist her in mounting), — showing his affection. Having that affection, he seeks to bring her near to him. It was by such reverence and affection for their wives that the ancient kings obtained the kingdom. In passing out from the great gate (of her father's house), he precedes, and she follows, and with this the right relation between husband and wife commences. The woman follows (and obeys) the man:-in her youth, she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son. 'Man' denotes supporter. A man by his wisdom should (be able to) lead others.

11. The dark-coloured cap, and the (preceding) fasting and vigil, (with which the bridegroom meets the bride, makes the ceremony like the service of) spiritual beings, and (the meeting of) the bright and developing and receding influences (in nature). The result of it will be to give the lord for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and the successors of the forefathers of the past; — is not the utmost reverence appropriate in it? Husband and wife ate, together of the same victim, — thus declaring that they were of the same rank. Hence while the wife had (herself) no rank, she was held to be of the rank of her husband, and she took her seat according to the position belonging to him.

12. The old rule at sacrifices was to have the vessels (only) of earthenware and gourds; and when the kings of the three dynasties instituted the (partaking of the) victim, those were the vessels employed. On the day after the marriage, the wife, having washed her hands, prepared and presented (a sucking-pig) to her husband's parents; and when they had done eating, she ate what was left, — as a mark of their special regard. They descended from the hall by the steps on the west, while she did so by those on the east; — so was she established in the wife's (or mistress's) place.

13. At the marriage ceremony, they did not employ music, — having reference to the feeling of solitariness and darkness (natural to the separation from parents). Music expresses the energy of the bright and expanding influence. There was no congratulation on marriage;-it indicates how (one generation of) men succeeds to another.

14. At the sacrifices in the time of the lord of Yü the smell was thought most important. There were the offerings of blood, of raw flesh, and of sodden flesh; — all these were employed for the sake of the smell.

15. Under the Yin, sound was thought most important. Before there was any smell or flavour, the music was made to resound clearly. It was not till there had

been three performances of it that they went out to meet (and bring in) the victim. The noise of the music was a summons addressed to all between heaven and earth.

16. Under the Kâu, a pungent odour was thought most important. In libations they employed the smell of millet-spirits in which fragrant herbs had been infused. The fragrance, partaking of the nature of the receding influence, penetrates to the deep springs below. The libations were poured from cups with long handles of jade, (as if) to employ (also) the smell of the mineral. After the liquor was poured, they met (and brought in) the victim, having first diffused the smell into the unseen realm. Artemisia along with millet and rice having then been burned (with the fat of the victim), the fragrance penetrates through all the building. It was for this reason that, after the cup had been put down, they burnt the fat with the southernwood and millet and rice.

17. So careful were they on all occasions of sacrifice. The intelligent spirit returns to heaven the body and the animal soul return to the earth; and hence arose the idea of seeking (for the deceased) in sacrifice in the unseen darkness and in the bright region above. Under the Yin, they first sought for them in the bright region; tinder Kâu, they first sought for them in the dark.

18. They informed the officer of prayer in the apartment; they seated the representative of the departed in the hall; they killed the victim in the courtyard. The head of the victim was taken up to the apartment. This was at the regular sacrifice, when the officer of prayer addressed himself to the spirit-tablet of the departed. If it were (merely) the offering of search, the minister of prayer takes his place at the inside of the gate of the temple. They knew not whether the spirit were here, or whether it were there, or far off, away from all men. Might not that offering inside the gate be said to be a searching for the spirit in its distant place?

19. That service at the gate was expressive of the energy of the search. The stand with the heart and tongue of the victim (set forth before the personator) was expressive of reverence. (The wish of the principal) for wealth (to those assisting him) included all happiness. The (presentation of the) head was (intended as) a direct (communication with the departed). The presence (of the representative) was that the spirit might enjoy (the offerings). The blessing (pronounced by him) was for long continuance, and comprehensive. The personator (seemed) to display (the departed).

20. The (examination of the) hair and the (taking of the) blood was an announcement that the victim was complete within and without. This announcement showed the value set on its being perfect’. The offering of the blood was because of the breath which is contained in it. They offered

(specially) the lungs,, the liver, and the heart, doing honour to those parts as the home of the breath.

21. In offering the millet and the glutinous millet, they presented the lungs along with it. In offering the various prepared liquors, they presented the bright water; — in both cases acknowledging their obligations to the dark and receding influence (in nature). In taking the fat of the inwards and burning it, and in taking the head up (to the hall), they made their acknowledgments to the bright and active influence.

22. In the bright water and the clear liquor the thing valued was their newness. All clarifying is a sort of making new. The water was called ‘bright’ because the principal in the service had purified it.

23. When the ruler bowed twice with his head to the ground, and, with breast bared, himself applied the knife, this expressed his extreme reverence. Yes, his extreme reverence, for there was submission in it. The bowing showed his submission; the laying the head on the ground did that emphatically; and the baring his breast was the greatest (outward) exhibition of the feeling.

24. When the sacrificer styled himself ‘the filial son,’ or ‘the filial grandson,’ he did so (in all cases) according to the meaning of the name. When he styled himself ‘So and So, the distant descendant,’ that style was used of (the ruler of) a state or (the Head of) a clan. (Though) there were the assistants at the service, the principal himself gave every demonstration of reverence and performed all his admirable service without yielding anything to any one.

25. The flesh of the victim might be presented raw and as a whole, or cut up in pieces, or sodden, or thoroughly cooked; but how could they know whether the spirit enjoyed it? The sacrificer simply showed his reverence to the utmost of his power.

26. (When the representative of the departed) had made the libation with the kiâ cup, or the horn, (the sacrificer) was told (to bow to him) and put him at ease. Anciently, the representative stood when nothing was being done; when anything was being done, he sat. He personated the spirit; the officer of prayer was the medium of communication between him and the sacrificer.

27. In straining (the new liquor) for the cup, they used the white (mâo) grass and obtained a clear cup. The liquor beginning to clear itself was further clarified by means of pure liquor. The juice obtained by boiling aromatics (with the extract of millet) was clarified by mingling with it the liquor which had begun to clear itself:-in the same way as old and strong spirits are qualified by the brilliantly pure liquor or that which has begun to clear itself.

28. Sacrifices were for the purpose of prayer, or of thanksgiving, or of deprecation.

29. The dark-coloured robes worn during vigil and purification had reference to the occupation of the thoughts with the dark and unseen. Hence after the three days of purification, the superior man was sure (to seem) to see those to whom his sacrifice was to be offered.

BOOK X. THE NÊI ZEH

or

The Pattern of the Family.

Section I.

1. The sovereign and king orders the chief minister to send down his (lessons of) virtue to the millions of the people.

2. Sons, in serving their parents, on the first crowing of the cock, should all wash their hands and rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, fix this with the hair-pin, bind the hair at the roots with the fillet, brush the dust from that which is left free, and then put on their caps, leaving the ends of the strings hanging down. They should then put on their squarely made black jackets, knee-covers, and girdles, fixing in the last their tablets. From the left and right of the girdle they should hang their articles for use: — on the left side, the duster and handkerchief, the knife and whetstone, the small spike, and the metal speculum for getting fire from the sun; on the right, the archer's thimble. for the thumb and the armlet, the tube for writing instruments, the knife-case, the larger spike, and the borer for getting fire from wood. They should put on their leggings, and adjust their shoe-strings.

3. (Sons') wives should serve their parents-in-law as they served their own. At the first crowing of the cock, they should wash their hands, and rinse their mouths; comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, fix this with the hair-pin, and tie the hair at the roots with the fillet. They should then put on the jacket, and over it the sash. On the left side they should hang the duster and handkerchief, the knife and whetstone, the small spike, and the metal speculum to get fire with; and on the right, the needle-case, thread, and floss, all bestowed in the satchel, the great spike, and the borer to get fire with from wood. They will also fasten on their necklaces, and adjust their shoe-strings.

4. Thus dressed, they should go to their parents and parents-in-law. On getting to where they are, with bated breath and gentle voice, they should ask if their clothes are (too) warm or (too) cold, whether they are ill or pained, or uncomfortable in any part; and if they be so, they should proceed reverently to stroke and scratch the place. They should in the same way, going before or following after, help and support their parents in quitting or entering (the apartment). In bringing in the basin for them to wash, the younger will carry the stand and the elder the water; they will beg to be allowed to pour out the water, and when the washing is concluded, they Will hand the towel. They will ask

whether they want anything, and then respectfully bring it. All this they will do with an appearance of pleasure to make their parents feel at ease. (They should bring) gruel, thick or thin, spirits or must, soup with vegetables, beans, wheat, spinach, rice, millet, maize, and glutinous millet, — whatever they wish, in fact; with dates, chestnuts, sugar and honey, to sweeten their dishes; with the ordinary or the large-leaved violets, leaves of elm-trees, fresh or dry, and the most soothing rice-water to lubricate them; and with fat and oil to enrich them. The parents will be sure to taste them, and when they have done so, the young people should withdraw.

5. Youths who have not yet been capped, and maidens who have not yet assumed the hair-pin, at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands, rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, brush the dust from that which is left free, bind it up in the shape of a horn, and put on their necklaces. They should all bang at their girdles the ornamental (bags of) perfume; and as soon as it is daybreak, they should (go to) pay their respects (to their parents) and ask what they will eat and drink. If they have eaten already, they should retire; if they have not eaten, they will (remain to) assist their elder (brothers and sisters) and see what has been prepared.

6. All charged with the care of the inner and outer parts (of the house), at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands and mouths, gather up their pillows and fine mats, sprinkle and sweep out the apartments, hall, and courtyard, and spread the mats, each doing his proper work. The children go earlier to bed, and get up later, according to their pleasure. There is no fixed time for their meals.

7. From the time that sons receive an official appointment, they and their father occupy different parts of their residence. But at the dawn, the son will pay his respects, and express his affection by (the offer of) pleasant delicacies. At sunrise he will retire, and he and his father will attend to their different duties. At sundown, the son will pay his evening visit in the same way.

8. When the parents wish to sit (anywhere), the sons and their wives should carry their mats, and ask in what direction they shall lay them. When they wish to lie down, the eldest among them should carry the mats, and ask where they wish to place their feet, while the youngest will carry a (small) bench for them to lean on while they stretch out their legs. (At the same time) an attendant will place a stool by them. They should take up the mat on which they had been lying and the fine mat over it, bang up the coverlet, put the pillow in its case, and roll up the fine mat and put it in its cover.

9. (Sons and their wives) should not move the clothes, coverlets, fine mats, or undermats, pillows, and stools of their parents; they should reverently regard

their staffs and shoes, but not presume to approach them; they should not presume to use their vessels for grain, liquor, and water, unless some of the contents be left in them; nor to eat or drink any of their ordinary food or drink, unless in the same case.

10. While the parents are both alive, at their regular meals, morning and evening, the (eldest) son and his wife will encourage them to eat everything, and what is left after all, they will themselves eat. When the father is dead, and the mother still alive, the eldest son should wait upon her at her meals; and the wives of the other sons will do with what is left as in the former case. The children should have the sweet, soft', and unctuous things that are left.

11. When with their parents, (sons and their wives), when ordered to do anything, should immediately respond and reverently proceed to do it, In going forwards or backwards, or turning round, they should be careful and grave; while going out or coming in, while bowing or walking, they should not presume to eructate, sneeze, or cough, to yawn or stretch themselves, to stand on one foot, or to lean against anything, or to look askance. They should not dare to spit or snivel, nor, if it be cold, to put on more clothes, nor, if they itch anywhere, to scratch themselves. Unless for reverent attention to something, they should not presume to unbare their shoulders or chest. Unless it be in wading, they should not hold up their clothes. Of their private dress and coverlet, they should not display the inside. They should not allow the spittle or snivel of their parents to be seen. They should ask leave to rinse away any dirt on their caps or girdles, and to wash their clothes that are dirty with lye that has been prepared for the purpose; and to stitch together, with needle and thread, any rent.

Every five days they should prepare tepid water, and ask them to take a bath, and every three days prepare water for them to wash their heads. If in the meantime their faces appear dirty, they should heat the wafer in which the rice has been cleaned, and ask them to wash with it; if their feet be dirty, they should prepare hot water, and ask them to wash them with it. Elders in serving their youngers, and the low in serving the noble, should all observe these rules.

12. The men should not speak of what belongs to the inside (of the house), nor the women of what belongs to the outside. Except at sacrifices and funeral rites, they should not hand vessels to one another. In all other cases when they have occasion to give and receive anything, the woman should receive it in a basket. If she have no basket, they should both sit down, and the other put the thing on the ground, and she then take it up. Outside or inside, they should not go to the same well, nor to, the same bathing-house. They should not share the same mat in lying down; they should not ask or borrow anything from one another; they should not wear similar upper or lower garments. Things spoken

inside should not go out, words spoken outside should not come in. When a man goes into the interior of the house, he should not whistle nor point. If he have occasion to move in the night, he should, use a light; and if he have no light, he should not stir. When a woman goes out at the door, she must keep her face covered. She should walk at night (only) with a light; and if she have no light, she should not stir. On the road, a man should take the right side, and a woman the left.

13. Sons and sons' wives, who are filial and reverential, when they receive an order from their parents should not refuse, nor be dilatory, to execute it. When (their parents) give them anything to eat or drink, which they do not like, they will notwithstanding taste it and wait (for their further orders); when they give them clothes, which are not to their mind, they will put them on, and wait (in the same way). If (their parents) give them anything to do, and then employ another to take their place, although they do not like the arrangement, they will in the meantime give it into his hands and let him do it, doing it again, if it be not done well.

14. When the sons and their wives are engaged with laborious tasks, although (their parents) very much love them, yet they should let them go on with them for the time; — it is better that they take other occasions frequently to give them ease.

When sons and their wives have not been filial and reverential, (the parents) should not be angry and resentful with them, but endeavour to instruct them. If they will not receive instruction, they should then be angry with them. If that anger do no good, they can then drive out the son, and send the wife away, yet not publicly showing why they have so treated them.

15. If a parent have a fault, (the son) should with bated breath, and bland aspect, and gentle voice, admonish him. If the admonition do not take effect, he will be the more reverential and the more filial; and when the father seems pleased, he will repeat the admonition. If he should be displeased with this, rather than allow him to commit an offence against any one in the neighbourhood or countryside, (the son) should strongly remonstrate. If the parent be angry and (more) displeased, and beat him till the blood flows, he should not presume to be angry and resentful, but be (still) more reverential and more filial.

16. If parents have a boy born (to the father) by a handmaid, or the son or grandson of one of his concubines, of whom they are very fond, their sons should after their death, not allow their regard for him to decay so long as they live.

If a son have two concubines, one of whom is loved by his parents, while he himself loves the other, yet he should not dare to make this one equal to the former whom his parents love, in dress, or food, or the duties which she discharges, nor should he lessen his attentions to her after their death. If he very much approves of his wife, and his parents do not like her, he should divorce her'. If he do not approve of his wife, and his parents say, 'she serves us well,' he should behave to her in all respects as his wife, — without fail even to the end of her life.

17. Although his parents be dead, when a son is inclined to do what is good, he should think that he will thereby transmit the good name of his parents, and carry his wish into effect. When he is inclined to do what is not good, he should think that he will thereby bring disgrace on the name of his parents, and in no wise carry his wish into effect.

18. When her father-in-law is dead, her mother-in-law takes the place of the old lady; but the wife of the eldest son, on all occasions of sacrificing and receiving guests. must ask her directions in everything, while the other sons' wives must ask directions from her. When her parents-in-law employ the eldest son's wife, she should not be dilatory, unfriendly, or unpolite to the wives of his brothers (for their not helping her). When the parents-in-law employ any of them, they should not presume to consider themselves on an. equality with the other; walking side by side with her, or giving their orders in the same way, or sitting in the same position as she.

19. No daughter-in-law, without being told to go to her own apartment, should venture to withdraw from that (of her parents-in-law). Whatever she is about to do, she should ask leave from them. A son and his wife should have no private goods, nor animals, nor vessels; they should not presume to borrow from, or give anything to, another person. If any one give the wife an article of food or dress, a piece of cloth or silk, a handkerchief for her girdle, an iris or orchid, she should receive and offer it to her parents-in-law. If they accept it, she will be glad as if she were receiving it afresh. If they return it to her, she should decline it, and if they do not allow her to do so, she will take it as if it were a second gift, and lay it by to wait till they may want it. If she want to give it to some of her own cousins, she must ask leave to do so, and that being granted, she will give it.

20. Eldest cousins in the legitimate line of descent and their brothers should do reverent service to the son, who is the representative chief of the family and his wife. Though they may be richer and higher in official rank than he, they should not presume to enter his house with (the demonstrations of) their wealth and dignity. Although they may have in attendance many chariots and footmen,

these should stop outside, and they enter it in more simple style with a few followers.

If to any of the younger cousins there have been given vessels, robes, furs, coverlets, carriages and horses, he must offer the best of them (to his chief), and then use those that are inferior to this himself. If what he should thus offer be not proper for the chief, he will not presume to enter with it at his gate, not daring to appear with his wealth and dignity, to be above him who is the head of all the clan with its uncles and elder cousins.

A wealthy cousin should prepare two victims, and present the better of them to his chief. He and his wife should together, after self-purification, reverently assist at his sacrifice in the ancestral temple. When the business of that is over, they may venture to offer their own private sacrifice.

21. Of grain food, there were millet, — the glutinous rice, rice, maize, the white millet, and the yellow maize, cut when ripe, or when green.

Of prepared meats, there were beef soup, mutton soup, pork soup, and roast beef; pickle, slices of beef, pickle and minced beef; roast mutton, slices of mutton, pickle, and roast pork; pickle, slices of pork, mustard sauce, and minced fish; pheasant, hare, quail, and partridge.

22. Of drinks, there was must in two vessels, one strained, the other unstrained, made of rice, of millet, or of maize. In some cases, thin preparations were used as beverages, as millet gruel, pickle, with water syrup of prunes, and of steeped rice; clear wine and white.

Of confections, there were dried cakes, and rice-flour scones.

23. For relishes, snail-juice and a condiment of the broad-leaved water-squash were used with pheasant soup; a condiment of wheat with soups of dried slices and of fowl; broken glutinous rice with dog soup and hare soup; the rice-balls mixed with these soups had no smartweed in them.

A sucking-pig was stewed, wrapped up in sonchus leaves and stuffed with smartweed; a fowl, with the same stuffing, and along with pickle sauce; a fish, with the same stuffing and egg sauce; a tortoise, with the same stuffing and pickle sauce.

For meat spiced and dried they placed the brine of ants; for soup made of sliced meat, that of hare; for a ragout of elk, that of fish; for minced fish, mustard sauce; for raw elk flesh, pickle sauce; for preserved peaches and plums, egg-like suet.

24. All condiments for grain food were of a character corresponding to the spring; for soup, to the summer; for sauces, to the autumn; and for beverages, to the winter.

In all attempering ingredients, sour predominated in the spring; bitter, in the summer; acrid, in the autumn; and salt, in the winter: — with the due proportioning of the unctuous and sweet.

The glutinous rice (was thought) to suit beef; millet, to suit mutton; glutinous millet, to suit pork; maize, to suit dog; wheat, to suit goose; and the broad-leaved squash, to suit fish.

25. Lamb and sucking-pig were (thought to be) good in spring, fried with odorous (beef) suet; dried pheasant and fish, in summer, fried with the strong-smelling suet (of dog); veal and fawn, in autumn, fried with strong suet (of fowl); fresh fish and goose,' in winter, fried with the frouzy suet (of goat).

26. There were dried beef, and dried stalks of deer's flesh, of wild pig's, of elk's, and of the muntjac's. Elk's flesh, deer's, wild pig's, and muntjac's, was (also eaten uncooked; and) cut in large leaflike slices. Pheasants and hares were (made into soup) with the duckweed. There were sparrows and finches, partridges, cicadas, bees, lichens, small chestnuts, the water-caltrops, the hovenia dulcis, the zizyphus, chestnuts, hazel-nuts, persimmons, cucumbers, peaches, plums, ballaces, almonds, haws, pears, ginger, and cinnamon.

27. If a Great officer, at his ordinary meals, had mince, he did not have, at the same time, dried slices of meat; and if he had the latter, he did not have the former. An ordinary officer did not have two kinds of soup, or sliced flesh. (But) old men of the common people, did not eat their meat alone without accompaniments.

28. Mince was made in spring, with onions; in autumn, with the mustard plant. Sucking-pig was used in spring, with scallions; in autumn, with smartweed. With lard they used onions; with fat, chives. With the three victim-animals they used pepper, and employed pickle as an accompaniment. For wild animals' flesh they used plums. In quail soup, fowl soup, and with the curlew, the condiment was smartweed. Bream and tench were steamed; pullets, roasted; and pheasants, (boiled), with fragrant herbs and no smartweed.

29. Things not eaten were the turtle, when hatching; the intestines of the wolf, which were removed, as also the kidneys of the dog; the straight spine of the wild cat; the rump of the hare; the head of the fox; the brains of the sucking-pig; the yî-like bowels of fish; and the perforated openings of the turtle.

30. (Bones and sinews) were taken from the flesh; the scales were scraped from fish; dates were made to appear as new; chestnuts were selected; peaches were made smooth; kâ and pears had the insects drilled out of them.

31. When an ox lowed at night, its flesh was (considered) to be rank; that of a sheep, whose long hair showed a tendency to, get matted, to be frouzy; that of a dog which was uneasy and with (the inside of) its thighs red, to be coarse; that of

birds when moulting and with their voices hoarse, to be fetid; that of pigs, when they looked upwards and closed their eyes, to be measly; that of a horse, black along the spine and with piebald fore-legs, to smell unpleasantly.

A pullet, whose tail could not be grasped by the hand, was not eaten, nor the rump of a tame goose, nor the ribs of a swan or owl, nor the rump of a tame duck, nor the liver of a I fowl, nor the kidneys of a wild goose, nor the gizzard of the wild goose without the hind-toe, nor the stomach of the deer.

32. Flesh cut small was made into mince; cut into slices it was made into hash. Some say that the flesh of elks, deer, and fish was pickled; that of muntjacs also, being cut in small pieces; that of fowls and wild pigs, in larger pieces; of hares, the stomach was pickled. Onions and scallions were mixed with the brine to soften the meat.

33. Soup and boiled grain were. used by all, from the princes down to the common people, without distinction of degree. Great officers did not regularly have savoury meat, but when seventy they had their cupboards. The cupboards of the son of Heaven were five on the right (of the dining hall), and five on the left; those of dukes, marquises, and earls were five, all in one room; those of Great officers three (in a side chamber), and other officers had one on their buffet.

See the introductory notice, p, 27.

The ‘sons’ here are young gentlemen of good families, shih (###) who might be employed as ordinary officers.

Necklaces’ is only a guess at the meaning. Khan Hâo and others make the character to mean ‘scent bags.’ But this also is only a guess. There is nothing in its form to suggest such a meaning; and as many other critics point out, it is inconsistent with the usage in paragraph 5. These acknowledge that they do not understand the phrase ###. See I, i, 3, 34, but the use of ying there is considered inappropriate here.

The structure of this and the preceding sentences is easy enough, but it is not easy for a translator to assure himself that he is rendering every Chinese character by its correct equivalent in his own language.

They hang on these instead of the useful appendages mentioned in paragraphs 2 and 3, as being too young to employ these. This determines the meaning of ### in the last clause as I have given it. Zottoli’s rendering is:— ‘Si nondum comederint, tunc adjuturi majores inspectabunt praeparata.’

That is, the parents of the husband, and parents-in-law of the wife.

‘That nothing,’ says Khung Ying-tâ, ‘may be served up again.’

As for archery. The meaning is, I suppose, that none of the things mentioned should be seen or known, while they are waiting on their parents.

But instantly wipe it off, according to Khan Hâo.

Zottoli has for this— 'viri mulieresque.' The writer is speaking of men and women, indeed; but the characters have reference to place, and = 'out of the house or in it.'

That is, they will not presume on any indulgence which they might expect from the impression made by their general character and behaviour.

'Orders,' consequent on their parents' seeing that the food or garment is not to their mind.

This last sentence is enigmatical in the original text. Zottoli says:— 'Si non possint coerceri, filium ejice nurum exclude, quin tamen patefacius agendi morem;' adding as an explanation of that 'agendi morem,' 'siquidem eos haud certe in finem sic ejectos voles.' Different views of the Chinese have been given by different critics; and it would not be difficult to add to their number.

Khan Hâo quotes here from the Lî of the elder Tâi (Book XIII, chapter 26) the 'seven grounds of divorce,' the first of them being the wife's 'want of accordance with her husband's parents.'

Who now retires from the open headship of the family.

These are all legitimate members of the same surname or clan, but the honoured cousin is the chief of it in the direct line. He is the chieftain of the clan. They are heads of subordinate branches of it. They may have become more wealthy and attained to higher rank in the service of their common ruler, but-within the limits of the clan, he is their superior, and has duties of sacrifice to the ancestors of it, with which they cannot of themselves intermeddle.

In all, four rows of prepared meats, consisting of four dishes each.

Both the old wine and occasional wine, mentioned in the note on page 447, were 'white.' The kiû here, probably, were the three kiû there.

In this there are the names of more than thirty condiments or relishes, which, according to most commentators, were, or might be, served up at the meals of the rulers of states. But from paragraph 21 we have a list of viands, drinks, and their accompaniments with no information as to when and by whom they were used. To descend to further particulars about them would be troublesome.

It is uncertain what some of these forbidden articles really were.

The explanation of these brief notes is also perplexing. Zottoli makes the kâ to have been a kind of medlar (azarolus). Medhurst calls it, after the Khang-hsî dictionary, 'a kind of pear.' Williams, explaining it under a synonym (of the same sound), 'a sour red fruit of the size of a cherry, a kind of hawthorn.'

The manner of these preparations has not been definitely explained. The meaning is uncertain. So also is what is said of the cupboards in the next paragraph.

Section ii.

1. In nourishing the aged, (Shun), the lord of Yü, used the ceremonies of a drinking entertainment; the sovereigns of Hsiâ, those (at entertainments after) a reverent sacrifice or offering; the men of Yin, those of a (substantial) feast; and the men of Kâu cultivated and used all the three.

Those of fifty years were entertained in the schools of the districts; those of sixty, in the school of the capital; and those of seventy, in the college. This rule extended to the feudal states. An old man of eighty made his acknowledgment for the ruler's invitation by kneeling once and bringing his head to the ground twice. The blind did the same. An old man of ninety employed another to receive (the message and gift for him).

For those of fifty, the grain was (fine and) different (from that used by younger men). For those of sixty, there was meat kept in store (from the day before). For those of seventy, there was a second service of savoury meat. Those of eighty were supplied regularly with delicacies. For those of ninety, food and drink were never out of their chambers; wherever they wandered, it was deemed right that savoury meat and drink should follow them.

After sixty (the coffin and other things for the funeral) were seen to be in readiness (once) a year; after seventy, once a season; after eighty, once a month; and after ninety, they were every day kept in good repair. The bandages, however, the sheet, the larger coverlets, and the cases were prepared after death.

At fifty, one was supposed to begin to decay; at sixty, not to feel satisfied unless he had flesh to eat. At seventy, he was thought to require silk in order to make him feel warm; at eighty, to need some one (to sleep) with him, to keep him warm; and at ninety, not to feel warm even with that.

At fifty, one kept his staff in his hand in the family; at sixty, in his district; at seventy, in the city; at eighty, (an officer) did so in the court. If the son of Heaven wished to put questions to (an officer of) ninety, he went to his house, and had rich food carried after him.

At seventy, (an officer) did not wait till the court was over (before he retired). At eighty, he reported every month (to the ruler's messenger) that he was still alive; at ninety, he had (delicate food) sent to him regularly every day.

At fifty, one was not employed in services requiring strength; at sixty, he was discharged from bearing arms along with others; at seventy, he was exempted from the business of receiving guests and visitors; at eighty, he was free from the abstinences and other rites of mourning.

When one received at fifty the rank (of a Great officer), at sixty he did not go in person to the school. At seventy he resigned office; and then and afterwards,

in mourning he used only the unhemmed dress of sackcloth (without adopting the privations of the mourning rites).

The kings of the three dynasties, in nourishing the old, always caused the members of families who were advanced in years to be brought to their notice. Where an officer was eighty, one of his friends was free from all service of government; where he was ninety, all the members of his family were exempted from them. So also it was in the case of the blind. (Shun), the lord of Yü, entertained the aged (who had retired from the service) of the state in (the school called) the higher hsiang, and the aged of the common people in (the school called) the lower hsiang. The sovereigns of the line of Hsiâ entertained the former in (the school called) the hsü on the east, and the latter in (that called) the hsü on the west. The men of Yin entertained the former in the School of the Right, and the latter in that of the Left. The men of Kâu entertained the former in the kiâo on the east, and the latter in the Yü hsiang. This was in the suburb of the capital on the west.

The lord of Yu wore the hwang cap in sacrificing (in the ancestral temple), and the white robes in entertaining the aged. The sovereigns of Hsiâ sacrificed in the shin cap, and entertained the aged in the dark garments of undress. Those of Yin sacrificed in the hsü cap, and entertained in the garments of white thin silk. Those of Kâu sacrificed in the mien cap, and entertained the aged in the dark upper garment (and the lower white one).

2. Zang-dze said, ‘A filial son, in nourishing his aged, (seeks to) make their hearts glad, and not to go against their wishes; to promote their comfort in their bed-chambers and the whole house; and with leal heart to supply them with their food and drink: — such is the filial son to the end of life. By “the end of life,” I mean not the end of parents’ lives, but the end of his own life. Thus what his parents loved he will love, and what they reverenced he will reverence. He will do so even in regard to all their dogs and horses, and how much more in regard to the men (whom they valued)!’

3. In all their nourishment of the aged, (the object of) the five Tîs was to imitate (their virtue), while the kings of the three dynasties also begged them to speak (their lessons). The five Tîs taking them as models, sought to nourish their bodily vigour, and did not beg them to speak; but what good lessons they did speak were taken down by the faithful recorders. The three (lines of) kings also took them as models, and after nourishing their age begged them to speak. If they (seemed to) diminish the ceremonies (of entertainment), they all had their faithful recorders as well (to narrate their virtue).

4. For the Rich Fry, they put the pickled meat fried over rice that had been grown on a dry soil, and then enriched it with melted fat. This was called the

Rich Fry.

5. For the Similar Fry, they put the pickled meat fried over the millet grains, and enriched it with melted fat. This was called the Similar Fry.

6. For the Bake, they took a sucking-pig or a (young) ram, and having cut it open and removed the entrails, filled the belly with dates. They then wrapped it round with straw and reeds, which they plastered with clay, and baked it. When the clay was all dry, they broke it off. Having washed their hands for the manipulation, they removed the crackling and macerated it along With rice-flour, so as to form a kind of gruel which they added to the pig. They then fried the whole in such a quantity of melted fat as to cover it. Having prepared a large pan of hot water, they placed in it a small tripod, and the slices of which was filled with fragrant herbs, he creature which was being prepared. They took care that the hot water did not cover this tripod, but kept up the fire without intermission for three days and nights. After this, the whole was served up with the addition of pickled meat and vinegar.

7. For the Pounded Delicacy, they took the flesh of ox, sheep, elk, deer and muntjac, a part of that which lay along the spine, the same in quantity of each, and beat it now as it lay flat, and then turning it on its side; after that they extracted all the nerves. (Next), when it was sufficiently cooked, they brought it (from the pan), took away the outside crust, and softened the meat (by the addition of pickle and vinegar).

8. For the Steeped Delicacy, they took the beef, which was required to be that of a newly killed animal, and cut it into small pieces, taking care to obliterate all the lines in it. It was then steeped from one morning to the next in good wine, when it was eaten with pickle, vinegar, or the juice of prunes.

9. To make the Grill, they beat the beef and removed the skinny parts. They then laid it on a frame of reeds, sprinkled on it pieces of cinnamon and ginger, and added salt. It could be eaten thus when dried. Mutton was treated in the same way as beef, and also the flesh of elk, deer, and muntjac. If they wished the flesh wet, they added water and fried it with pickled meat. If they wished it dry, they ate it as eaten (at first).

10. For the (Soup) Balls, they took equal quantities of beef, mutton and pork, and cut them small. Then they took grains of rice, which they mixed with the finely cut meat, two parts of rice to one of meat, and formed cakes or balls, which they fried.

11. For the Liver and Fat, they took a dog’s liver, and wrapped it round with its own fat. They then wet it and roasted it, and took it in this condition and scorched it. No smartweed was mixed with the fat.

12. They took the grains of rice and steeped. them in prepared rice-water. They then cut small the fat from a wolfs breast, and with it and the grains of rice made a fry.

13. The observances of propriety commence with a careful attention to the relations between husband and wife. They built the mansion and its apartments, distinguishing between the exterior and interior parts. The men occupied the exterior; the women the interior. The mansion was deep, and the doors were strong, guarded by porter and eunuch. The men did not enter the interior; the women did not come out into the exterior.

14. Males and females did not use the same stand or rack for their clothes. The wife did not presume to hang up anything on the pegs or stand of her husband; nor to put anything in his boxes or satchels; nor to share his bathing-house. When her husband had gone out (from their apartment), she put his pillow in its case, rolled up his upper and under mats, put them in their covers, and laid. them away in their proper receptacles. The young served the old; the low served the noble;-also in this way.

15. As between husband and wife, it was not until they were seventy, that they deposited these things in the same place without separation. Hence though a concubine were old, until she had completed her fiftieth year, it was the rule that she should be with the husband (once) in five days. When she was to do so, she purified herself, rinsed her mouth and washed, carefully adjusted her dress, combed her hair, drew over it the covering of silk, fixed her hair-pins, tied up the hair in the shape of a horn, brushed the dust from the rest of her hair, put on her necklace, and adjusted her shoe-strings. Even a favourite concubine was required in dress and diet to come after her superior. If the wife were not with the husband, a concubine waiting on him, would not venture to remain the whole night.

16. When a wife was about to have a child, and the month of her confinement had arrived, she occupied one of the side apartments, where her husband sent twice a day to ask for her. If he were moved and came himself to ask about her, she did not presume to see him, but made her governess dress herself and reply to him.

When the child was born, the husband again sent twice a day to inquire for her. He fasted now, and did not enter the door of the side apartment. If the child were a boy, a bow was placed on the left of the door; and if a girl, a handkerchief on the right of it. After three days the child began to be carried, and some archery was practised for a boy, but not for a girl.

17. When a son and heir to the ruler of a state was born, and information of the fact was carried to him, he made arrangements to receive him at a feast

where the three animals should all be provided; and the cook took in hand the (necessary) preparations. On the third day the tortoise-shell was consulted for a good man to carry the child; and he who was the lucky choice, kept a vigil over night, and then in his court robes, received him in his arms outside the chamber. The master of the archers then took a bow of mulberry wood, and six arrows of the wild rubus, and shot towards heaven, earth, and the four cardinal points. After this the nurse received the child and carried it in her arms. The cook (at the same time) gave (a cup of) sweet wine to the man who had carried the child, and presented him with a bundle of silks, and the tortoise-shell was again employed to determine the wife of an officer, or the concubine of a Great officer, who should be nurse.

18. In all cases of receiving a son, a day was chosen; and if it were the eldest son of the king, the three animals were killed (for the occasion). For the son of a common man, a sucking-pig was killed; for the son of an officer, a single pig; for the son of a Great officer, the two smaller animals; and for the son of the ruler of a state, all the three. If it were not the eldest son, the provision was diminished in every case one degree.

19. A special apartment was prepared in the palace for the child, and from all the concubines and other likely individuals there was sought one distinguished for her generosity of mind, her gentle kindness, her mild integrity, her respectful bearing, her carefulness and freedom from talkativeness, who should be appointed the boy's teacher; one was next chosen who should be his indulgent mother, and a third who should be his guardian mother. These all lived in his apartment, which others did not enter unless on some (special) business.

20. At the end of the third month a day was chosen for shaving off the hair of the child, excepting certain portions, — the horn-like tufts of a boy, and the circlet on the crown of a girl. If another fashion were adopted, a portion was left on the left of the boy's head, and on the right of the girl's. On that day the wife with the son appeared before the father. If they were of noble families, they were both in full dress. From the commissioned officer downwards, all rinsed their mouths and washed their heads. Husband and wife rose early, bathed and dressed as for the feast of the first day of the month. The husband entered the door, going up by the steps on the cast, and stood at the top of them with his face to the west. The wife with the boy in her arms came forth from her room and stood beneath the lintel with her face to the east.

21. The governess then went forward and said for the lady, 'The mother, So and So, ventures to-day reverently to present to you the child!' The husband replied, 'Reverently (teach him to) follow the right way.' He then took hold of the right hand of his son, and named him with the smile and voice of a child. The

wife responded, ‘We will remember. May your words be fulfilled!’ She then turned to the left, and delivered the child to his teacher, who on her part told the name all round to the wives of the relatives of all ranks who were present. The wife forthwith proceeded to the (festal) chamber.

22. The husband informed his principal officer of the name, and he in turn informed all the (young) males (of the same surname) of it. A record was made to the effect— ‘In such a year, in such, a month, on such a day, So and So was born,’ and deposited. The officer also informed the secretaries of the hamlets, who made out two copies of it. One of these was deposited in the office of the village, and the other was presented to the secretary of the larger circuit, who showed it to the chief of the circuit; he again ordered it to be deposited in the office of the circuit. The husband meanwhile had gone into (the festal chamber), and a feast was celebrated with the ceremonies of that with which a wife first entertains her parents-in-law.

23. When an heir-son has been born, the ruler washed his head and whole body, and put on his court robes. His wife did the same, and then they both took their station at the top of the stairs on the east with their faces towards the west. One of the ladies of quality, with the child in her arms ascended by the steps on the west. The ruler then named the child; and (the lady) went down with it.

24. A (second) son or any other son by the wife proper was presented in the outer chamber, when (the ruler) laid his hand on its head, and with gentle voice named it. The other observances were as before, but without any words.

25. In naming a son, the name should not be that of a day or a month or of any state, or of any hidden ailment. Sons of Great and other officers must not be called by the same name as the heir-son of the ruler.

26. When a concubine was about to have a child, and the month of her confinement had arrived, the husband sent once a day to ask for her. When the son was born:, at the end of three months, she washed her mouth and feet, adjusted herself early in the morning and appeared in the inner chamber (belonging to the wife proper). There she was received with the ceremonies of her first entrance into the harem. When the husband had eaten, a special portion of what was left was given to her by herself; and forthwith she entered on her duties of attendance.

27. When the child of an inferior member of the ruler’s harem was about to be born, the mother went to one of the side apartments, and at the end of three months, having washed her head and person, and put on her court robes, she appeared before the ruler. (One of) her waiting women (also) appeared with the child in her arms. If (the mother) was one to whom the ruler had given special

favours, he himself named the son. In the case of such children generally, an officer was employed to name them.

28. Among the common people who had no side chambers, when the month of confinement was come, the husband left his bed-chamber, and occupied a common apartment. In his inquiries for his wife, however, and on his son's being presented to him, there was no difference (from the observances that have been detailed).

29. In all cases though the father is alive, the grandson is presented to the grandfather, who also names him. The ceremonies are the same as when the son is presented to the father; but there is no (interchange of) words (between the mother and him).

30. The nurse of the ruler's boy quitted the palace after three years, and, when she appeared before the ruler, was rewarded for her toilsome work. The son of a Great officer had a nurse. The wife of an ordinary officer nourished her child herself.

31. The son of a commissioned officer and others above him on to the Great officer was presented (to the father once) in ten days. The eldest son of a ruler was presented to him before he had eaten, when he took him by the right hand; his second or any other son by the wife proper was presented after he had eaten, when he laid his hand on his head.

32. When the child was able to take its own food, it was taught to use the right hand. When it was able to speak, a boy (was taught to) respond boldly and clearly; a girl, submissively and low. The former was fitted with a girdle of leather; the latter, with one of silk.

33. At six years, they were taught the numbers and the names of the cardinal points; at the age of seven, boys and girls did not occupy the same mat nor eat together; at eight, when going out or coming in at a gate or door, and going to their mats to eat and drink, they were required to follow their elders: — the teaching of yielding to others was now begun; at nine, they were taught how to number the days.

At ten, (the boy) went to a master outside, and stayed with him (even) over the night. He learned the (different classes of) characters and calculation; he did not wear his jacket or trousers of silk; in his manners he followed his early lessons; morning and evening he learned the behaviour of a youth; he would ask to be exercised in (reading) the tablets, and in the forms of polite conversation.

34. At thirteen, he learned music, and to repeat the odes, and to dance the ko (of the duke of Kâu). When a full-grown lad, he danced the hsiang (of king Wû). He learned archery and chariot-driving. At twenty, he was capped, and first learned the (different classes of) ceremonies, and might wear furs and silk. He

danced the tâ hsiâ (of Yü) and attended sedulously to filial and fraternal duties. He might become very learned, but did not teach others; — (his object being still) to receive and not to give out.

35. At thirty, he had a wife, and began to attend to the business proper to a man. He extended his learning without confining it to particular subjects. He was deferential to his friends, having regard to the aims (which they displayed). At forty, he was first appointed to office; and according to the business of it brought out his plans and communicated his thoughts. If the ways (which he proposed) were suitable, he followed them out; if they were not, he abandoned them. At fifty, he was appointed a Great officer, and laboured in the administration of his department. At seventy, he retired from his duties. In all salutations of males, the upper place was given to the left hand.

36. A girl at the age of ten ceased to go out (from the women's apartments). Her governess taught her (the arts of pleasing speech and manners, to be docile and obedient, to handle the hempen fibres, to deal with the cocoons, to weave silks and form fillets, to learn (all) woman's work, how to furnish garments, to watch the sacrifices, to supply the liquors and sauces, to fill the various stands and dishes with pickles and brine, and to assist in setting forth the appurtenances for the ceremonies.

37. At fifteen, she assumed the hair-pin; at twenty, she was married, or, if there were occasion (for the delay), at twenty-three. If there were the betrothal rites, she became a wife; and if she went without these, a concubine. In all salutations of females, the upper place was given to the right hand.

BOOK XI. YÜ ZÂO

or

The Jade-bead Pendants of the Royal Cap

Section I.

1. The son of Heaven, when sacrificing, wore (the cap) with the twelve long pendants of beads of jade hanging down from its top before and behind, and the robe embroidered with dragons.

2. When saluting the appearance of the sun outside the eastern gate, he wore the dark-coloured square-cut robes; and (also) when listening to the notification of the first day of the month outside the southern gate.

3. If the month were intercalary, he caused the left leaf of the door to be shut, and stood in the middle of that (which remained open).

4. He wore the skin cap at the daily audience in the court, after which he proceeded to take the morning meal in it. At midday he partook of what was left in the morning. He had music at his meals. Every day a sheep and a pig were killed and cooked; and on the first day of the month an ox in addition. There were five beverages: — water, which was the principal; rice-water, spirits, must, and millet-water.

5. When he had done eating, he remained at ease in the dark-coloured square-cut robes. His actions were written down by the recorder of the Left, and his utterances by the recorder of the Right. The blind musician in attendance judged whether the music were too high or too low.

6. If the year were not good and fruitful, the son of Heaven wore white and plain robes, rode in the Plain and unadorned carriage, and had no music at his meals.

7. The princes of states, in sacrificing, wore their dark-coloured square-cut robes. At court-audiences (of the king), they wore the cap of the next inferior degree of rank to their own. They wore the skin-cap, when listening to the notification of the first day of the month in the Grand temples; and their court robes when holding their daily audience in the inner court-yard.

8. (Their ministers and officers) entered (the palace) as soon as they could distinguish the dawning light, and the ruler came out daily (to the first court, inside the Khû gate), and received them. (After this audience), he retired, and went to the great chamber, there to listen to their proposals about the measures of government. He employed men to see whether the Great officers (were all

withdrawn); and when they had left, he repaired to the smaller chamber, and put off his (court) robes.

9. He resumed his court robes, when he was about to eat. There was a single animal, with three (other) dishes of meat, the lungs forming the sacrificial offering. In the evening he wore the long robe in one piece, and offered some of the flesh of the animal. On the first day of the moon, a sheep and a pig were killed, and there were five (other) dishes of meat, and four of grain. On Dze and Mâo days there were only the glutinous rice and vegetable soup. His wife used the same kitchen as the ruler.

10. Without some cause for it, a ruler did not kill an ox, nor a Great officer a sheep, nor a lower officer a pig or a dog. A superior man had his shambles and kitchen at a distance (from the) house; he did not tread wherever there was such a thing as blood or (tainted) air.

11. When the eighth month came without rain, the ruler did not have full meals nor music. If the year were not abundant, he wore linen, and stuck in his girdle the tablet of an officer. Duties were not levied at the barrier-gates and dams; the prohibitions of the hills and meres were enforced, but no contributions were required (from hunters and fishermen). No earthworks were undertaken, and Great officers did not make (any new) carriages for themselves.

12. The officer of divination by the tortoise-shell fixed the shell (to be used); the recorder applied the ink; and the ruler determined the figures (produced by the fire).

13. (The cross-board in front of) the ruler was covered with lambskin, edged with tiger's fur; for his sacred carriage and court-carriage a Great officer had a covering of deer skin, edged with leopard's fur; as also had an ordinary officer for his sacred carriage.

14. The regular place for a gentleman was exactly opposite the door, (facing the light). He slept with his head to the east. When there came violent wind, or rapid thunder, or a great rain, he changed (countenance). It was the rule for him then, even in the night, to get up, dress himself, put on his cap, and take his seat.

15. He washed his hands five times a day. He used millet-water in washing his head, and maize-water in washing his face. For his hair (when wet) he used a comb of white-grained wood, and an ivory comb for it when dry. (After his toilet), there were brought to him the (usual) cup and some delicacy; and the musicians came up and sang.

In bathing he used two towels; a fine one for the upper part (of his body), and a coarser for the lower part. When he got out of the tub, he stepped on a straw mat; and having next washed his feet with hot water, he stepped on the rush one.

Then in his (bathing) robe of cloth, he dried his body (again), and put on his shoes; and a drink was then brought into him.

16. When he had arranged to go to the ruler's, he passed the night in vigil and fasting, occupying an apartment outside his usual one. After he had washed his head and bathed, his secretary brought him the ivory tablet, on which were written his thoughts (which he should communicate to the ruler), and how he should respond to orders (that he might receive). When he was dressed he practised deportment and listened to the sounds of the gems (at his girdle pendant). When he went forth, he bowed to all in his own private court elegantly, and proceeded to mount his carriage (to go to the ruler's) in brilliant style.

17. The son of Heaven carried in his girdle the thing tablet, showing how exact and correct he should be in his relations with all under heaven. The feudal lords had the shû, rounded at the top and straight at the bottom, showing how they should give place to the son of Heaven. The tablet of the Great officers was rounded both at the top and the bottom; showing how they should be prepared to give place in all positions.

18. When (a minister) is sitting in attendance on his ruler, the rule was that he should occupy a mat somewhat behind him on one side. If he did not occupy such a mat, he had to draw the one assigned to him back and keep aloof from the ruler's kindred who were near him.

One did not take his place on his mat from the front, to avoid seeming to step over it, When seated and unoccupied he did not take up the-whole of the mat by at least a cubit. If he were to read any writings or to eat, he sat forward to the edge. The dishes were put down a cubit from the mat.

19. If food were given (to a visitor), and the ruler proceeded to treat him as a guest, he would order him to present the offering, and the visitor would do so. If he took the precedence in eating, he would take a little of all the viands, drink a mouthful, and wait (for the ruler to eat). If there were one in attendance to taste the viands, he would wait till the ruler ate, and then eat himself After this eating, he would drink (a mouthful), and wait (again).

20. If the ruler ordered him to partake of the delicacies, he took of that which was nearest to him. If he were told to take of all, he took of whatever he liked. In all cases, in tasting of what was some way off, they began with what was near. (The visitor) did not dare to add the liquid to his rice till the ruler had touched the corners of his mouth with his hands and put them down. When the ruler had done eating, he also took of the rice in this fashion, repeating the process three times. When the ruler had the things removed, he took his rice and sauces, and went out and gave them to his attendants.

21. Whenever pressed (by his host) to eat, one should not eat largely; when eating at another's. one should not eat to satiety. It was only of the water and sauces that some was not put down as an offering; — they were accounted too trivial for such a purpose.

22. If the ruler gave a cup (of drink) to an officer, he crossed over from his mat, bowed twice, laid his head to the ground and received it. Resuming his place, he poured a portion of it as an offering, drank it off, and waited. When the ruler had finished his cup, he then returned his empty.

The rule for a superior man in drinking (with the ruler) was this: — When he received the first cup, he wore a grave look; when he received the second, he looked pleased and respectful. With this the ceremony stopped. At the third cup, he looked self-possessed and prepared to withdraw. Having withdrawn, he knelt down and took his shoes, retired out of the ruler's (sight) and put them on. Kneeling on his left knee, he put on the right shoe; kneeling on the right knee, he put on the left one.

23. (At festive entertainments), of all the vases that with the dark-coloured liquor (of water) was considered the most honourable; and only the ruler sat with his face towards it. For the uncultivated people in the country districts, the vases all contained prepared liquors. Great officers had the vase on one side of them upon a tray without feet; other officers had it in a similar position on a tray with feet.

See introductory notice, Vol. xxvii, p, 28.

Probably, to Heaven;. Kang thought it was to the former kings. Many try to unite both views.

At the vernal equinox. Callery has 'Quand de bon matin il sacrifie au soleil.' Probably there was a sacrifice on the occasion. but the text does not say so. The character ### (*khiâo*) means 'to appear at audience.'

Probably, of the city; many say, of the Hall of Distinction.

This announcement was to the spirits of his royal ancestors in the first place. Compare Analects III, 16.

This is not easy to understand, nor easy to make intelligible. An intercalary month was an irregular arrangement of the year. it and the previous month formed one double month. The shutting half the door showed that one half of the time was passed. There remained the other leaf to be given — in the temple or in the palace — to the king for all the ceremonies or acts of government appropriate in such a position for the whole intercalary month. Something like this is sketched out as the meaning by the Khien-lung editors.

These were so named from the form in which they were made, the cloth being cut straight and square.

And judged, it is said, of the character of the measures of government; but this is being ‘over-exquisite’ to account for the custom.

So it seems to be said; but why it was done so, does not clearly appear.

Several pieces in the Shih allude to this early attendance at court. See Book II, ii, 8; iii, 8, *et al.*

They sat or waited, not inside the chamber, but outside. Some Great officer might wish to bring a matter before the ruler which he had not ventured to mention in public. The ruler, therefore, would give him a private audience; and did not feel himself free from business till all had withdrawn.

See vol. xxvii, .

That is, the wife was supplied with what was left from the ruler’s meals.

Lû Tien says, ‘He would not tread on ants.’ The Khien-lung editors characterise this as ‘a womanish remark.’

A ruler’s tablet was of ivory; an officer’s only of bamboo, tipt with ivory.

See the Kâu Lit, Book XXII, 25. The Khien-lung editors say that the methods of this divination are lost.

‘The sacred carriage’ was one used for going in to some temple service that required previous fasting. The paragraph is strangely constructed. It is supposed that the ruler’s carriage at the beginning of it was also a sacred one.

Came up on the raised hall, that is.

It is not clear what the tablets of this paragraph were, and whether they were carried in the hand or inserted in the girdle. The character ### (Zin) seems to imply the latter.

The Khien-lung editors say that after these two sentences the subject of the rest of the paragraph is a student before his teacher.

And also any tablets or other things to be referred to.

Tasting the things before the ruler to see that they were good and safe.

That is, touched those parts with his fingers to see that no grains were sticking to them.

The subject in the two parts of this paragraph does not appear to be the same. The officer in the former was merely an attendant we may suppose; in the latter, one of a superior rank. The cup in the one case was of special favour; in the second the cups were such as were drunk with the ruler at certain times, but were always confined to three.

‘Mindful,’ says Kang, ‘of the ways of antiquity.’ See Book VII, i, 10, 11, *et al.* on the honour paid to water at sacrifices and feasts, and the reasons for it.

Section ii.

1. At the ceremony of capping, the first cap put on was one of black linen. The use of this extended from the feudal lords downwards. It might, after having been thus employed, be put away or disused.

2. The dark-coloured cap, with red strings and tassels descending to the breast, was used at the capping of the son of Heaven. The cap of black linen, with strings and tassels of various colours, was used at the capping of a feudal prince. A dark-coloured cap with scarlet strings an,] tassels was worn by a feudal lord, when fasting. A dark-coloured cap with gray strings and tassels was worn by officers when similarly engaged.

3. A cap of white silk with the border or roll of a dark colour was worn (? at his capping) by a son or grandson (when in a certain stage of mourning). A similar cap with a plain white edging, was worn after the sacrifice at the end of the year's mourning. (The same cap) with strings hanging down five inches, served to mark the idle and listless officer. A dark-coloured cap with the roll round it of white silk was worn by one excluded from the ranks of his compeers.

4. The cap worn in private, with the roll or border attached to it, was used by all from the son of Heaven downwards. When business called them, the strings were tied and their ends allowed to hang down.

5. At fifty, one did not accompany a funeral with his sackcloth hanging loose. When his parents were dead, (a son) did not have his hair dressed in tufts (any more). With the large white (cap) they did not use strings hanging down. The purple strings with the dark-coloured cap began with duke Hwan of Lû.

6. In the morning they wore the dark-coloured square-cut dress; in the evening, the long dress in one piece. That dress at the waist was thrice the width of the sleeve; and at the bottom twice as wide as at the waist. It was gathered in at each side (of the body). The sleeve could be turned back to the elbow.

7. The outer or under garment joined on to the sleeve and covered a cubit of it . The collar was 2 inches wide; the cuff, a cubit and 2 inches long; the border, 1½ inch broad. To wear silk under or inside linen was contrary to rule.

8. An (ordinary) officer did not wear anything woven of silk that had been first dyed. One who had left the service of his ruler wore no two articles of different colours. if the upper garment were of one of the correct colours, the lower garment was of the (corresponding) intermediate one.

9. One did not enter the ruler's gate without the proper colours in his dress; nor in a single robe of grass-cloth, fine or coarse; nor with his fur robe either displayed outside, or entirely covered.

10. A garment wadded with new floss was called kien; with old, phâo. One unlined was called kiung; one lined, but not wadded, tieh.

11. The use of thin white silk in court-robes .began with Kî Khang-dze. Confucius said, ‘For the audience they use the (regular) court-robes, which are put on after the announcement of the first day of the month (in the temple).’ He (also) said, ‘When good order does not prevail in the states and clans, (the officers) should not use the full dress (as prescribed).’

12. Only a ruler wore the chequered fur robes in addressing (his troops or the multitudes), and at the autumnal hunts, (For him) to wear the Great fur robe was contrary to ancient practice.

13. When a ruler wore the robe of white fox-fur, he wore one of embroidered silk over it to display.

When (the guards on) the right of the ruler wore tigers’ fur, those on the left wore wolves’ fur. An (ordinary) officer did not wear the fur of the white fox.

14. (Great and other) officers wore the fur of the blue fox, with sleeves of leopard’s fur, and over it a jacket of dark-coloured silk to display it; which fawn’s fur they used cuffs of the black wild dog, with a jacket of bluish yellow silk, to display it; with lamb’s fur, ornaments of leopard’s fur, and a jacket of black silk to display it; with fox-fur, a jacket of yellow silk to display it. A jacket of embroidered silk with fox-fur was worn by the feudal lords.

15. With dog’s fur or sheep’s fur, they did not wear any jacket of silk over it. Where there was no ornamentation, they did not use the jacket. The wearing the jacket was to show its beauty.

When condoling, they kept the jacket covered, and did now show all its ornamental character; in the presence of the ruler, they showed all this.

The covering of the dress was to hide its beauty. Hence, personators of the deceased covered their jackets of silk. Officers holding a piece of jade or a tortoise-shell (to present it) covered it; but if they had no (such official) business in hand, they displayed the silken garment, and did not presume to cover it.

16. For his memorandum-tablet, the son of Heaven used a piece of sonorous jade; the prince of a state, a piece of ivory; a Great officer, a piece of bamboo, ornamented with fishbone; ordinary officers might use bamboo, adorned with ivory at the bottom.

17. When appearing before the son of Heaven, and at trials of archery, there was no such thing as being without this tablet. It was contrary to rule to enter the Grand temple without it. During the five months’ mourning, it was not laid aside. When engaged in the performance of some business, and wearing the cincture, one laid it aside. When he had put it in his girdle, the bearer of it was required to wash his hands; but afterwards, though he had something to do in the court, he did not wash them (again).

When one had occasion to point to or draw anything before the ruler, he used the tablet. When he went before him and received a charge, he wrote it down on it. For all these purposes the tablet was used, and therefore it was ornamental.

18. The tablet was 2 cubits and 6 inches long. Its width at the middle was 3 inches; and it tapered away to 2½ inches (at the ends).

19. (A ruler) wore a plain white girdle of silk, with ornamented ends; a Great officer, a similar girdle, with the ends hanging down; an ordinary officer, one of dyed silk, with the edges tucked in, and the ends hanging down; a scholar waiting to be employed, one of embroidered silk; and young lads, one of white silk.

20. For all these the buttons and loops were made of silk cords.

21. The knee-covers of a ruler were of vermilion colour; those of a Great officer, white; and of another officer, purple: — all of leather; and might be rounded, slanting, and straight. Those of the son of Heaven were straight (and pointed at all the corners); of the prince of a state, square both at bottom and top; of a Great officer, square at the bottom, with the corners at the top rounded off; and of another officer, straight both at bottom and top.

22. The width of these covers was 2 cubits at bottom, and 1 at top. Their length was 3 cubits. On each side of (what was called) the neck were 5 inches, reaching to the shoulders or corners. From the shoulders to the leathern band were 2 inches.

23. The great girdle of a Great officer was 4 inches (wide). In variegated girdles, the colours for a ruler were vermilion and green; for a Great officer, cerulean and yellow; for an (ordinary) officer, a black border Of 2 inches, and this, when carried round the body a second time, appeared to be 4 inches. On all girdles which were tucked in there was no needlework.

24. (An officer) who had received his first commission wore a cover of reddish-purple, with a black supporter for his girdle-pendant. One who had received the second commission wore a scarlet cover, (also) with a black supporter for the pendant; and one who had received the third commission, a scarlet cover, with an onion-green supporter for the pendant.

25. The son of Heaven wore a girdle of plain white silk, with vermilion lining, and ornamented ends.

26. The queen wore a robe with white pheasants embroidered on it; (a prince's) wife, one with green pheasants.

27. (The cords that formed the loops and buttons) were 3 inches long, equal to the breadth of the girdle. The rule for the length of the sash (descending from the girdle) was, that, for an officer, it should be 3 cubits; for one discharging a special service, 2½. Dze-yû said, 'Divide all below the girdle into three parts,

and the sash will be equal to two of them., The sash, the knee-covers, and the ties are all of equal length.'

28. (The wife of a count or baron) who had received a degree of honour from the ruler wore a pheasant cut out in silk on her robe; (the wife of the Great officer of a count or baron), who had received two degrees, wore a robe of fresh yellow; (the wife of a Great officer), who had received one degree, a robe of white; and the wife of an ordinary officer, a robe of black.

29. Only the ladies of honour received their degree of appointment, when they presented their cocoons. The others all wore the dresses proper to them as the wives of their husbands.

The gratification of their taste was the principal thing at festive entertainments of the common people.

On the two trays mentioned here, — the yü (composed of ### and ### on the right of it)and the kin (###), — see Book VIII, i, 12.

Such a cap had been used anciently; and it was used in the ceremony, though subsequently disused, out of respect to the ancient custom.

When his grandfather was dead, and his father (still alive) was in deep mourning for him.

By way of punishment or disgrace.

Also in punishment. See Book III, iv, 2-5.

B.C. 711-694.

If we could see one dressed as in those early days, we should understand this better than we do.

Because of its expensiveness.

The five 'correct' colours were azure (###, of varying shade), scarlet (###; carnation, the colour of the flesh, white, black, and yellow. The 'intermediate' were green (###), red (###), jade-green (###), purple (###) and bay-yellow (###).

See the concluding article in the 'Narratives of the School.' The words of Confucius are understood to intimate a condemnation of Ki Khang-dze.

Made of black lamb's fur and white fox-fur.

Or, according to many, in giving charges about agriculture.

Of one colour, worn by the king, at a border sacrifice.

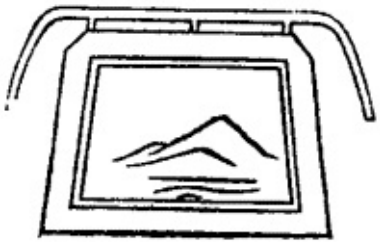
Or foreign dog. An animal like the tapir or rhinoceros is called by the same name, but cannot be meant here.

'The dress,' says Kang, 'worn by the common people.'

The bone seems to be specified; ### read pan. What bone and of what fish, I do not know.]

From this paragraph to the end of the part, the text is in great confusion; with characters missing here and there, and sentences thrown together without natural connexion. Khan Hâo has endeavoured to readjust them; but I have preferred to follow the order of the imperial and other editions. The Khien-lung editors advise the reader to do so, and make the best he can of them by means of Kang Hsüan's notes. Khan Hâo's order is paragraphs — 25, 19, 20, 27, 23, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28, 29. By this arrangement something like a train of thought can be made out.

The knee-covers of the prince of a state are represented thus —

and of a Great officer,  .

The middle suspender joined on to the top strap at the neck; the two others at the shoulders. On the central portions of the cover were represented certain of the emblems of distinction, according to the rank of the wearer: — dragons on the king's; flames on a prince's; and mountains on a Great officer's. But I do not think the makers of these figures had distinct ideas of the articles which they intended to represent. They certainly fail in giving the student such ideas. The colours, &c., moreover, appear to have varied with the occasions on which they were worn.]

This, according to the Khien-lung editors, was the girdle or sash of 'correct dress,' and white. The variegated girdles, they say, were worn in private and when at leisure.

The character for a knee-cover here (### fû) is different from that in paragraph 21 (###, pî); but the Khien-lung editors say their significance is exactly the same. How the knee-covers and supporter or balance-yard (###, hang) girdle pendant are spoken of together, I do not know.

The pheasants here referred to are described as I have done in the R-Ya. The 'wife' is supposed also to include the ladies called the king's 'three helpmates' in Book I, ii, Part ii, i.

Khan Hâo says, 'Man's length is 8 cubits; below the waist 4½ (= 45 inches). A third of this is 15 inches. 2 x 15 = 30 or 3 cubits, the length of the sash, and of the covers in par. 22.' The cubit must have been shorter than the name now indicates. I do not know what the 'ties' were.

Kang Hsüan took the ruler here to be feminine, and to mean ‘the queen;’ and, notwithstanding the protest of the Khien-lung editors, I think he was right. This paragraph and the next speak of the queen and ladies who were brought around her by their work in silk. Why may we not suppose that in her department she could confer distinction on the deserving as the king did in his? This passage seems to show that she did so.

These ladies— ‘hereditary wives’ — occur also in Bk. I, ii, Part ii, 1. It is commonly said that there were twenty-seven members of the royal harem, who had each that title; but there is much vagueness and uncertainty about all such statements. ‘The others’ must refer to the ladies, wives of the feudal lords and Great officers, whose rank gave them the privilege to co-operate with the queen in her direction of the nourishing of the silkworms and preparation of silk.

Section iii.

1. All (officers) in attendance on the ruler let the sash hang down till their feet seemed to tread on the lower edge (of their skirt). Their chins projected like-the eaves of a house, and their hands were clasped before them low down. Their eyes were directed downwards, and their ears were higher than the eyes. They saw (the ruler) from his girdle up to his ‘Collar. They listened to him with their ears turned to the left.

2. When the ruler called (an officer) to his presence, he might send three tokens. If two of them came to him, he ran (to answer the message); if (only) one, he yet walked quickly. If in his office, he did not wait for his shoes; if he were outside elsewhere, he did not wait for his carriage.

3. When an officer received a visit from a Great officer, he did not venture to bow (when he went) to meet him; but be did so when escorting him on his departure. When he went to visit one of higher rank than himself, he first bowed (at the gate) and then went into his presence. If the other bowed to him in replying, he hurried on one side to avoid (the honour).

4. When an officer was speaking before the ruler, if he had occasion to speak of a Great officer who was dead, he called him by his posthumous epithet, or by the designation of his maturity; if of an officer (who was similarly dead), he called him by his name. When speaking with a Great officer, he mentioned officers by their name, and (other) Great officers by their designation.

5. In speaking at a Great officer’s, he avoided using the name of the (former) ruler, but not that of any of his own dead. At all sacrifices and in the ancestral temple, there was no avoiding of names. In school there was no avoiding of any character in the text.

6. Anciently, men of rank did not fail to wear their girdle-pendants with their precious stones, those on the right giving the notes Kih and Kio, and those on the left Kung and Yü.

When (the king or ruler) was walking quickly (to the court of audience), he did so to the music of the Zhâi Khî; when walking more quickly (back to the reception-hall), they played the Sze hsiâ. When turning round, he made a complete circle; when turning in another direction, he did so at a right angle. When advancing, he inclined forward a little; he held himself up straight; and in all these movements, the pieces of jade emitted their tinklings. So also the man of rank, when in his carriage, heard the harmonious sounds of its bells; and, when walking, those of his pendant jade-stones; and in this way evil and depraved thoughts found no entrance into his mind.

7. When the ruler was present, (his son and heir) did not wear the pendant of jade-stones. He tied it up on the left of his girdle, and left free the pendant (of useful things) on the right. When seated at ease, he wore the (jade) pendant; but in court, he tied it up.

In fasting and vigil they wore it, but the strings were turned round, and fastened at the girdle. They wore then the purple knee-covers.

8. All wore the jade-stone pendant at the girdle, excepting during the mourning rites. (At the end of the middle string) in it was the tooth-like piece, colliding with the others. A man of rank was never without this pendant, excepting for some sufficient reason; he regarded the pieces of jade as emblematic of the virtues (which he should cultivate).

9. The son of Heaven had his pendant composed of beads of white jade, hung on dark-coloured strings; a duke or marquis, his of jade-beads of hill-azure, on vermilion strings; a Great officer, his of beads of aqua-marine, on black strings; an heir-son, his of beads of Yü jade, on variegated strings; an ordinary officer, his of beads of jade-like quartz, on orange-coloured strings.

Confucius wore at his pendant balls of ivory, five inches (round), on gray strings.

10. According to the regulations for (the dress of) a lad, his upper garment was of black linen, with an embroidered edging. His sash was embroidered, and (also) the strings for the button-loops (of his girdle). With such a string he bound up his hair. The embroidered border and strings were all red.

11. When the ends of fastening strings reached to the girdle, if they had any toilsome business to do, they put them aside. If they were running, they thrust them in the breast.

12. A lad did not wear furs, nor silk, nor the ornamental points on his shoes. He did not wear the three months' mourning. He did not wear the hempen band,

when receiving any orders. When he had nothing to do (in mourning rites), he stood on the north of the principal mourner, with his face to the south. When going to see a teacher, he followed in the suite of others, and entered his apartment.

13. When one was sitting at a meal with another older than himself, or of a different (and higher) rank, he was the last to put down the offering', but the first to taste the food. When the guest put down the offering, the host apologised, saying that the food was not worthy of such a tribute. When the guest was enjoying the viands, the host apologised for their being scanty and poor. When the host himself put down the pickle (for the guest), the guest himself removed it. When the members of a household ate together, not being host and guests, one of them removed the dishes; and the same was done When a company had eaten together. At all festival meals, the women (of the house) did not remove the dishes.

14. When eating dates, peaches, or plums, they did not cast the stones away (on the ground). They put down the first slice of a melon as an offering, ate the other slices, and threw away the part by which they held it. When others were eating fruits with a man of rank, they ate them after him; cooked viands they ate before him. At meetings of rejoicing, if there were not some gift from the ruler, they did not congratulate one another; at meetings of sorrow, ...

15. If one had any toilsome business to do, he took them in his hand. If he were running, he thrust them in his breast.

16. When Confucius was eating with (the head of) the Kî family, he made no attempt to decline anything, but finished his meal with the rice and liquid added to it, without eating any of the flesh.

17. When the ruler sent (to an officer) the gift of a carriage and horses, he used them in going to give thanks for them. When the gift was of clothes, he wore them on the same occasion. (In the case of similar gifts to a commissioner from the king), until his (own) ruler had given him orders to use them, he did not dare at once to do so. When the ruler's gift reached him, he bowed his head to the ground with his two hands also, laying one of them over the other. A gift of liquor and flesh did not require the second expression of thanks (by the visit).

18. Whenever a gift was conferred on a man of rank, nothing was given to a small man on the same day.

19. In all cases of presenting offerings to a ruler, a Great officer sent his steward with them, and an. ordinary officer went with them himself. In both cases they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground as they sent the things away; and again the steward and the officer did the same at the ruler's. If the offerings were of prepared food for the ruler, there were the accompaniments

of ginger and other pungent vegetables, of a peach-wood and a sedge-broom. A Great officer dispensed with the broom, and the officer with the pungent vegetables. (The bearers) went in with all the articles to the cook. The Great officer did not go in person to make obeisance, lest the ruler should come to respond to him.

20. When a Great officer went (next day) to do obeisance for the ruler's gift, he retired after performing the ceremony. An officer, (doing the same), waited to receive the ruler's acknowledgment (of his visit), and then retired, bowing again as he did so; but (the ruler) did not respond to his obeisance.

When a Great officer gave anything in person to an ordinary officer, the latter bowed on receiving it; and also went to his house to repeat the obeisance. He did not, however, wear the clothes (which might have been the gift), in going to make that obeisance in interchanges between) equals, if (the recipient) were in the house (when the gift arrived), he went and made his obeisance in the house (of the donor).

21. When any one presented an offering to his superior in rank, he did not dare to say directly that it was for him.

An ordinary officer did not presume to receive the congratulations of a Great officer; but a Great officer of the lowest grade did so from one of the highest.

When one was exchanging courtesies with another, if his father were alive, he would appeal to his authority; if the other gave him a gift, he would say, in making obeisance for it, that he did so for his father.

22. If the ceremony were not very great, the (beauty of the) dress was not concealed. In accordance with this, when the great robe of fur was worn, it was without the appendage of one of thin silk to display it, and when (the king) rode in the grand carriage, he did not bend forward to the cross-bar (to show his reverence for any one beyond the service he was engaged on).

23. When a father's summons came to him, a son reverently obeyed it without any delay. Whatever work he had in hand, he laid aside. He ejected the meat that was in his mouth, and ran, not contenting himself with a measured, though rapid pace. When his parents were old and he had gone away, he did not go to a second place, nor delay his return beyond the time agreed on; when they were ailing, his looks and manner appeared troubled: — these were less-important observances of a filial son.

24. When his father died, he could not (bear to) read his books; — the touch of his hand seemed still to be on them. When his mother died, he could not (bear to) drink from the cups and bowls that she had used; — the breath of her mouth seemed still to be on them.

25. When a ruler, (visiting another ruler), was about to enter the gate, the attendant dusted the low post (at the middle of the threshold). The Great officers stood midway between the side-posts and this short post (behind their respective rulers). An officer, acting as an attendant, brushed the side-posts. (A Great officer) on a mission from another court, did not enter at the middle of (either half of) the gate, nor tread on the threshold. If he were come on public business, he entered on the west of the short post; if on his own business, on the east of it.

26. A ruler and a representative of the dead brought their feet together step by step when they walked; a Great officer stepped along, one foot after the other; an ordinary officer kept the length of his foot between his steps. In walking slowly, they all observed these rules. In walking rapidly, while they wished to push on (and did so), they were not allowed to alter the motion either of hands or feet. In turning their feet inwards or outwards, they did not lift them up, and the edge of the lower garment dragged along, like the water of a stream. In walking on the mats it was the same.

When walking erect, (the body was yet bent, and) the chin projected like the eaves of a house, and their advance was straight as an arrow. When walking rapidly, the body had the appearance of rising constantly with an elevation of the feet. When carrying a tortoise-shell or (a symbol of) jade, they raised their toes and trailed their heels, presenting an appearance of carefulness.

27. In walking (on the road), the carriage of the body was straight and smart; in the ancestral temple, it was reverent and grave; in the court, it was exact and easy.

28. The carriage of a man of rank was easy, but somewhat slow;-grave and reserved, when he saw any one whom he wished to honour. He did not move his feet lightly, nor his hands irreverently. His eyes looked straightforward, and his mouth was kept quiet and composed. No sound from him broke the stillness, and his head was carried upright. His breath came without panting or stoppage, and his standing gave (the beholder) an impression of virtue. His looks were grave, and he sat like a personator of the dead. When at leisure and at ease, and in conversation, he looked mild and bland.

29. At all sacrifices, the bearing and appearance (of the worshippers) made it appear as if they saw those to whom they were sacrificing.

30. When engaged with the mourning rites, they had a wearied look, and an aspect of sorrow and unrest. Their eyes looked startled and dim, and their speech was drawling and low.

31. The carriage of a martialist was bold and daring; his speech had a tone of decision and command; his face was stern and determined; and his eyes were clear and bright.

32. He stood with an appearance of lowliness, but with no indication of subserviency. His head rose straight up from the centre of the neck. He stood (firm) as a mountain, and his movements were well timed. His body was well filled with the volume of his breath, which came forth powerfully like that of nature. His complexion showed (the beauty and strength of) a piece of jade.

33. When they spoke of themselves, the style of the son of Heaven was, 'I, the One man;' a chief of regions described himself as 'The strong minister of the son of Heaven; the relation of a feudal lord expressed itself by 'So and So, the guardian of such and such a territory.' If the fief were on the borders, he used the style— 'So and So, the minister in such and such a screen.' Among his equals and those below him, he called himself 'The man of little virtue.' The ruler of a small state called himself 'The orphan.' The officer who answered for him (at a higher court) also styled him so.

34. A Great officer of the highest grade (at his own court), called himself 'Your inferior minister;' (at another court), his attendant who answered for him, described him as 'The ancient of our poor ruler.' A Great officer of the lowest grade (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as 'Our unworthy Great officer.' The son and heir of a feudal prince (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as 'The rightful son of our unworthy ruler.'

35. A ruler's son (by an inferior lady) called himself 'Your minister, the shoot from the stock.' An (ordinary) officer styled himself 'Your minister, the fleet courier;' to a Great officer, he described himself as 'The outside commoner.' When a Great officer went on a mission about private affairs, a man of his private establishment went with him as his spokesman, and called him by his name.

36. When an officer belonging to the ruler's establishment acted (at another court for a Great officer), he spoke of him as 'Our unworthy Great officer,' or 'The ancient of our unworthy ruler.'

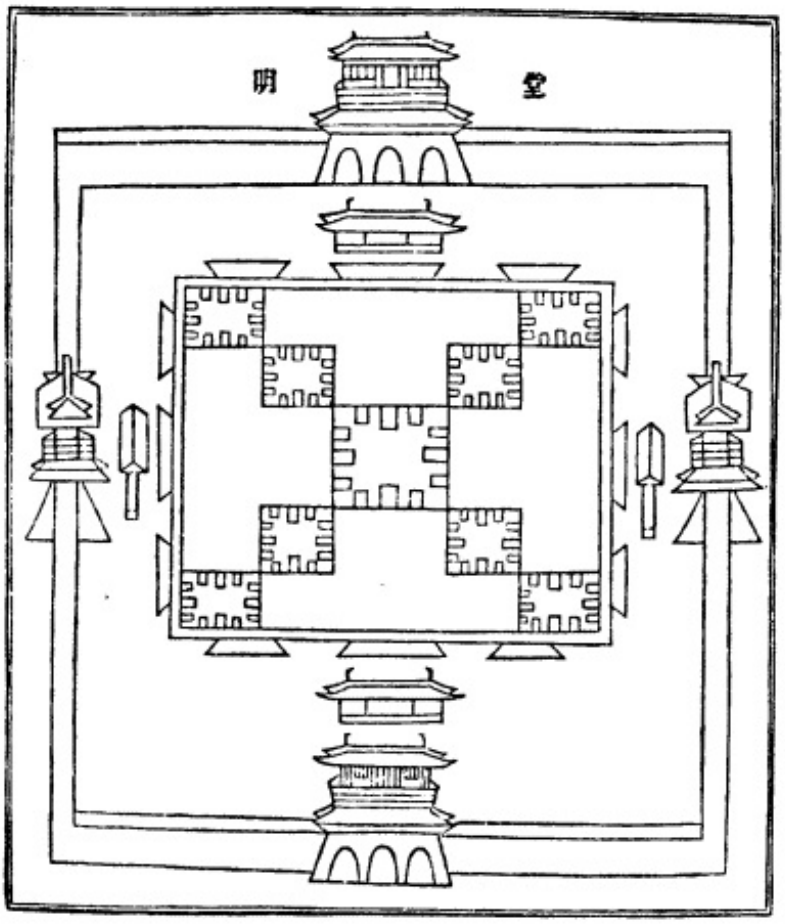
When a Great officer went on any mission, it was the rule that he should have such an officer from the ruler's establishment with him, to answer for him.

BOOK XII. MING THANG WEI

or

The Places in the Hall of Distinction.

PLAN OF THE HALL OF DISTINCTION.



1. Formerly, when the duke of Kâu gave audience to the feudal princes in their several places. in the Hall of Distinction, the son of Heaven stood with his back to the axe-embroidered screen , and his face towards the south.

2. The three dukes were in front of the steps, in the middle, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the most honourable position. The places of the marquises were at the east of the eastern steps, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the most honourable position. The lords of the earldoms were at the west of the western steps, with their faces to the east, inclining also and for the same reason to the north. The counts were on the east of the gate,

with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the more honourable position. The barons were on the west of the gate, with their faces to the north, inclining also and for the same reason to the east.

3. The chiefs of the nine Î were outside the eastern door, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the position of honour; those of the eight Mân were outside the door on the south, with their faces to the north, inclining for the same reason to the cast; those of the six Zung were outside the door on the west, with their faces to the east, inclining for the same reason to the south; and those of the five Tî were outside the door on the north, with their faces to the south, inclining for the same reason to the east.

4. The chiefs of the nine Zhâi were outside the Ying gate, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the position of honour for them; those of the four Sâi (also) came, who had only once in their time to announce their arrival (at the court). These were the places of the lords in the Hall of Distinction (when they appeared before) the duke of Kâu.

5. The Hall of Distinction was so called, because in it the rank of the princes was clearly shown as high or low.

6. Formerly, when Kâu of Yin was throwing the whole kingdom into confusion, he made dried slices of (the flesh of) the marquis of Kwei, and used them in feasting the princes. On this account the duke of Kâu assisted king Wû in attacking Kâu. When king Wû died, king Khang being young and weak, the duke took the seat of the son of Heaven, and governed the kingdom. During six years he gave audience to all the princes in the Hall of Distinction; instituted ceremonies, made his instruments of music, gave out his (standard) weights and measures, and there was a grand submission throughout the kingdom.

7. In the seventh year, he resigned the government to king Khang; and he, in consideration of the duke's services to the kingdom, invested him with (the territory about) Khü-fû, seven hundred lî square, and sending forth a thousand chariots of war. He (also) gave charge that (the princes of) Lû, from generation to generation, should sacrifice to the duke of Kâu with the ceremonies and music proper at a sacrifice by the son of Heaven.

8. Thus it was that the rulers of Lû, in the first month of spring, rode in a grand carriage, displaying the banner, suspended from its bow-like arm, with the twelve streamers, and having the sun and moon emblazoned on it, to sacrifice to God in the suburb of their metropolis, associating Hâu Kî as his assessor in the service; — according to the ceremonies used by the son of Heaven.

9. In the last month of summer, the sixth month, they used the ceremonies of the great sacrifice in sacrificing to the duke of Kâu in the great ancestral temple, employing for the victim to him a white bull. The cups were those with the

figure of a victim bull, of an elephant, and of hills and clouds; that for the fragrant spirits was the one with gilt eyes on it. For libations they used the cup of jade with the handle made of a long rank-symbol. The dishes with the offerings were on stands of wood, adorned with jade and carved. The cups for the personator were of jade carved in the same way. There were also the plain cups and those of horn, adorned with round pieces of jade; and for the meat-stands, they used those with four feet and the cross-binders.

10. (The singers) went up to the hall (or stage), and sang the Khing Miâo; (in the court) below, (the pantomimes) performed the Hsiang dance, to the accompaniment of the wind instruments. With their red shields and jade-adorned axes, and in their caps with pendants, they danced to the music of the Tâ Wû; in their skin caps, and large white skirts gathered at the waist, and jacket of silk, they danced the Tâ Hsiâ. There (were also) the Mei, or music of the wild tribes of the East; and the Zan, or music of those of the South. The introduction of these two in the grand temple was to signalise the distinction of Lû all over the kingdom.

11. The ruler, in his dragon-figured robe and cap with pendants, stood at the eastern steps; and his wife, in her head-dress and embroidered robe, stood in her room. The ruler, with shoulder bared, met the victim at the gate; his wife brought in the stands for the dishes. The ministers and Great officers assisted the ruler; their wives assisted his wife. Each one discharged the duty proper to him or her. Any officer who neglected his duty was severely punished; and throughout the kingdom there was a great acknowledgment of, and submission to, (the worth of the duke of Kâu).

12. (In Lû) they offered (also) the sacrifices of summer, autumn, and winter (in the ancestral temple); with those at the altars of the land and grain in spring, and that at the autumnal hunt, going on to the great sacrifice of thanksgiving at the end of the year: — all (after the pattern of) the sacrifices of the son of Heaven.

13. The grand temple (of Lû) corresponded to the Hall of Distinction of the son of Heaven, the Khû gate of the (marquis's palace) to the Kâo (or outer) gate of the king's, and the Kih gate to the Ying. They shook the bell with the wooden clapper in the court as was done in the royal court, in announcing governmental orders.

14. The capitals of the pillars with hills carved on them, and the pond-weed carving on the small pillars above the beams; the second storey and the great beams projecting under the eaves; the polished pillars and the windows opposite to one another; the earthen stand on which the cups, after being used, were placed; the high stand on which the jade tokens were displayed aloft; and the

slightly carved screen: — all these were ornaments of the temple of the son of Heaven.

15. (The princes of Lû) had, as carriages, that of (Shun), the lord of Yü, furnished with bells; that of the sovereign of Hsiâ, with its carved front; the Great carriage (of wood), or that of Yin; and the carriage (adorned with jade), or that of Kâu.

16. They had, as flags or banners, that of (Shun), the lord of Yü; the yak's tail of the sovereign of Hsiâ; the great white flag of Yin; and the corresponding red one of Kâu.

17. They had the white horses of the sovereign of Hsiâ, with their black manes; the white horses of Yin, with their black heads; and the bay horses of Kâu, with red manes. The sovereigns of Hsiâ preferred black victims; those of Yin, white; and those of Kâu, victims which were red and strong.

18. Of jugs for liquor, they had the earthenware jug of the lord of Yü; the jug of Hsiâ, with clouds and hills figured on it; the ko of Yin, with no base, which rested directly on the ground; and the jugs of Kâu, with a victim-bull or an elephant on them.

19. For bowls or cups they had the kân of Hsiâ; the kiâ of Yin; and the kiâ of Kâu.

20. For libations they had the jug of Hsiâ, with a cock on it; the kiâ of Yin; and that of Kâu, with gilt eyes on it.

For ladles they had that of Hsiâ, with the handle ending in a dragon's head; that of Yin, slightly carved all over; and that of Kâu, with the handle like plaited rushes.

21. They had the earthen drum, with clods for the drumstick and the reed pipe, — producing the music of Î-khî; the pillow-like bundles of chaff, which were struck; the sounding stone of jade; the instruments rubbed or struck, (to regulate the commencement and close of the music); the great lute and great cithern; the medium lute and little citherns: the musical instruments of the four dynasties.

22. The temple of the duke of Lû was maintained from generation to generation like that of (king) Wan (in the capital of Kâu), and the temple of duke Wû in the same way like that of (king) Wû.

23. They had the hsiang (school) of the lord of Yü, in connexion with which were kept the stores of (sacrificial) rice; the hsü school of the sovereign of Hsiâ; the school of Yin, in which the blind were honoured; and the college of Kâu, with its semicircle of water.

24. They had the tripods of Khung and Kwan; the great jade hemisphere; and the tortoise-shell of Fang-fû: — all articles (properly) belonging to the son of

Heaven. They (also) had the lance of Yüeh; and the great bow, — military weapons of the son of Heaven.

25. They had the drum of Hsiâ supported on four legs; that of Yin supported on a single pillar; the drums of Kâu, pendent from a stand; the peal of bells of Sui; the differently toned khing (sonorous stones) of Shû; and the organ of Nü-kwâ, with its tongues.

26. They had the music-stand of Hsiâ, with its face-board and posts, on which dragons were carved; that of Yin, with the high-toothed face-board; and that of Kâu, with its round ornaments of jade, and feathers (hung from the corners).

27. They had the two tui of the lord of Yü (for holding the grain at sacrifices); the four lien of Hsiâ; the six hû of Yin; and the eight kwei of Kâu.

28. They had for stands (on which to set forth the flesh of the victims), the khwan of Shun; the küeh of Hsiâ; the kü of Yin; and the room-like stand of Kâu. For the tall supports of the dishes, they used those of Hsiâ of unadorned wood; those of Yin, adorned with jade; and those of Kâu, with feathers carved on them.

29. They had the plain leather knee-covers of Shun; those of Hsiâ, with hills represented on them; those of Yin, with flames; and those of Kâu, with dragons.

30. They used for their sacrificial offerings (to the father of Cookery), like the lord of Yü, (portions of) the head; like the sovereigns of Hsiâ, (portions of) the heart; as they did under Yin, (portions of) the liver; and as they did under Kâu, (portions of) the lungs.

31. They used the bright water preferred by Hsiâ; the unfermented liquor preferred by Yin; and the completed liquor preferred by Kâu.

32. They used (the names) of the 50 officers of the lord of Yü; of the 100 of thc sovereigns of Hsiâ; of the 200 of Yin; and of the 300 of Kâu.

33. (At their funerals) they used the feathery ornaments of the lord of Yü; the wrappings of white silk (about the flag-staffs) of the sovereigns of Hsiâ; (the flags) with their toothed edges of Yin; and the round pieces of jade and plumes Of Kâu.

34. Lû (thus) used the robes, vessels and officers of all the four dynasties, and so it observed the royal ceremonies. It long transmitted them everywhere. Its rulers and ministers never killed one another, Its rites, music, punishments, laws, governmental proceedings, manners and customs never changed. Throughout the kingdom it was considered the state which exhibited the right ways; and therefore dependence, was placed on it in the matters of ceremonies and music.

BOOK XIII. SANG FÛ HSIÂO KÎ

or

Record of Smaller Matters in the Dress of Mourning.

Section I.

1. When wearing the unhemmed sackcloth (for a father), (the son) tied up his hair with a hempen (band), and also when wearing it for a mother. When he exchanged this band for the cincture (in the case of mourning for his mother), this was made of linen cloth.

(A wife), when wearing the (one year's mourning) of sackcloth with the edges even, had the girdle (of the same), and the inferior hair-pin (of hazel-wood), and wore these to the end of the mourning.

2. (Ordinarily) men wore the cap, and women the hair-pin; (in mourning) men wore the cincture, and women the same after the female fashion.

The idea was (simply) to maintain in this way a distinction between them.

3. The dark-coloured staff was of bamboo; that paired and fashioned (at the end) was of eleococca wood.

4. When the grandfather was dead, and afterwards (the grandson) had to go into mourning for his grandmother, he, being the representative of the family (through the death of his father), did so for three years.

5. The eldest son (at the mourning rites) for his father or mother, (before bowing to a visitor who had come to condole with him), first laid his forehead to the ground (as an expression of his sorrow).

When a Great officer came to condole (with an ordinary officer), though it might be (only) in a case of the three months' mourning (the latter first) laid his forehead to the ground.

A wife, at the rites for her husband or eldest son, bowed her head to the ground before she saluted a visitor; but in mourning for others, she did not do so.

6. The man employed to preside (at the mourning rites) was required to be of the same surname (as the deceased parent); the wife so employed, of a different surname.

7. The son who was his father's successor (as now head of the family) did not wear mourning for his mother who had been divorced.

8. In counting kindred (and the mourning to be worn of them), the three closest degrees become expanded into five, and those five again into nine. The

mourning diminished as the degrees ascended or descended, and the collateral branches also were correspondingly less mourned for; and the mourning for kindred thus came to an end.

9. At the great royal sacrifice to all ancestors, the first place was given to him from whom the founder of the line sprang, and that founder had the place of assessor to him. There came thus to be established four ancestral shrines. In the case of a son by another than the queen coming to be king, the same course was observed.

10. When a son other than (the eldest) became the ancestor (of a branch of the same line), his successor was its Honoured Head, and he who followed him (in the line) was its smaller Honoured Head. After five generations there was a change again of the Honoured Head; but all in continuation of the High Ancestor.

11. Hence the removal of the ancestor took place high up (in the line), and the change of the Honoured Head low down (in it). Because they honoured the ancestor, they reverenced the Honoured Head; their reverencing the Honoured Head was the way in which they expressed the honour which they paid to the ancestor and his immediate successor.

12. That any other son but the eldest did not sacrifice to his grandfather showed that (only he was in the direct line from) the Honoured Head (of their branch of the family). So, no son but he wore the (three years) unhemmed sackcloth for his eldest son, because the eldest son of no other continued (the direct line) of the grandfather and father.

13. None of the other sons sacrificed to a son (of his own) who had died prematurely, or one who had left no posterity. (The tablet of) such an one was placed along with that of his grandfather, and shared in the offerings made to him.

14. Nor could any of them sacrifice to their father; showing that (the eldest son was the representative of) the Honoured Head.

15. (In the distinctions of the mourning) for the kindred who are the nearest, the honoured ones to whom honour is paid, the elders who are venerated for their age, and as the different tributes to males and females; there are seen the greatest manifestations of the course which is right for men.

16. Where mourning would be worn from one's relation with another for parties simply on the ground of that affinity, when that other was dead, the mourning ceased. Where it would have been worn for them on the ground of consanguinity, even though that other were dead, it was still worn.

When a concubine had followed a ruler's wife to the harem, and the wife came to be divorced, the concubine, (following her out of the harem), did not

wear mourning for her son.

17. According to the rules, no one but the king offered the united sacrifice to all ancestors.

18. The heir-son (of the king or a feudal lord) did not diminish the mourning for the parents of his wife. For his wife he wore the mourning which the eldest and rightful son of a Great officer did for his.

19. When the father was an officer, and the son came to be king or a feudal prince, the father was sacrificed to with the rites of a king or a lord; but the personator wore the dress of an officer. When the father had been the son of Heaven, or a feudal lord, and the son was (only) an officer, the father was sacrificed to with the rites of an officer, but his personator wore only the dress of an officer.

20. If a wife were divorced while wearing the mourning (for her father or mother-in-law), she put it off. If the thing took place while she was wearing the mourning for her own parents, and before she had completed the first year's mourning, she continued to wear it for the three years; but if that term had been completed, she did not resume the mourning.

If she were called back before the completion of the year, she wore it to the end of that term; but if that term had been completed before she was called back, she went on wearing it to the regular term of mourning for parents.

21. The mourning which lasted for two complete years was (held to be) for three years; and that which lasted for one complete year for two years. The mourning for nine months and that for seven months was held to be for three seasons; that for five months for two; and that for three months for one. Hence the sacrifice at the end of the completed year was according, to the prescribed rule; but the putting off the mourning (or a part of it) then was the course (prompted by natural feeling). The sacrifice was not on account of the putting off of the mourning.

22. When the interment (for some reason) did not take place till after the three years, it was the rule that the two sacrifices (proper at the end of the first and second years) should then be offered. Between them, but not all at the same time, the mourning was put off.

23. If a relative who had himself to wear only the nine months' mourning for the deceased took the direction of the mourning rites in the case of any who must continue their mourning for three years, it was the rule that he should offer for them the two annual terminal sacrifices. If one who was merely a friend took that direction, he only offered the sacrifice of Repose, and that at the placing of the tablet in the shrine.

24. When the concubine of an officer had a son, he wore the three months' mourning for her. If she had no son, he did not do so.

25. When one had been born (in another state), and had had no intercourse with his grand-uncles and aunts, uncles and cousins, and his father, on hearing of the death of any of them, proceeded to wear mourning, he did not do so.

26. If one did not (through being abroad) hear of the death of his ruler's father or mother, wife or eldest son, till the ruler had put off his mourning, he did not proceed to wear any.

27. If it were a case, however, where the mourning was reduced to that of three months, he wore it.

28. (Small) servants in attendance on the ruler, (who had followed him abroad), when he assumed mourning (on his return, for relatives who had died when he was away), also put it on. Other and (higher officers in his train) also did so; but if the proper term for the mourning in the case were past, they did not do so. (Those who had remained at home), though the ruler could not know of their doing so, had worn the (regular) mourning.

See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, page 30.

This was done after the slighter dressing of the corpse. The cincture (wan, ###) is mentioned in the first paragraph of the Than Kung (vol. xxvii, page 120). The hempen band being removed, one of linen cloth, about the breadth of which there are different accounts, was put round the hair on the crown, taken forward to the forehead, there crossed, taken back again, and knotted at the back of the hair.

The text does not mention 'the wife' here; but a comparison of different passages shows that this sentence is only applicable to her.

Anciently, it is said, there was no distinction between these two cinctures, but in the name. There probably came to be some difference between them; but what it was I cannot discover.

This is found also in the Î Lî, XXXII, 5; but the interpretation there is as difficult as here. The translation of the first character (###, zhü) by 'dark-coloured' is from Khung Ying-tâ. 3. The paring away the end of the dryandria branch was to make it square. The round bamboo was carried in mourning for a father, and was supposed to symbolise heaven; the other was carried in mourning for a mother, and its square end symbolised earth. What heaven and earth were to nature that the father and mother were to a child. I can make nothing more or better of the passage.

We do not see how this instance coheres with the former one; nor why the two are brought together.

The ‘others,’ according to Kang, must be understood of her own parents. She was now identified with a family of another surname; and her husband’s relatives were more to her than her own.

The son and his wife who should have presided are supposed to be dead. The wife elected for the office would be the wife of some other member of the family, herself therefore of a different surname.

The three closest degrees are ‘father, son, and son’s son.’ Add the grandfather and grandson (counting from the son), and we have five; great-grandfather and great-grandson (here omitted), and we have seven. Then great-great-grandfather and great-great-grandson, make nine; and the circle of kindred, for whom mourning should be worn, is complete. See Appendix, Book II, vol. xxvii.

This statement about the four shrines has given occasion to much writing.

The subject imperfectly described in these two paragraphs, — the manner in which a family, ever lengthening its line and multiplying its numbers, was divided into collateral branches, will come before the reader again in the next Book.

It is difficult to catch exactly the thought in the writer of these, and several of the adjacent, sentences. Even the native critics, down to the Khien-lung editors, seem to experience the difficulty.

Khung Ying-tâ specifies six cases coming under the former of these cases,’ and four under the second. It is not necessary to set them forth. The Khien-lung editors say that the paragraph has reference only to the practice of the officer; for a Great officer did not wear mourning either for his wife or mother’s kin.

This concubine would be either of the near relatives of the wife, who had gone with her on her marriage.

This paragraph is out of place. It should have formed part, probably, of paragraph 9.

The sackcloth for one year, without carrying the staff.

Both the cases in this paragraph can hardly be taken as anything more than hypothetical. On the concluding statement, the Khien-lung editors ask how the robes of a king could be exhibited in the ancestral temple of an officer.

See the introduction on Book XXXV, vol. xxvii, page 49.

We have not met before with this mourning term of seven months. It occurs in the Î Lî, Book XXIV, 6, as to be worn for those who had died in the second degree of prematurity between the age of twelve and fifteen inclusive.

‘This remark is made by the compiler,’ say the Khien-lung editors, ‘to guard against the sudden abandonment of their grief by the mourners, as if they had done with the deceased when the mourning was concluded.’

After the first, it is said, men put off the mourning headband, and women that of the girdle. After the second they both put off their sackcloth.

Because of the youth of the son, or of some other reason existing in the case. The director would himself be a cousin.

But Great officers wore the three months' mourning for the relatives who had accompanied their wives to the harem, though they might have had no son. No such relatives accompanied the wife of an officer.

This, it is supposed, should follow paragraph 25. There are doubts as to the interpretation of it.

Section ii.

1. (The presiding mourner), after the sacrifice of Repose, did not carry his staff in proceeding to his apartment; after the placing of the tablet of the deceased (in the shrine of the grandfather), he did not carry it in going up to the hall.

2. The (son of another lady of the harem), who had been adopted as the child of the (childless) wife of the ruler, when that wife died, did not go into mourning for her kindred.

3. The sash was shorter (than the headband), by one-fifth of the length (of the latter). The staff was of the same length as the sash.

4. For the ruler's eldest son a concubine wore mourning for the same time as his wife, (the son's mother).

5. In putting off the mourning attire, they commenced with what was considered most important. In changing it, they commenced with what was considered least important.

6. When there was not the (regular) occasion for it, they did not open the door of the temple. All wailed in the (mourning) shed (at other times).

7. In calling the dead back, and writing the inscription (to be exhibited over the coffin), the language was the same for all, from the son of Heaven to the ordinary officer. A man was called by his name. For a wife they wrote her surname, and her place among her sisters. If they did not know her surname, they wrote the branch-name of her family.

8. The girdle of dolychos cloth assumed with the unhemmed sackcloth (at the end of the wailing), and the hempen girdle worn when one (first) put on the hemmed sackcloth (of one year's mourning), were of the same size. The girdle of dolychos cloth assumed (as a change) in the hemmed sackcloth mourning, and that of hempen cloth at the (beginning of the) nine months' mourning, were of the same size. When the occasion for assuming the girdle of the lighter mourning occurred, a man wore both it and the other together.

9. An early interment was followed by an early sacrifice of repose. But they did not end their wailing till the three months were completed.

10. When the mourning rites for both parents occurred at the same time, the sacrifices of repose and of the enshrining of the tablet, for the (mother) who was buried first, did not take place till after the burial of the father. The sackcloth worn at her interment was the unhemmed and jagged.

11. A Great officer reduced the (period of) mourning for a son by a concubine; but his grandson, (the son of that son), did not reduce his mourning for his father.

12. A Great officer did not preside at the mourning rites for an (ordinary) officer.

13. For the parents of his nurse a man did not wear mourning.

14. When the husband had become the successor and representative of some other man (than his own father), his wife wore the nine months' mourning for his parents-in-law.

15. When the tablet of an (ordinary) officer was placed in the shrine of (his grandfather who had been) a Great officer, the victim due to him (as an officer) was changed (for that due to a Great officer).

16. A son who had not lived with his stepfather (did not wear mourning for him). (They) must have lived together and both be without sons to preside at their mourning rites; and (the stepfather moreover) must have shared his resources with the son, and enabled him to sacrifice to his grandfather and father, (in order to his wearing mourning for him); — under these conditions they were said to live together. If they had sons to preside at the mourning rites for them, they lived apart.

17. When people wailed for a friend, they did so outside the door (of the principal apartment), on the left of it, with their faces towards the south.

18. When one was buried in a grave already occupied, there was no divination about the site (in the second case).

19. The tablet of an (ordinary) officer or of a Great officer could not be placed in the shrine of a grandfather who had been the lord of a state; it was placed in that of a brother of the grandfather who had been an (ordinary) officer or a Great officer, The tablet of his wife was placed by the tablet of that brother's wife, and that of his concubine by the tablet of that brother's concubine.

If there had been no such concubine, it was placed by the tablet of that brother's grandfather; for in all such places respect was had to the rules concerning the relative positions assigned to the tablets of father and son. The tablet of a feudal lord could not be placed in the shrine of the son of Heaven

(from whom he was born or descended); but that of the son of Heaven, of a feudal lord, or of a Great officer, could be placed in the shrine of an (ordinary) officer (from whom he was descended).

20. For his mother's mother, who had been the wife proper of her father, if his mother were dead, a son did not wear mourning.

21. The son who was the lineal Head of his new branch of the surname, even though his mother were alive, (his father being dead), completed the full period of mourning for his wife.

22. A concubine's son who had been reared by another, might act as son to that other; and she might be any concubine of his father or of his grandfather.

23. The mourning went on to the than ceremony for a parent, a wife, and the eldest son.

24. To a nursing mother, or any concubine who was a mother, sacrifice was not maintained for a second generation.

25. When a grown-up youth had been capped, (and died), though his death could not be considered premature; and a (young) wife, after having worn the hair-pin, (died), though neither could her death be said to be premature; yet, (if they died childless), those who would have presided at their rites, if they had died prematurely, wore the mourning for them which they would then have done.

26. If an interment were delayed (by circumstances) for a long time, he who was presiding over the mourning rites was the only one who did not put off his mourning. The others having worn the hempen (band) for the number of months (proper in their relation to the deceased), put off their mourning, and made an end of it.

27. The hair-pin of the arrow-bamboo was worn by (an unmarried daughter for her father) to the end of the three years' mourning.

28. That in which those who wore the sackcloth with even edges for three months, and those who wore (it) for all the nine months' mourning agreed, was the shoes made of strings (of hemp).

29. When the time was come for the sacrifice at the end of the first year's mourning, they consulted the divining stalks about the day for it, and the individual who was to act as personator of the deceased. They looked that everything was clean, and that all wore the proper girdle, carried their staffs, and had on the shoes of hempen-string. When the officers charged with this announced that all was ready, (the son) laid aside his staff, and assisted at the divinations for the day and for the personator. The officers having announced that these were over, he resumed his staff, bowed to the guests (who had arrived in the meantime), and escorted them away. At the sacrifice for the end of the

second year, (the son) wore his auspicious (court) robes, and divined about the personator.

30. The son of a concubine, living in the same house with his father, did not observe the sacrifice at the end of the mourning for his mother.

Nor did such a son carry his staff in proceeding to his place for wailing.

As the father did not preside at the mourning rites for the son of a concubine, that son's son might carry his staff in going to his place for wailing. Even while the father was present, the son of a concubine, in mourning for his wife, might carry his staff in going to that place.

31. When a feudal prince went to condole on the death of a minister of another state, (being himself there on a visit), the ruler of that state received him and acted as the presiding mourner. The rule was that he should wear the skin cap and the starched sackcloth. Though the deceased on account of whom he paid his condolences had been interred, the presiding mourner wore the mourning cincture. If he had not yet assumed the full mourning dress, the visitor also did not wear that starched sackcloth.

32. One who was ministering to another who was ill did not do so in the mourning clothes (which he might be wearing); and (if the patient died), he might go on to preside at the mourning rites for him. But if another relative, who had not ministered to the deceased in his illness, came in to preside at the rites for him, he did not change the mourning which he might be wearing. In ministering to one more honourable than himself, the rule required a person to change the mourning he might be wearing, but not if the other were of lower position.

33. If there had been no concubine of her husband's grandmother by whose tablet that of a deceased concubine might be placed, it might be placed by that of the grandmother, the victim offered on the occasion being changed.

34. In the mourning rites for a wife, at the sacrifices of repose and on the ending of the wailing, her husband or son presided; when her tablet was put in its place, her father-in-law presided.

35. An (ordinary) officer did not take the place of presiding (at the mourning rites) for a Great officer. It was only when he was the direct descendant of the Honoured Head of their branch of the surname that he could do so.

36. If a cousin arrived from another state (to take part in the rites), before the presiding mourner had put off his mourning, the latter received him in the part of host, but without the mourning cincture.

37. The course pursued in displaying the articles, (vessels to the eye of fancy, to be put into the grave), was this: — If they were (too) many as displayed, a

portion of them might be put into the grave; if they were comparatively few as displayed, they might all be put into it.

38. Parties hurrying to the mourning rites for a brother or cousin (whose burial had taken place) first went to the grave and afterwards to the house, selecting places at which to perform their wailing. If the deceased had (only) been an acquaintance, they (first) wailed in the apartment (where the coffin had been), and afterwards went to the grave.

39. A father (at the mourning rites) for any of his other sons did not pass the night in the shed outside (the middle door, as for his eldest son by his wife).

40. The brothers and cousins of a feudal prince wore the unhemmed sackcloth (in mourning for him).

41. In the five months' mourning for one who had died in the lowest stage of immaturity, the sash was of bleached hemp from which the roots were not cut away. These were turned back and tucked in.

42. When the tablet of a wife was to be placed by that of her husband's grandmother, if there were three (who could be so denominated), it was placed by that of her who' was the mother of her husband's father.

43. In the case of a wife dying while her husband was a Great officer, and his ceasing, after her death, to be of that rank; if his tablet were placed (on his death) by that of his wife, the victim on the occasion was not changed (from that due to an ordinary officer). But if her husband (who had been an officer) became a Great officer after her death, then the victim at the placing of his tablet by hers was that due to a Great officer.

44. A son who was or would be his fathers successor did not wear mourning for his divorced mother. He did not wear such mourning, because one engaged in mourning rites could not offer sacrifice.

45. When a wife did not preside at the mourning rites and yet carried the staff, it was when her mother-in-law was alive, and she did so for her husband. A mother carried the eleococca staff with its end cut square for the oldest son. A daughter, who was still in her apartment unmarried, carried a staff for her father or mother. If the relative superintending the rites did not carry the staff, then this one child did so.

46. In the mourning for three months and five months, at the sacrifice of repose and the ending of the wailing, they wore the mourning cincture.

After the interment, if they did not immediately go to perform the sacrifice of repose, they all, even the presiding mourner, wore their caps; but when they came to the sacrifice of repose, they all assumed the cincture.

When they had put off the mourning for a relative, on the arrival of his interment, they resumed it; and when they came to the sacrifice of repose and the

ending of the wailing, they put on the cincture. If they did not immediately perform the sacrifice, they put it off.

When they had been burying at a distance, and were returning to wail, they put on their caps. On arriving at the suburbs, they put on the cincture, and came back to wail.

47. If the ruler came to condole with mourners, though it might not be the time for wearing the cincture, even the president of the rites assumed it, and did not allow the ends of his hempen girdle to hang loose. Even in the case of a visit from the ruler of another state, they assumed the cincture. The relatives all did so.

48. When they put off the mourning for one who had died prematurely, the rule was that at the (accompanying sacrifice, the dress should be dark-coloured. When they put off the mourning for one fully grown, they wore their court robes, with the cap of white, plain, silk.

49. A son, who had hurried to the mourning rites of his father (from a distance), bound up his hair in the raised hall, bared his chest, descended to the court, and there performed his leaping. (The leaping over, he reascended), covered his chest, and put on his sash in an apartment on the east.

If the rites were for his mother, he did not bind up his hair. He bared his chest, however, in the hall, descended to the court, and went through his leaping. (Reascending then), he covered his chest, and put on the cincture in the apartment on the east. In the girdle (or the cincture), he proceeded to the appointed place, and completed the leaping. He then went out from the door (of the coffin-room), and went to (the mourning shed). The wailing commencing at death had by this time ceased. In three days he wailed five times, and thrice bared his chest for the leaping.

50. When an eldest son and his wife could not take the place hereafter of his parents, then, (in the event of her death), her mother-in-law wore for her (only) the five months' mourning.

BOOK XIV. TÂ KWAN

or

The Great Treatise.

According to the rules, only the king offered the united sacrifice to all ancestors. The chief place was then given to him from whom the founder of the line sprang, and that founder had the place of assessor to him.

The sacrifices of the princes of states reached to their highest ancestor. Great officers and other officers, who had performed great services, when these were examined (and approved) by the ruler, were able to carry their sacrifices up to their high ancestor.

2. The field of Mû-yeh was the great achievement of king Wû. When he withdrew after the victory, he reared a burning pile to God; prayed at the altar of the earth; and set forth his offerings in the house of Mû. He then led all the princes of the kingdom, bearing his offerings in their various stands, and hurrying about, and carried the title of king back to Thâi who was Than-fû, Kî-lî, and king Wan who was Khang; — he would not approach his honourable ancestors with their former humbler titles.

3. Thus he regulated the services to be rendered to his father and grandfather before him; — giving honour to the most honourable. He regulated the places to be given to his sons and grandsons below him; — showing his affection to his kindred. He regulated (also) the observances for the collateral branches of his cousins;-associating all their members in the feasting. He defined their places according to their order of descent; and his every distinction was in harmony with what was proper and right. In this way the procedure of human duty was made complete.

4. When a sage sovereign stood with his face to the south, and all the affairs of the kingdom came before him, there were five things which for the time claimed his first care, and the people were not reckoned among them. The first was the regulating what was due to his kindred (as above) the second, the reward of merit; the third, the promotion of worth; the fourth, the employment of ability; and the fifth, the maintenance of a loving vigilance. When these five things were all fully realised, the people had all their necessities satisfied, all that they wanted supplied. If one of them were defective, the people could not complete their lives in comfort.

It was necessary for a sage on the throne of government to begin with the (above) procedure of human duty.

5. The appointment of the measures of weight, length, and capacity; the fixing the elegancies (of ceremony); the changing the commencement of the year and month; alterations in the colour of dress; differences of flags and their blazonry; changes in vessels and weapons, and distinctions in dress: these were things, changes in which could be enjoined on the people. But no changes could be enjoined upon them in what concerned affection for kin, the honour paid to the honourable, the respect due to the aged, and the different positions and functions of male and female.

6. Members of the same surname were united together in the various ramifications of their kinship, under the Heads of their different branches. Those of a different surname had their mutual relations regulated principally by the names assigned to them. Those names being clearly set forth, the different positions of males and females were determined.

When the husband belonged to the class of fathers [or uncles], the wife was placed in that of mothers [or aunts]; when he belonged to the class of sons [or cousins], the wife was placed in that of (junior) wives. Since the wife of a younger brother was (thus) styled (junior) wife, could the wife of his elder brother be at the same time styled mother [or aunt]? The name or appellation is of the greatest importance in the regulation of the family: — was not anxious care required in the declaration of it?

7. For parties four generations removed (from the same common ancestor) the mourning was reduced to that worn for three months, and this was the limit of wearing the hempen cloth. If the generations were five, the shoulders were bared and the cincture assumed; and in this way the mourning within the circle of the same was gradually reduced. After the sixth generation the bond of kinship was held to be at an end.

8. As the branch-surnames which arose separated the members of them from their relatives of a former time, and the kinship disappeared as time went on, (so far as wearing mourning was concerned), could marriage be contracted. between parties (so wide apart)? But there was that original surname tying all the members together without distinction, and the maintenance of the connexion by means of the common feast; — while there were these conditions, there could be no intermarriage, even after a hundred generations. Such was the rule of Kâo.

9. The considerations which regulated the mourning worn were six: — first., the nearness of the kinship; second, the honour due to the honourable; third, the names (as expressing the position in the relative circle); fourth, the cases of

women still unmarried in the paternal home, and of those who had married and left it; fifth, age; and sixth, affinity, and external relationship.

10. Of the considerations of affinity and external relationship there were six cases: — those arising from inter-relationship; those in which there was no inter-relationship; those where mourning should be worn, and yet was not, those where it should not be worn, and yet was; those where it should be deep, and yet was light; and those where it should be light, and yet was deep.

11. Where the starting-point was affection, it began from the father. Going up from him by degrees it reached to the (high) ancestor, and was said to diminish. Where the starting-point was the consideration of what is right, it began with the ancestor. Coming down by natural degrees from him, it reached to the father, and was said to increase. In the diminution and the increase, the considerations of affection and right acted thus.

12. It was the way for the ruler to assemble and feast all the members of his kindred. None of them could, because of their mutual kinship, claim a nearer kinship with him than what was expressed by the places (assigned to them).

13. Any son but the eldest, (though all sons of the wife proper), did not sacrifice to his grandfather, — to show there was the Honoured Head (who should do so). Nor could he wear mourning for his eldest son for three years, because he was not the continuator of his grandfather.

14. When any other son but the eldest became an ancestor of a line, he who succeeded him became the Honoured Head (of the branch); and his successor again became the smaller Head.

15. There was the (great) Honoured Head whose tablet was not removed for a hundred generations. There were the (smaller) Honoured Heads whose tablets were removed after five generations. He whose tablet was not removed for a hundred generations was the successor and representative of the other than the eldest son (who became an ancestor of a line); and he was so honoured (by the members of his line) because he continued the (High) ancestor from whom (both) he and they sprang; this was why his tablet was not removed for a hundred generations. He who honoured the continuator of the High ancestor was he whose tablet was removed after five generations. They honoured the Ancestor, and therefore they reverenced the Head. The reverence showed the significance of that honour.

16. There might be cases in which there was a smaller Honoured Head, and no Greater Head (of a branch family); cases in which there was a Greater Honoured Head, and no smaller Head; and cases in which there was an Honoured Head, with none to honour him. All these might exist in the instance of the son of the ruler of a state.

The course to be adopted for the headship of such a son was this; that the ruler,. himself the proper representative of former rulers, should for all his half-brothers who were officers and Great officers appoint a full brother, also an officer or a Great officer, to be the Honoured Head. Such was the regular course.

17. When the kinship was no longer counted, there was no further wearing of mourning. The kinship was the bond of connexion (expressed in the degree of mourning).

18. Where the starting-point was in affection, it began with the father, and ascended by steps to the ancestor. Where it was in a consideration of what was right, it began with the ancestor, and descended in natural order to the deceased father. Thus the course of humanity (in this matter of mourning) was all comprehended in the love for kindred.

19. From the affection for parents came the honouring of ancestors; from the honouring of the ancestor came the respect and attention shown to the Heads (of the family branches). By that respect and attention to those Heads all the members of the kindred were kept together. Through their being kept together came the dignity of the ancestral temple. From that dignity arose the importance attached to the altars of the land and grain. From that importance there ensued the love of all the (people with their) hundred surnames. From that love came the right administration of punishments and penalties. Through that administration the people had the feeling of repose. Through that restfulness all resources for expenditure became, sufficient. Through the sufficiency of these, what all desired was realised. The realisation led to all courteous usages and good customs; and from these, in fine, came all happiness and enjoyment: — affording an illustration of what is said in the ode: —

‘Glory and honour follow Wan’s great name,
And ne’er will men be weary of his fame.’

BOOK XV. SHÂO Î

or

Smaller Rules of Demeanour.

1. I have heard (the following things): —

When one wished to see for the first time another of character and position, his language was, so and so, earnestly wish my name to be reported to the officer of communication.' He could not go up the steps directly to the host. If the visitor were of equal rank with the host, he said, 'I, so and so, earnestly wish to see him.' If he were an infrequent visitor, he asked his name to be reported. If he were a frequent visitor, he added, 'this morning or evening.' If he were blind, he asked his name to be reported.

2. If it were on an occasion of mourning, the visitor said he had come as a servant and helper; if he were a youth, that he had come to perform whatever might be required of him. If the visit were at the mourning rites for a ruler or high minister, the language was, 'I am come to be employed by the chief minister of the household.'

3. When a ruler was about to go out of his own state, if a minister were presenting to him money or pieces of jade, or any other article, the language was, 'I present this to the officer for the expenses of his horses.' To an equal in a similar case it was said, 'This is presented for the use of your followers.'

4. When a minister contributed a shroud to his ruler, he said, 'I send this laid-aside garment to the valuers.' An equal, sending such a gift to another equal, simply said, 'a shroud.' Relatives, such as brothers, did not go in with the shrouds which they presented.

5. When a minister was contributing articles or their value to his ruler who had mourning rites on hand for the previous ruler, he said, 'I present these products of my fields to the officers.'

6. A carriage and horses presented for a funeral, entered the gate of the ancestral temple. Contributions of money and horses with the accompanying presents of silk, the white flag (of a mourning carriage) and war chariots, did not enter the gate of the temple.

7. When the hearer of the contribution had delivered his message, he knelt down and left the things on the ground. The officer of communication took them up. The presiding mourner did not himself receive them.

8. When the receiver stood, the giver stood; neither knelt. Parties of a straightforward character might, perhaps, do so.

9. When (the guest was) first entering, and it was proper to give the precedence to him, the officer of communication said (to the host), ‘Give precedence.’ When they proceeded to their mats, he said to them, ‘Yes; be seated.’

When the leaves of the door were opened, only one man could take off his shoes inside the door. If there were already an honourable and elderly visitor, parties coming later could not do so.

10. When asking about the various dishes (of a feast), they said, ‘Have you enjoyed such and such a dish?’

When asking one another about their (various) courses and accomplishments they said, ‘Have you practised such and such a course? Are you skilful at such and such an accomplishment?’

11. (A man sought to) give no occasion for doubt about himself, nor to pass his judgment on the articles of others. He did not desire the (possessions of) great families, nor speak injuriously of the things which they valued.

12. Sweeping in general was called sâo. Sweeping up in front of a mat was called phân. In sweeping a mat they did not use a common broom. The sweeper held the dust-pan with its tongue towards himself.

13. There was no divining (twice about the same thing) with a double mind. In asking about what had been referred to the tortoiseshell or the stalks, two things were to be considered, whether the thing asked, about were right, and what was the diviner’s own mind. On the matter of right he might be questioned, but not on what was in his own mind.

14. When others more honourable and older than one’s self took precedence of him, he did not presume to ask their age. When they came to feast with him, he did not send to them any (formal) message. When he met them on the road, if they saw him, he went up to them, but did not ask to know where they were going. At funeral rites for them, he waited to observe the movements (of the presiding mourner), and did not offer his special condolences. When seated by them, he did not, unless ordered to do so, produce his lutes. He did not draw lines on the ground; that would have been an improper use of his hand. He did not use a fan. If they were asleep, and he had any message to communicate to them, he knelt in doing so.

15. At the game of archery, the inferior carried his four arrows in his hand. At that of throwing darts, he carried the four together in his breast. If he conquered, he washed the cup and gave it to the other, asking him to drink. If he were defeated, the elder went through the same process with him. They did not use the

(large) horn; they did not remove the (figure of a) horse (for marking the numbers).

16. When holding the reins of the ruler's horses, the driver knelt. He wore his sword on his right side with his back to the best strap (for the ruler.). When handing this to him, he faced him and then drew the strap towards the crossbar. He used the second or inferior strap to help himself in mounting. He then took the reins in hand, and began to move on.

17. One asked permission to appear at court, but not to withdraw.

One was said to withdraw from court; to return home from a feast or a ramble; to close the toils of a campaign.

18. When sitting by a person of rank, if he began to yawn and stretch himself, to turn round his tablet, to play with the head of his sword, to move his shoes about, or to ask about the time of day, one might ask leave to retire.

19. For one who (wished to) serve his ruler, (the rule was) first to measure (his abilities and duties), and then enter (on the responsibilities); he did not enter on these, and then measure those. There was the same rule for all who begged or borrowed from others, or sought to engage in their service. In this way superiors had no ground for offence, and inferiors; avoided all risk of guilt.

20. They did not spy into privacies nor form intimacies on matters aside from their proper business. They did not speak of old affairs, nor wear an appearance of being in sport.

21. One in the position of a minister and inferior might remonstrate (with his ruler), but not speak ill of him; might withdraw (from the state), but not (remain and) hate (its Head); might praise him, but not flatter; might remonstrate, but not give himself haughty airs (when his advice was followed). (If the ruler were) idle and indifferent, he might arouse and assist him; if (the government) were going to wreck, he might sweep it away, and institute a new one. Such a minister would be pronounced as doing service for the altars (of the state).

22. Do not commence or abandon anything hastily. Do not take liberties with or weary spiritual Beings. Do not try to defend or cover over what was wrong in the past, or to, fathom what has not yet arrived. A scholar should constantly pursue what is virtuous, and amuse himself with the accomplishments.

A workman should follow the rules (of his art), and amuse himself with the discussion (of their application). One should not think about the clothes and elegant articles (of others), nor try to make good in himself what is doubtful in words (which he has heard).

23. The style prized in conversation required that it should be grave and distinct. The demeanour prized in the court required that it should be well regulated and urbane; that at sacrifices was to be grave, with an appearance 6f

anxiety. The horses of the chariot were to be well-paced and matched. The beauty of their bells was that they intimated dignity and harmony.

24. To a question about the age of a ruler's son, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to attend to the business of the altars.' If he were still young, it was said, 'He is able to driver' or 'He is not yet able to drive.' To the same question about a Great officer's son, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to take his part in music;' if still young, it was said, 'He is able to take lessons from the music-master,' or 'He is not yet able to do so.' To the same question about the son of an ordinary officer, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to guide the plough;' if he were still young, it was said, 'He is able to carry firewood,' or 'He is not yet able to do so.'

25. When carrying a symbol of jade, a tortoiseshell, or the divining stalks, one did not walk hastily. Nor did he do so in the raised hall, or on a city wall. In a war chariot he did not bow forward to the crossbar. A man in his mail did not try to bow.

26. A wife, on festive occasions, even though it were on receiving a gift from the ruler, (only) made a curtsy. When seated as a personatrix (of the deceased grandmother of her husband), she did not bow with her head to her hands, but made the curtsy. When presiding at the mourning rites, she did not bow with her head to her hands lowered to the ground.

27. (After the sacrifice of repose), her head-band was of dolychos cloth, and her girdle of hempen.

28. When taking meat from a stand or putting meat on it, they did not kneel.

29. An empty vessel was carried (with the same care) as a full one, and an empty apartment entered (with the same reverence) as if there were people in it.

30. At all sacrifices, whether in the apartment or in the hall, they did not have their feet bare. At a feast they might.

31. Till they had offered a portion in the temple, they did not eat of a new crop.

32. In the case of a charioteer and the gentleman whom he was driving, when the latter mounted or descended, the other handed him the strap. When the driver first mounted, he bowed towards the crossbar. When the gentleman descended to walk, (he also descended), but (immediately) returned to the carriage and stood.

33. The riders in an attendant carriage (to court or temple), bowed forward to the bar, but not if it were to battle or hunt. Of such attendant carriages, the ruler of a state had seven; a Great officer of the highest grade, five; and one of the lowest grade, three.

34. People did not speak of the age of the horses or of the carriages of those who possessed such attendant carriages; nor did they put a value on the dress, or

sword, or horses of a gentleman whom they saw before them.

35. In giving (to an inferior) or offering to a superior, four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog, (the messenger) put down the .liquor, and carried (only) the dried meat in his hand, when discharging his commission, but he also said that he was the bearer of four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog. In presenting a tripod of flesh, he carried (one piece) in his hand. In presenting birds, if there were more than a couple, he carried a couple in his hand, leaving the others outside.

36. The dog was held by a rope. A watch dog or a hunting dog was given to the officer who was the medium of communication; and on receiving it, he asked its name. An ox was held by the tether, and a horse by the bridle. They were both kept on the right of him who led them; but a prisoner or captive, who was being presented, was kept on the left.

37. In presenting a carriage, the strap was taken off and carried in the hand of the messenger. In presenting a coat of mail, if there were other things to be carried before it, the messenger bore them. If there were no such things, he took off its covering, and bore the helmet in his hands. In the case of a vessel, he carried its cover. In the case of a bow, with his left hand he stript off the case, and took hold of the middle of the back. In the case of a sword, he opened the cover of its case, and placed it underneath. Then he put into the case a silken cloth, on which he placed the sword.

38. Official tablets; writings; stalks of dried flesh; parcels wrapped in reeds; bows; cushions; mats; pillows; stools; spikes; staffs; lutes, large and small; sharp-edged lances in sheaths; divining stalks; and flutes: — these all were borne with the left hand upwards. Of sharp-pointed weapons, the point was kept behind, and the ring presented; of sharp-edged weapons, the handle was presented. In the case of all sharp-pointed and sharp-edged weapons, the point was turned away in handing them to others.

39. When leaving the city, in mounting a war-chariot, the weapon was carried with the point in front; when returning and entering it again, the end. The left was the place for the general and officers of an army; the right, for the soldiers.

40. For visitors and guests the principal thing was a courteous humility; at sacrifices, reverence; at mourning rites, sorrow; at meetings and reunions, an active interest. In the operations of war, the dangers had to be thought of. One concealed his own feelings in order to judge the better of those of others.

41. When feasting with a man of superior rank and character, the guest first tasted the dishes and then stopt. He should not bolt the food, nor swill down the liquor. He should take small and frequent mouthfuls. While chewing quickly, he

did not make faces with his mouth. When he proceeded to remove the dishes, and the host declined that service from him, he stopt.

42. The cup with which the guest was pledged was placed on the left; those which had been drunk (by the others) on the right. Those of the guest's attendant, of the host himself, and of the host's assistant; — these all were placed on the right.

43. In putting down a boiled fish to be eaten, the tail was laid in front. In winter it was placed with the fat belly on the right; in summer with the back. The slices offered in sacrifice (to the father of the fish-diet were thus more easily cut).

44. All condiments were taken up with the right (hand), and were therefore placed on the left.

45. He who received the presents offered (to the ruler) was on his left; he who transmitted his words, on the right.

46. A cup was poured out for the driver of a personator of the dead as for the driver of the ruler. In the carriage, and holding the reins in his left hand, he received the cup with his right; offered a little in sacrifice at the end of the axle and crossbar on the right and left (to the father of charioteering), and then drank off the cup.

47. Of all viands which were placed on the stands, the o ring was put down inside the stand.

A gentleman did not eat the entrails of grain-fed animals.

A boy ran, but did not walk quickly with measured steps. When he took up his cup, he knelt in offering (some of the contents) in sacrifice, and then stood up and drank (the rest). Before rinsing a cup, they washed their hands. In separating the lungs of oxen and sheep, they did not cut out the central portion of them; when viands were served up with sauce, they did not add condiments to it.

In selecting an onion or scallion for a gentleman, they cut off both the root and top.

When the head was presented among the viands, the snout was put forward, to be used as the offering.

48. He who set forth the jugs considered the left of the cup-bearer to be the place for the topmost one. The jugs and jars were placed with their spouts towards the arranger.

The drinkers at the ceremonies of washing the head and cupping, in presence of the stand with the divided victims on it, did not kneel. Before the common cup had gone round, they did not taste the viands.

49. The flesh of oxen, sheep, and fish was cut small, and made into mince. 'That of elks and deer was pickled; that of the wild pig was hashed: these were

all sliced, but not cut small. The flesh of the muntjac was alone pickled, and that of fowls and hares, being sliced and cut small. Onions and shalots were sliced, and added to the brine to soften the meat.

50. When the pieces of the divided body were on the stand, in taking one of them to offer and in returning it, they did not kneel. So it was when they made an offering of roast meat. If the offerer, however, were a personator of the dead, he knelt.

51. When a man had his robes on his person, and did not know their names (or the meaning of their names), he was ignorant indeed.

52. If one came late and yet arrived before the torches were lighted, it was announced to him that the guests were all there, and who they were. The same things were intimated to a blind musician by the one who bid him. At a drinking entertainment, when the host carried a light, or bore a torch before them, the guests rise and decline the honour done to them. On this he gave the torch to a torchbearer, who did not move from his place, nor say a word, nor sing.

53. When one was carrying in water or liquor and food to a superior or elder, the rule was not to breathe on it; and if a question was asked, to turn the mouth on one side.

54. When one conducted sacrifice for another (and was sending to others the flesh of the victim), the message was, ‘Herewith (the flesh of) blessing.’ When sending of the flesh of his own sacrifice to a superior man, the party simply announced what it was.

If it were flesh of the sacrifice on placing the tablet of the deceased in the temple, or at the close of the first year’s mourning, the fact was announced. The principal mourner spread out the portions, and gave them to. his messenger on the south of the eastern steps, bowing twice, and laying his head to the ground as he sent him away; when he returned and reported the execution of his commission, the mourner again bowed twice and laid his head to the ground.

If the sacrifice were a great one, consisting of the three victims, then the portion sent was the left quarter of the ox, divided-into nine pieces from the shoulder. If the sacrifice were the smaller, the portion sent was the left quarter, divided into seven pieces. If there were but a single pig, the portion was the left quarter, divided into five portions.

BOOK XVI. HSIO KÎ

or

Record on the Subject of Education.

1. When a ruler is concerned that his measures should be in accordance with law, and seeks for the (assistance of the) good and upright, this is sufficient to secure him a considerable reputation, but not to move the multitudes.

When he cultivates the society of the worthy, and tries to embody the views of those who are remote (from the court), this is sufficient to move the multitudes, but not to transform the people.

If he wish to transform the people and to perfect their manners and customs, must he not start from the lessons of the school?

2. The jade uncut will not form a vessel for use; and if men do not learn, they do not know the way (in which they should go). On this account the ancient kings, when establishing states and governing the people, made instruction and schools a primary object; — as it is said in the Charge to Yüeh, ‘The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on learning.’

3. However fine the viands be, if one do not eat, he does not know their taste; however perfect the course may be, if one do not learn it, be does not know its goodness. Therefore when he learns, one knows his own deficiencies; when he teaches, he knows the difficulties of learning. After he knows his deficiencies, one is able to turn round and examine himself; after he knows the difficulties, he is able to stimulate himself to effort. Hence it is said, ‘Teaching and learning help each other;’ as it is said in the Charge to Yüeh, ‘Teaching is the half of learning.’

4. According to the system of ancient teaching, for the families of (a hamlet) there was the village school; for a neighbourhood there was the hsiang; for the larger districts there was the hsü; and in the capitals there was the college.

5. Every year some entered the college, and every second year there was a comparative examination. In the first year it was seen whether they could read the texts intelligently, and what was the meaning of each; in the third year, whether they were reverently attentive to their work, and what companionship was most pleasant to them; in the fifth year, how they extended their studies and sought the company of their teachers; in the seventh year, how they could discuss the subjects of their studies and select their friends. They were now said to have made some small attainments. In the ninth year, when they knew the

different classes of subjects and had gained a general intelligence, were firmly established and would not fall back, they were said to have made grand attainments. After this the training was sufficient to transform the people, and to change (anything bad in) manners and customs. Those who lived near at hand submitted with delight, and those who were far off thought (of the teaching) with longing desire. Such was the method of the Great learning; as is said in the Record, 'The little ant continually exercises the art (of amassing).'

6. At the commencement of the teaching in the Great college, (the masters) in their skin caps presented the offerings of vegetables (to the ancient sages), to show their pupils the principle of reverence for them; and made them sing (at the same time) the (first) three pieces of the Minor Odes of the Kingdom, as their first lesson in the duties of officers. When they entered the college, the drum was beaten and the satchels were produced, that they might begin their work reverently. The cane and the thorns were there to secure in them a proper awe. It was not till the time for the summer sacrifice was divined for, that the testing examination was held; — to give composure to their minds. They were continually under inspection, but not spoken to, — to keep their minds undisturbed. They listened, but they did not ask questions; and they could not transgress the order of study (imposed on them). These seven things were the chief regulations in the teaching. As it is expressed in the Record, 'In all learning, for him who would in be an officer the first thing is (the knowledge of) business; for scholars the first thing is the directing of the mind.'

7. In the system of teaching at the Great college, every season had its appropriate subject; and when the pupils withdrew, and gave up their lessons (for the day), they were required to continue their study at home.

8. If a student do not learn (at college) to play in tune, he cannot quietly enjoy his lutes; if he do not learn extensively the figures of poetry, he cannot quietly enjoy the odes; if he do not learn the varieties of dress, he cannot quietly take part in the different ceremonies; if he do not acquire the various accomplishments, he cannot take delight in learning.

9. Therefore a student of talents and virtue pursues his studies, withdrawn in college from all besides, and devoted to their cultivation, or occupied with them when retired from it, and enjoying himself. Having attained to this, he rests quietly in his studies and seeks the company of his teachers; he finds pleasure in his friends, and has all confidence in their course. Although he should be separated from his teachers and helpers, he will not act contrary to the course; — as it is said in the Charge to Yüeh, 'Maintain a reverent humility, and strive to be constantly earnest. In such a case the cultivation will surely come

10. According to the system of teaching now-a-days, (the masters) hum over the tablets which they see before them, multiplying their questions. They speak of the learners' making rapid advances, and pay no regard to their reposing (in what they have acquired). In what they lay on their learners they are not sincere, nor do they put forth all their ability in teaching them. What they inculcate is contrary to what is right, and the learners are disappointed in what they seek for. In such a case, the latter are distressed by their studies and hate their masters; they are embittered by the difficulties, and do not find any advantage from their (labour). They may seem to finish their work, but they quickly give up its lessons. That no results are seen from their instructions:-is it not owing to these defects?

11. The rules aimed at in the Great college were the prevention of evil before it was manifested; the timeliness of instruction just when it was required; the suitability of the lessons in adaptation to circumstances; and the good influence of example to parties observing one another. It was from these four things that the teaching was so effectual and flourishing.

12. Prohibition of evil after it has been manifested meets with opposition, and is not successful. Instruction given after the time for it is past is done with toil, and carried out with difficulty. The communication of lessons in an undiscriminating manner and without suitability produces injury and disorder, and fails in its object. Learning alone and without friends makes one feel solitary and uncultivated, with but little information. Friendships of festivity lead to opposition to one's master. Friendships with the dissolute lead to the neglect of one's learning. These six things all tend to make teaching vain.

13. When a superior man knows the causes which make instruction successful, and those which make it of no effect, he can become a teacher of others. Thus in his teaching, he leads and does not drag; he strengthens and does not discourage; he opens the way but does not conduct to the end (without the learner's own efforts). Leading and not dragging produces harmony. Strengthening and not discouraging makes attainment easy. Opening the way and not conducting to the end makes (the learner) thoughtful. He who produces such harmony, easy attainment, and thoughtfulness may be pronounced a skilful teacher.

14. Among learners there are four defects with which the teacher must make himself acquainted. Some err in the multitude of their studies; some, in their fewness; some, in the feeling of ease (with which they proceed); and some, in the readiness with which they stop. These four defects arise from the difference of their minds. When a teacher knows the character of his mind, he can save the learner from the defect to which hp is liable. Teaching should be directed to

develop that in which the pupil excels, and correct the defects to which he is prone.

15. The good singer makes men (able) to continue his notes, and (so) the good teacher make. them able to carry out his ideas. His words are brief, but far-reaching; unpretentious, but deep; with few illustrations, but instructive. In this way he may be said to perpetuate his ideas.

16. When a man of talents and virtue knows the difficulty (on the one hand) and the facility (on the other) in the attainment of learning, and knows (also) the good and the bad qualities (of his pupils), he can vary his methods of teaching. When he can vary his methods of teaching, he can be a master indeed. When he can be a teacher indeed, he can be the Head (of an official department). When he can be such a Head, he can be the Ruler (of a state). Hence it is from the teacher indeed, that one learns to be a ruler, and the choice of a teacher demands the greatest care; as it is said in the Record, 'The three kings and the four dynasties were what they were by their teachers.'

17. In pursuing the course of learning, the difficulty is in securing the proper reverence for the master. When that is done, the course (which he inculcates) is regarded with honour. When that is done, the people know how to respect learning. Thus it is that there are two among his subjects whom the ruler does not treat as subjects. When one is personating (his ancestor), he does not treat him as such, nor does he treat his master as such. According to the rules of the Great college, the master, though communicating anything to the son of Heaven, did not stand with his face to the north. This was the way in which honour was done to him.

18. The skilful learner, while the master seems indifferent, yet makes double the attainments of another, and in the sequel ascribes the merit (to the master). The unskilful learner, while the master is diligent with him, yet makes (only) half the attainments (of the former), and in the sequel is dissatisfied with the master. The skilful questioner is like a workman addressing himself to deal with a hard tree. First he attacks the easy parts, and then the knotty. After a long time, the pupil and master talk together, and the subject is explained. The unskilful questioner takes the opposite course. The master who skilfully waits to be questioned, may be compared to a bell when it is struck. Struck with a small hammer, it gives a small sound. Struck with a great one, it gives a great sound. But let it be struck leisurely and properly, and it gives out all the sound of which it is capable. He who is not skilful in replying to questions is the opposite of this. This all describes the method of making progress in learning.

19. He who gives (only) the learning supplied by his memory in conversations is not fit to be a master. Is it not necessary that he should hear the

questions (of his pupils)? Yes, but if they are not able to put questions, he should put subjects before them. If he do so, and then they do not show any knowledge of the subjects, he may let them alone.

20. The son of a good founder is sure to learn how to make a fur-robe. The son of a good maker of bows is sure to learn how to make a sieve. Those who first yoke a (young) horse place it behind, with the carriage going on in front of it. The superior man who examines these cases can by them instruct himself in (the method of) learning.

21. The ancients in prosecuting their learning compared different' things and traced the analogies between them. The drum has no special relation to any of the musical notes; but without it they cannot be harmonised. Water has no particular relation to any of the five colours; but without it they cannot be displayed. Learning has no particular relation to any of the five senses; but without it they cannot be regulated. A teacher has no special relation to the five degrees of mourning; but without his help they cannot be worn as they ought to be.

22. A wise man has said, 'The Great virtue need not be confined to one office; Great power of method need not be restricted to the production of one article; Great truth need not be limited to the confirmation of oaths; Great seasonableness accomplishes all things, and each in its proper time.' By examining these four cases, we are taught to direct our aims to what is fundamental.

BOOK XVII. YO KÎ

or

Record of Music

Section I.

1. All the modulations of the voice arise from the mind, and the various affections of the mind are produced by things (external to it). The affections thus produced are manifested in the sounds that are uttered. Changes are produced by the way in which those sounds respond to one another; and those changes constitute what we call the modulations of the voice. The combination' of those modulated sounds, so as to give pleasure, and the (direction in harmony with them of the) shields and axes[2[, and of the plumes and ox-tails, constitutes what we call music.

2. Music is (thus) the production of the modulations of the voice, and its source is in the affections of the mind as it is influenced by (external) things. when the mind is moved to sorrow, the sound is sharp and fading away; when it is moved to pleasure, the sound is slow and gentle; when it is moved to joy, the sound is exclamatory and soon disappears; when it is moved to anger, the sound is coarse and fierce; when it is moved to reverence, the sound is straightforward, with an indication of humility; when it is moved to love, the sound is harmonious and soft. These six peculiarities of sound are not natural'; they indicate the impressions produced by (external) things. On this account the ancient kings were watchful in regard to the things by which the mind was affected.

3. And so (they instituted) ceremonies to direct men's aims aright; music to give harmony to their voices; laws to unify their conduct; and punishments to guard against their tendencies to evil. The end to which ceremonies, music, punishments, and laws conduct is one; they are the instruments by which the minds of the people are assimilated, and good order in government is made to appear.

4. All modulations of the voice spring from the minds of men. When the feelings are moved within, they are manifested in the sounds of the voice-; and when those sounds are combined so as to form compositions, we have what are called airs. Hence, the airs of an age of good order indicate composure and enjoyment. The airs of an age of disorder indicate dissatisfaction and anger, and its government is perversely bad. The airs of a state going to ruin are expressive of sorrow and (troubled) thought. There is an interaction between the words and airs (of the people) and the character of their government.

5. (The note) kung represents the ruler; shang, the ministers; kio, the people; kih, affairs; and yü, things. If there be no disorder or irregularity in these five notes, there will be no want of harmony in the state. If kung be irregular, (the air) is wild and broken; the ruler of the state is haughty. If shang be irregular, (the air) is jerky; the offices of the state are decayed. If kio be irregular, (the air) expresses anxiety; the people are dissatisfied. If kih be irregular, (the air) expresses sorrow; affairs are strained. If yü be irregular, (the air) is expressive of impending ruin; the resources (of the state) are exhausted. If the five notes are all irregular, and injuriously interfere with one another, they indicate a state of insolent disorder; and the state where this is the case will at no distant day meet with extinction and ruin.

6. The airs of Kang and Wei were those of an age of disorder, showing that those states were near such an abandoned condition. The airs near the river Pû, at the mulberry forest, were those of a state going to ruin. The government (of Wei) was in a state of dissipation, and the people were unsettled, calumniating their superiors, and pursuing their private aims beyond the possibility of restraint.

7. All modulations of sound take their rise from the mind of man; and music is the intercommunication of them in their relations and differences. Hence, even beasts know sound, but not its modulations, and the masses of the common people know the modulations, but they do not know music. It is only the superior man who can (really) know music.

8. On this account we must discriminate sounds in order to know the airs; the airs in order to know the music; and the music in order to know (the character of) the government. Having attained to this, we are fully provided with the methods of good order. Hence with him who does not know the sounds we cannot speak about the airs, and with him who does not know the airs we cannot speak about the music. The knowledge of music leads to the subtle springs that underlie the rules of ceremony. He who has apprehended both ceremonies and music may be pronounced to be a possessor of virtue. Virtue means realisation (in one's self).

9. Hence the greatest achievements of music were not in the perfection of the airs; the (efficacy) of the ceremonies in the sacrificial offerings was not in the exquisiteness of the flavours. In the lute's for the Khing Miâo the strings were of red (boiled) silk, and the holes were wide apart; one lute began, and (only) three others joined it; there was much melody not brought out. In the ceremonies of the great sacrifices, the dark-coloured liquor took precedence, and on the stands were uncooked fish, while the grand soup had no condiments: there was much flavour left undeveloped.

10. Thus we see that the ancient kings, in their institution of ceremonies and music, did not seek how fully they could satisfy the desires of the appetite and of the ears and eyes; but they intended to teach the people to regulate their likings and dislikings, and to bring them back to the normal course of humanity.

11. It belongs to the nature of man, as from Heaven, to be still at his birth. His activity shows itself as he is acted on by external things, and developes the desires incident to his nature. Things come to him more and more, and his knowledge is increased. Then

arise the manifestations of liking and disliking. When these are not regulated by anything within, and growing knowledge leads more astray without, he cannot come back to himself, and his Heavenly principle is extinguished.

12. Now there is no end of the things by which man is affected; and when his likings and dislikings are not subject to regulation (from within), he is changed into the nature of things as they come before him; that is, he stifles the voice of Heavenly principle within, and gives the utmost indulgence to the desires by which men may be possessed. On this we have the rebellious and deceitful heart, with licentious and violent disorder. The strong press upon the weak; the many are cruel to the few; the knowing impose upon the dull; the bold make it bitter for the timid; the diseased are not nursed; the old and young, orphans and solitaries are neglected: — such is the great disorder that ensues.

13. Therefore the ancient kings, when they instituted their ceremonies and music, regulated them by consideration of the requirements of humanity. By the sackcloth worn for parents, the wailings, and the weepings, they defined the terms of the mourning rites. By the bells, drums, shields, and axes, they introduced harmony into their seasons of rest and enjoyment. By marriage, capping, and the assumption of the hair-pin, they maintained the separation that should exist between male and female. By the archery gatherings in the districts, and the feastings at the meetings of princes, they provided for the correct maintenance of friendly intercourse.

14. Ceremonies afforded the defined expression for the (affections of the) people's minds; music secured the harmonious utterance of their voices; the laws of government were designed to promote the performance (of the ceremonies and music); and punishments, to guard against the violation of them. When ceremonies, music, laws, and punishments had everywhere full course, without irregularity or collision, the method of kingly rule was complete.

15. Similarity and union are the aim of music; difference and distinction, that of ceremony. From union comes mutual affection; from difference, mutual respect. Where music prevails, we find a weak coalescence; where ceremony prevails, a tendency to separation. It is the business of the two to blend people's feelings and give elegance to their outward manifestations.

16. Through the perception of right produced by ceremony, came the degrees of the noble and the mean; through the union of culture arising from music, harmony between high and low. By the exhibition of what was to be liked and what was to be disliked, a distinction was made between the worthy and unworthy. When violence was prevented by punishments, and the worthy were raised to rank, the operation of government was made impartial. Then came benevolence in the love (of the people), and righteousness in the correction (of their errors); and in this way good government held its course.

17. Music comes from within, and ceremonies from without. Music, coming from within, produces the stillness (of the mind); ceremonies, coming from without, produce the elegancies (of manner). The highest style of music is sure to be distinguished by its ease; the highest style of elegance, by its undemonstrativeness.

18. Let music attain its full results, and there would be no dissatisfactions (in the mind); let ceremony do so, and there would be no quarrels. When bowings and courtesies marked the government of the kingdom, there would be what might be described as music and ceremony indeed. Violent oppression of the people would not arise; the princes would appear submissively at court as guests; there would be no occasion for the weapons of war, and no employment of the five punishments; the common people would have no distresses, and the son of Heaven no need to be angry: — such a state of things would be an universal music. When the son of Heaven could secure affection between father and son, could illustrate the orderly relation between old and young, and make mutual respect prevail all within the four seas, then indeed would ceremony (be seen) as power.

19. In music of the grandest style there is the same harmony that prevails between heaven and earth; in ceremonies of the grandest form there is the same graduation that exists between heaven and earth. Through the harmony, things do not fail (to fulfil their ends); through the graduation we have the sacrifices to heaven and those to earth. In the visible sphere there are ceremonies and music; in the invisible, the spiritual agencies. These things being so, in all within the four seas, there must be mutual respect and love.

20. The occasions and forms of ceremonies are different, but it is the same feeling of respect (which they express). The styles of musical pieces are different, but it is the same feeling of love (which they promote). The essential nature of ceremonies and music being the same, the intelligent kings, one after another, continued them as they found them. The occasions and forms were according to the times when they were made; the names agreed with the merit which they commemorated.

21. Hence the bell, the drum, the flute, and the sounding-stone; the plume, the fife, the shield, and the axe are the instruments of music; the curvings and stretchings (of the body), the bending down and lifting up (of the head); and the evolutions and numbers (of the performers), with the slowness or rapidity (of their movements), are its elegant accompaniments. The dishes, round and square, the stands, the standing dishes, the prescribed rules and their elegant variations, are the instruments of ceremonies; the ascending and descending, the positions high and low, the wheelings about, and the changing of robes, are their elegant accompaniments.

22. Therefore they who knew the essential nature of ceremonies and music could frame them; and they who had learned their elegant accompaniments could hand them down. The framers may be pronounced sage; the transmitters, intelligent. Intelligence and sagehood are other names for transmitting and inventing.

23, Music is (an echo of) the harmony between heaven and earth; ceremonies reflect the orderly distinctions (in the operations of) heaven and earth. From that harmony all things receive their being; to those orderly distinctions they owe the differences between them. Music has its origin from heaven; ceremonies take their form from the appearances of earth. If the imitation of those appearances were carried to excess, confusion (of ceremonies) would appear; if the framing of music were carried to excess, it would be too vehement. Let there be an intelligent understanding of the nature and interaction of (heaven and earth), and there will be the ability to practise well both ceremonies and music.

24. The blending together without any mutual injuriousness (of the sentiments and the airs on the different instruments) forms the essence of music; and the exhilaration of joy and the glow of affection are its business. Exactitude and correctness, without any inflection or deviation, form the substance of ceremonies, while gravity, respectfulness, and a humble consideration are the rules for their discharge.

25. As to the employment of instruments of metal and stone in connexion with these ceremonies and this music, the manifestation of them by the voice and its modulations, the use of them in the ancestral temple, and at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain,

and in sacrificing to (the spirits of) the hills and streams, and to the general spiritual agencies (in nature);-these are (external demonstrations), natural even to the people.

26. When the (ancient) kings had accomplished their undertakings, they made their music (to commemorate them); when they had established their government, they framed their ceremonies. The excellence of their music was according to the greatness of their undertakings; and the completeness of their ceremonies was according to the comprehensiveness of their government. The dances with shields and axes did not belong to the most excellent music, nor did the sacrifices with cooked flesh mark the highest ceremonies.

27. The times of the five Tîs were different, and therefore they did not each adopt the music of his predecessor. The three kings belonged to different ages, and so they did not each follow the ceremonies of his predecessor. Music carried to an extreme degree leads to sorrow, and coarseness in ceremonies indicates something one-sided. To make the grandest music, which should bring with it no element of sorrow, and frame the completest ceremonies which yet should show no one-sidedness, could be the work only of the great sage.

28. There are heaven above and earth below, and between them are distributed all the (various) beings with their different (natures and qualities): — in accordance with this proceeded the framing of ceremonies. (The influences of) heaven and earth flow forth and never cease; and by their united action (the phenomena of) production and change ensue: — in accordance with this music arose. The processes of growth in spring, and of maturing in summer (suggest the idea of) benevolence; those of in-gathering in autumn and of storing in winter, suggest righteousness. Benevolence is akin to music, and righteousness to ceremonies.

29. Harmony is the thing principally sought in music: — it therein follows heaven, and manifests the spirit-like expansive influence characteristic of it. Normal distinction is the thing aimed at in ceremonies:-they therein follow earth, and exhibit the spirit-like retractive influence characteristic of it. Hence the sages made music in response to heaven, and framed ceremonies in correspondence with earth. In the wisdom and-completeness of their ceremonies and music we see the directing power of heaven and earth.

30. (The relation) between ruler and minister was determined from a consideration of heaven (conceived of as) honourable, and earth (conceived of as) mean. The positions of noble and mean were fixed with a reference to the heights and depths displayed by the surface (of the earth). The regularity with which movement and repose follow each other (in the course of nature) led to the consideration of affairs as small and great. The different quarters (of the heavens) are grouped together, and the things (of the earth) are distinguished by their separate characteristics; and this gave rise to (the conception of) natures and their attributes and functions. In heaven there are formed its visible signs, and earth produces its (endless variety of) things; and thus it was that ceremonies were framed after the distinction, between heaven and earth.

31. The breath (or influence) of earth ascends on high, and that of heaven descends below. These in their repressive and expansive powers come into mutual contact, and heaven and earth act on each other. (The susceptibilities of nature) are roused by the thunder, excited by the wind and rain, moved by the four seasons, and warmed by the sun and moon; and all the processes of change and growth vigorously proceed. Thus it was that music was framed to indicate the harmonious action of heaven and earth.

32. If these processes took place out of season, there would be no (vigorous) life; and if no distinction were observed between males and females, disorder would arise and grow: — such is the nature of the (different qualities of) heaven and earth.

33. When we think of ceremonies and music, how they reach to the height of heaven and embrace the earth; how there are in them the phenomena of retrogression and expansion, and a communication with the spirit-like (operations of nature), we must pronounce their height the highest, their reach the farthest, their depth the most profound, and their breadth the greatest.

34. Music appeared in the Grand Beginning (of all things), and ceremonies had their place on the completion of them. Their manifestation, being ceaseless, gives (the idea of) heaven; and again, being motionless, gives (the idea of) earth. Through the movement and repose (of their interaction) come all things between heaven and earth. Hence the sages simply spoke of ceremonies and music.

See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, pages .

There was a pantomimic exhibition of scenes of war, in which the performers brandished shields and axes; and another of scenes of peace, in which they waved plumes and ox-tails. What I have rendered by ‘the modulations of the voice’ is in the text the one Chinese character yin (###) for which Callery gives ‘air musical,’ and which Kang Hsüan explains as meaning ‘the five full notes of the scale.’ See the long note of Callery prefixed to this record, concluding:— ‘La musique Chinoise, telle que l’ont entendue les anciens, avait tous les caractères d’une représentation théatrale ayant pour but de parler tout à la fois aux yeux, aux oreilles, à l’esprit, et au cúur.’

Or, ‘are not the nature;’ that is, the voice does not naturally, when the mind is not moved, from without itself, give such peculiar expressions of feeling. What belongs to man by his nature is simply the faculty of articulate speech, slumbering until he is awakened by his sensations and perceptions.

On those notes, see Chinese Classics, vol. iii, page 48.

See Confucian Analects, XV, 10, 6.

This place was in the state of Wei. See the ridiculous incident which gave rise to this account of the airs in Sze-mâ Khien’s monograph on music, pages 13, 14.

Virtue (###) and getting or realising (###) have the same name or pronunciation (teh) in Chinese. This concluding sentence, as Callery points out, is only a sort of pun on that common name. And yet ‘virtue’ is the ‘realisation’ in one’s self ‘of what is good.’ The next paragraph expands the writer’s thought. The greatest achievement of music in its ancient perfection was the softening and refining of the character, and that of the services of the temple was the making men reverent, filial, and brotherly.

With this paragraph ends the first portion of the treatise on music, called Yo Pan (##), or ‘Fundamental Principles in Music.’ The Khien-lung editors divide it into four chapters: — the first setting forth that music takes its character as good or bad from the mind of man, as affected by what is external to it; the second, that the character of the external things affecting the mind is determined by government as good or bad; the third, that the ceremonies and music of the ancient kings were designed to regulate the minds of men

in their likings and dislikings; and the fourth, that that regulation was in harmony with the will of Heaven, as indicated in the nature of man.

The 'five punishments' where branding on the forehead, cutting off the nose, other various dismemberments, castration, and death; see Mayers' 'Chinese Readers' Manual,' page 313. But the one word 'punishment' would sufficiently express the writer's meaning.

The eleven Paragraphs ending with this form the second chapter of the Book, called by Liû Hsiang Yo Lun (###), while the third chapter, extending to the end of the section, is called Yo Lî (###) as if the two were an expansion of the statement in the seventh paragraph, that music is 'the intercommunication of the modulated sounds and the mind in their relations and differences.'

As being, I suppose, commemorative of the achievements of war, and not the victories of peace; and as marking a progress of society, and a departure from the primitive era of innocent simplicity and reverence.

On the first of these two paragraphs, P. Callery says:— 'The celebrated Encyclopædist, Mâ Twan-lin (Book 181), says that this passage is one of the most marvellous that ever were written, and he draws, from it the proof that the work could not have been written later than the Han, "because reckoning from that dynasty there did not appear any author capable of conceiving ideas so profound, and expressing them in language so elevated."' P. Callery adds, As regards the origin of the Li Ki, the reasoning of the Encyclopædist appears to me passably (passablement) false; as to the intrinsic worth of the passage, I leave it to the reader to form his Judgment from the translation, which I have endeavoured to render as faithful as possible.'

In the passage of Mâ Twan-lin, however, that author is simply quoting the words of Kû Hsî (Tâ Kwan, Book 37), and expresses no opinion of his own.]

Section ii.

1. Anciently, Shun made the lute with five strings, and used it in singing the Nan Fang. Khwei was the first who composed (the pieces of) music to be employed by the feudal lords as an expression of (the royal) approbation of them.

2. Thus the employment of music by the son of Heaven was intended to reward the most virtuous among the feudal lords. When their virtue was very great, and their instructions were honoured, and all the cereals ripened in their season, then they were rewarded by (being permitted) the use of the music. Hence, those of them whose toils in the government of the people were conspicuous, had their rows of pantomimes extended far; and those of them who bad been indifferent to the government of the people had those rows made short. On seeing their pantomimes, one knew what was (the degree of) their virtue, (just as) on hearing their posthumous designations, we know what had been (the character of) their conduct.

3. The Tâ Kang expressed the brilliance (of its author's virtue); the Hsien Kih, the completeness (of its author's); the Shâo showed how (its author) continued (the virtue of his predecessor); the Hsiâ, the greatness (of its author's virtue); the music of Yin and Kâu embraced every admirable quality.

4. In the interaction of heaven and earth, if cold and heat do not come at the proper seasons, illnesses arise (among the people); if wind and rain do not come in their due proportions, famine ensues. The instructions (of their superiors) are the people's cold and heat; if they are not what the time requires, an injury is done to society. The affairs (of their superiors) are the people's wind and rain; if they are not properly regulated, they have no success. In accordance with this, the object of the ancient kings in their practice of music was to bring their

government into harmony with those laws (of heaven and earth). If it was good, then the conduct (of the people) was like the virtue (of their superiors).

5. (The feast on) grain-fed animals, with the adjunct of drinking, was not intended to produce evil, and yet cases of litigation are more numerous in consequence of it: — it is the excessive drinking which produces the evil. Therefore the former kings framed the rules to regulate the drinking. Where there is (but) one presentation of the cup (at one time), guest and host may bow to each other a hundred times, and drink together all the day without getting drunk. This was the way in which those kings provided against evil consequences.

Such feasts served for the enjoyment of the parties at them. The music was intended to illustrate virtue; the ceremonies to restrain excess.

6. Hence the former kings, on occasions of great sorrow, had their rules according to which they expressed their grief; and on occasions of great happiness, they had their rules by which they expressed their pleasure. The manifestations, whether of grief or joy, were all bounded by the limits of these rules.

7. In music the sages found pleasure, and (saw that) it could be used to make the hearts of the people good. Because of the deep influence which it exerts on a man, and the change which it produces in manners and customs, the ancient kings appointed it as one of the subjects of instruction.

8. Now, in the nature of men there are both the energy of their physical powers and the intelligence of the mind; but for their (affections of) grief, pleasure, joy, and anger there are no invariable rules. They are moved according to the external objects which excite them, and then there ensues the manifestation of the various faculties of the mind.

9. Hence, when a (ruler's) aims are small, notes that quickly die away characterise the music, and the people's thoughts are sad; when he is generous, harmonious, and of a placid and easy temper, the notes are varied and elegant, with frequent changes, and the people are satisfied and pleased; when he is coarse, violent, and excitable, the notes, vehement at first and distinct in the end, are full and bold throughout the piece, and the people are resolute and daring; when he is pure and straightforward, strong and correct, the notes are grave and expressive of sincerity, and the people are self-controlled and respectful; when he is magnanimous, placid, and kind, the notes are natural, full, and harmonious, and the people are affectionate and loving; when he is careless, disorderly, perverse, and dissipated, the notes are tedious and ill-regulated, and the people proceed to excesses and disorder.

10. Therefore the ancient kings (in framing their music), laid its foundations in the feelings and nature of men; they examined (the notes) by the measures (for the length and quality of each); and adapted it to express the meaning of the ceremonies (in which it was to be used). They (thus) brought it into harmony with the energy that produces life, and to give expression to the performance of the five regular constituents of moral worth. They made it indicate that energy in its Yang or phase of vigour, without any dissipation of its power, and also in its Yin or phase of remission, without the vanishing of its power. The strong phase showed no excess like that of anger, and the weak no shrinking like that of pusillanimity. These four characteristics blended harmoniously in the minds of men, and were similarly manifested in their conduct. Each occupied quietly in its proper place, and one did not interfere injuriously with another.

11. After this they established schools for (teaching their music), and different grades (for the learners). They marked most fully the divisions of the pieces, and condensed into small compass the parts and variations giving beauty and elegance, in order to regulate and increase the inward virtue (of the learners). They gave laws for the great and small notes according to their names, and harmonised the order of the beginning and the end, to represent the doing of things. Thus they made the underlying principles of the relations between the near and distant relatives, the noble and mean, the old and young, males and females, all to appear manifestly in the music. Hence it is said that ‘in music we must endeavour to see its depths.’

12. When the soil is worn out, the grass and trees on it do. not grow well. When water is often troubled, the fish and tortoises in it do not become large. When the energy (of nature) is decayed, its production of things does not proceed freely. In an age of disorder, ceremonies are forgotten and neglected, and music becomes licentious.

13. In such a case the notes are melancholy but without gravity, or joyous without repose. There is remissness (in ceremonies) and the violation of them is easy. One falls into such a state of dissoluteness that he forgets the virtue properly belonging to his nature. In great matters he is capable of treachery and villainy; in small matters he becomes greedy and covetous. There is a diminution in him of the enduring, genial forces of nature, and an extinction of the virtue of satisfaction and harmony. On this account the Superior man despises such (a style of music and ceremonies).

14. Whenever notes that are evil and depraved affect men, a corresponding evil spirit responds to them (from within); and when this evil spirit accomplishes its manifestations, licentious music is the result. Whenever notes that are correct affect men, a corresponding correct spirit responds to them (from within); and

when this correct spirit accomplishes its manifestations, harmonious music is the result. The initiating cause and the result correspond to each other. The round and the deflected, the crooked and the straight, have each its own category; and such is the character of all things, that they affect one another severally according to their class.

15. Hence the superior man returns to the (good) affections (proper to his nature) in order to bring h is will into harmony with them, and compares the different qualities (of actions) in order to perfect his conduct. Notes that are evil and depraved, and sights leading to disorder, and licentiousness, are not allowed to affect his ears or eyes. Licentious music and corrupted ceremonies are not admitted into the mind to affect its powers. The spirit of idleness, indifference, depravity, and perversity finds no exhibition in his person. And thus he makes his ears, eyes, nose, and mouth, the apprehensions of his mind, and the movements of all the parts of his body, all follow the course that is correct, and do that which is right.

16. After this there ensues the manifestation (of the inward thoughts) by the modulations of note and tone, the elegant accompaniments of the lutes, small and large, the movements with the shield and battleaxe, the ornaments of the plumes and ox-tails, and the concluding with the pipes and flutes. All this has the effect of exhibiting the brilliance of complete virtue, stirring up the harmonious action of the four (seasonal) energies; and displaying the true natures and qualities of all things.

17. Hence in the fine and distinct notes we have an image of heaven; in the ample and grand, an image of earth; in their beginning and ending, an image of the four seasons; in the wheelings and revolutions (of the pantomimes), an image of the wind and rain. (The five notes, like) the five colours, form a complete and elegant whole, without any confusion. (The eight instruments of different materials, like) the eight winds, follow the musical accords, without any irregular deviation. The lengths of all the different notes have their definite measurements, without any uncertainty. The small and the great complete one another. The end leads on to the beginning, and the beginning to the end. The key notes and those harmonising with them, the sharp and the bass, succeed one another in their regular order.

18. Therefore, when the music has full course, the different relations are clearly defined by it; the perceptions of the ears and eyes become sharp and distinct; the action of the blood and physical energies is harmonious and calm; (bad) influences are removed, and manners changed; and all under heaven there is entire repose.

19. Hence we have the saying, ‘Where there is music there is joy.’ Superior men rejoice in attaining to the course (which they wish to pursue); and smaller men in obtaining the things which the), desire. When the objects of desire are regulated by a consideration of the course to be pursued, there is joy without any disorder. When those objects lead to the forgetfulness of that course, there is delusion, and no joy.

20. It is for this purpose that the superior man returns to the (good) affections (proper to his nature), in order to bring his will into harmony with them, and makes extensive use of music in order to perfect his instructions. When the music has free course, the people direct themselves to the quarter (to which they should proceed), and we can see (the power of) his virtue.

21. Virtue is the strong stein of (man’s) nature, and music is the blossoming of virtue. Metal, stone, silk, and bamboo are (the materials of which) the instruments of music (are made). Poetry gives expression to the thoughts; singing prolongs the notes (of the voice); pantomimic movements put the body into action (in harmony with the sentiments). These three things originate in the mind, and the instruments of the music accompany them.

22. In this way the affections (from which comes the music) are deeply seated, and the elegant display of them is brilliant. All the energies (of the nature) are abundantly employed, and their transforming power is mysterious and spirit-like. A harmonious conformity (to virtue) is realised within, and the blossoming display of it is conspicuous without, for in music, more than other things, there should be nothing that is pretentious or hypocritical.

23. Music springs from the movement of the mind; the notes are the manifestation of the music; the elegant colours and various parts are the ornaments of the notes. The superior man puts its fundamental cause in movement, makes its manifesting notes into music, and regulates its ornaments.

24. Thus they first strike the drum to warn (the performers) to be in readiness, and (the pantomimes) take three steps to show the nature of the dance. This is done a second time and they begin to move forward; and when they have completed their evolutions, they return and dress their ranks. However rapid their movements may be, there is nothing violent in them; however mysterious they may be, they are not beyond the power of being understood. One, studying them alone, finds pleasure in the object of them, and does not tire in his endeavours to understand them. When he has fully understood them, he does not keep what he desires to himself. Thus the affections (of joy) are displayed; the (ideal) of righteousness is established; and when the music is ended, the (due) honour has been paid to virtue. Superior men by it nourish their love of what is

good; small men in it hear the (correction of) their errors. Hence it is said, that 'for the courses to be pursued by men the influence of music is great.'

25. In music we have the outcome and bestowal (of what its framers felt); in ceremonies a return (for what their performers had received). Music expresses the delight in what produces it, and ceremonies lead the mind back to (the favours) which originate them. Music displays the virtue (of the framer); ceremonies are a return of the feelings (which led to them), as carrying the mind back to what originated them.

26. What is called 'a Grand carriage' is one which is (the gift) of the son of Heaven; the flag with dragons, and a nine-scolloped border, was the banner (conferred by) the son of Heaven; that with the azure and black edging exhibited the precious tortoises, and was (also the gift of) the son of Heaven; and when these were followed by herds of oxen and sheep, they were the gifts bestowed on the feudal lords.

Nan Fang, 'the South wind,' was the name of a poetical piece made by Shun, and celebrating the beneficent influence of rulers and parents as being like that of the south wind. Four lines of it are found in the Narratives of the School (Article 35): —

'The south wind's genial balm
Gives to my people's sorrows ease;
Its breath amidst the season's calm,
Brings to their wealth a large increase?'

The invention of the khin or lute, here ascribed to Shun, is also attributed to the more ancient Tîs, Shin Nang and Fû-hsî. Perhaps Shun was the first to make it with five strings. Khwei was his minister of music; see vol. iii, pages 44, 45.]

Tâ Kang was the name of Yâo's music; Hsien Kih, that of Hwang Tî's; Shâo, that of Shun's; and Hsiâ, that of Yü's. Pages would be required to condense what is said about the pieces and their names.

With this paragraph ends the fourth division of the Book, called Yo Shih (###), meaning 'The grant of Music,' or the Principles on which the ancient kings permitted their music to be used by the feudal princes, to signify their approval of what was good, and stimulate all to virtue.

This and the six previous paragraphs form the fifth division of the Book, and are called Yo Yen (###), 'Words about Music.' The Khien-lung editors, however, propose changing the Yen (###) into Hsing (###), so that the meaning would be Manifestations of Music.'

Thus: — .

With this ends the sixth chapter of the Book, called Yo Hsiang (###), meaning the natural symbols of music.

Section iii.

1. In music we have the expression of feelings which do not admit of any change; in ceremonies that of principles which do not admit of any alteration. Music embraces what all equally share; ceremony distinguishes the things in which men differ. Hence the theory of music and ceremonies embraces the whole nature of man.

2. To go to the very root (of our feelings) and know the changes (which they undergo) is the province of music; to display sincerity and put away all that is hypocritical is the grand law of ceremonies. Ceremonies and music resemble the nature of Heaven and Earth, penetrate to the virtues of the spiritual Intelligences, bring down the spirits from above, and raise up those whose seat is below. They give a sort of substantial embodiment of what is most subtle as well as material, and regulate the duties between father and son, ruler and subject.

3. Therefore, when the Great man uses and exhibits his ceremonies and music, Heaven and Earth will in response to him display their brilliant influences. They will act in happy union, and the energies (of nature), now expanding, now contracting, will proceed harmoniously. The genial airs from above and the responsive action below will overspread and nourish all things. Then plants and trees will grow luxuriantly; curling sprouts and buds will expand; the feathered and winged tribes will be active; horns and antlers will grow; insects will come to the light and revive; birds will breed and brood; the hairy tribes will mate and bring forth; the mammalia will have no abortions, and no eggs will be broken or addled, — and all will have to be ascribed to the power of music.

4. When we speak of music we do not mean the notes emitted by the Hwang Kung, Tâ Lü, (and the other musical pipes), the stringed instruments and the singing, or the (brandishing of the) shields and axes. These are but the small accessories of the music; and hence lads act as the pantomimes. (In the same way), the spreading of the mats, the disposing of the vases, and the arranging of

the stands and dishes, with the movements in ascending and descending, are but the small accessories of ceremonies; and hence there are the (smaller) officers who direct them. The music-masters decide on the tunes and the pieces of poetry; and hence they have their places with their stringed instruments, and their faces directed to the north. The prayer-officers of the ancestral temple decide on the various ceremonies in it, and hence they keep behind the representatives of the deceased. Those who direct the mourning rites after the manner of the Shang dynasty, have their places (for the same reason) behind the presiding mourner.

5. It is for this reason that the practice of virtue is held to be of superior worth, and the practice of any art of inferior; that complete virtue takes the first place, and the doing of anything, (however ingenious, only) the second. Therefore the ancient kings had their distinctions of superior and inferior, of first and last; and so they could frame their music and ceremonies for the whole kingdom.

6., The marquis Wan of Wei asked Dze-hsiâ, saying, ‘When in my square-cut dark robes and cap I listen to the ancient music, I am only afraid that I shall go to sleep. When I listen to the music of

Kang and Wei, I do not feel tired; let me ask why I should feel so differently under the old and the new music.’

7. Dze-hsiâ replied, ‘In the old music, (the performers) advance and retire all together; the music is harmonious, correct, and in large volume; the stringed instruments (above) and those made from gourd shells with the organs and their metal tongues (below), are all kept waiting for the striking of the drum. The music first strikes up at the sound of the drum; and when it ends, it is at the sound of the cymbals. The close of each part of the performance is regulated by the Hsiang, and the rapidity of the motions by the Yâ. In (all) this the superior man speaks of, and follows, the way of antiquity. The character is cultivated; the family is regulated; and peace and order are secured throughout the kingdom. This is the manner of the ancient music.

8. ‘But now, in the new music, (the performers) advance and retire without any regular order; the music is corrupt to excess; there is no end to its vileness. Among the players there are dwarfs like monkeys, while boys and girls are mixed together, and there is no distinction between father and son. Such music can never be talked about, and cannot be said to be after the manner of antiquity. This is the fashion of the new music.

9. ‘What you ask about is music; and what you like is sound. Now music and sound are akin, but they are not the same.’

10. The marquis asked him to explain, and Dze-hsiâ replied, ‘In antiquity, Heaven and Earth acted according to their several natures, and the four seasons were what they ought to be. The people were virtuous, and all the cereals produced abundantly. There were no fevers or other diseases, and no apparitions or other prodigies. This was what we call “the period of great order.” After this arose the sages, and set forth the duties between father and son, and between ruler and subject, for the guidance of society. When these guiding rules were thus correctly adjusted, all under heaven, there was a great tranquillity; after which they framed with exactness the six accords (upper and lower), and gave harmony to the five notes (of the scale), and the singing to the lutes of the odes and praise-songs; constituting what we call “the virtuous airs.” Such virtuous airs constituted what we call “Music,” as is declared in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 7, 4),

‘Silently grew the fame of his virtue,
His virtue was highly intelligent;
Highly intelligent, and of rare discrimination;
Able to lead, able to rule, —
To rule over this great country,
Rendering a cordial submission, effecting a cordial union.
When (the sway) came to king Wan,
His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with.
He received the blessing of God,
And it was extended to his descendants.”

11. ‘May I not say that what you love are the vile airs?’ The marquis said, “Let me ask where the vile airs come from?’ Dze-hsiâ replied, ‘The airs of Kang go to a wild excess, and debauch the mind; those of Sung tell of slothful indulgence and women, and drown the mind; those of Wei are vehement and rapid, and perplex the mind; and those of Khî are violent and depraved, and make the mind arrogant. The airs of those four states all stimulate libidinous desire, and are injurious to virtue; — they should therefore not be used at sacrifices.

12. ‘It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i [Part ii], ode 5), “In solemn unison
(the instruments) give forth their notes;
Our ancestors will hearken to them.”

That solemn unison denotes the grave reverence and harmony of their notes: — with reverence, blended with harmony, what is there that cannot be done?

13. ‘A ruler has only to be careful of what he likes and dislikes. What the ruler likes, his ministers will practise; and what superiors do, their inferiors follow. This is the sentiment in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 10, 6), “To lead the people is very easy.”

14. ‘Seeing this, and after (the repose of the people was secured), the sages made hand-drums and drums, the stopper and the starter, the earthen whistle and the bamboo flute, — the six instruments which produced the sounds of their virtuous airs. After these came the bell, the sounding-stone, the organ with thirty-six pipes, and the large lute, to be played in harmony with them; the shields, axes, ox-tails, and plumes, brandished by the pantomimes in time and tune. These they employed at the sacrifices in the temple of the former kings, at festivals in offering and receiving the pledge cup; in arranging the services of officers (in the temple) according to the rank due to each, as noble or mean, and in showing to future ages how they observed the order due to rank and to age.

15. ‘The bells give out a clanging sound as a signal. The signal is recognised by all, and that recognition produces a martial enthusiasm. When the ruler hears the sound of the bell, he thinks of his officers of war. ‘The sounding-stones give out a tinkling sound, as a summons to the exercise of discrimination. That discrimination may lead to the encountering of death. When the ruler hears the sounding-stone, he thinks of his officers who die in defence of his frontiers.

‘The stringed instruments give out a melancholy sound, which produces the thought of purity and fidelity, and awakens the determination of the mind. When the ruler hears the sound of the lute and cithern, he thinks of his officers who are bent on righteousness. ‘The instruments of bamboo give out a sound like that of overflowing waters, which suggests the idea of an assembly, the object of which is to collect the multitudes together. When the ruler hears the sound of his organs, pipes, and flutes, he thinks of his officers who gather the people together.

‘The drums and tambours give out their loud volume of sound, which excites the idea of movement, and tends to the advancing of the host. When the ruler hears the sounds of his drums and tambours, he thinks of his leaders and commanders. When a superior man thus hears his musical instruments, he does not hear only the sounds which they emit. There are associated ideas which accompany these.’

16. Pin-mâu Kiâ was sitting with Confucius. Confucius talked with him about music, and said, ‘At (the performance of) the Wû, how is it that the preliminary warning (of the drum) continues so long?’ The answer was, ‘To show (the king’s) anxiety that all his multitudes should be of one mind with him.’ ‘How is it that (when the performance has commenced) the singers drawl their notes so

long, and the pantomimes move about till they perspire?' The answer was, 'To show his apprehension that some (princes) might not come up in time for the engagement.'

'How is it that the violent movement of the arms and stamping fiercely with the feet begin so soon?' The answer was, ' To show that the time for the engagement had arrived.' 'How is it that, (in the performance of the Wû,) the pantomimes kneel on the ground with the right knee, while the left is kept up?' The answer was, 'There should be no kneeling in the Wû.' 'How is it that the words of the singers go on to speak eagerly of Shang?' The answer was, 'There should be no such sounds in the Wû.'

'But if there should be no such sound in the Wû, where does it come from?' The answer was, 'The officers (of the music) failed to hand it down correctly. If they did not do so, the aim of king Wû would have been reckless and wrong.'

The Master said, 'Yes, what I heard from Khang Hung was to the same effect as what you now say.'

17. Pin-mâu Kiâ rose up, left his mat, and addressed Confucius, saying, 'On the long-continued warning (of the drum) in the Wû, I have heard your instructions; but let me ask how it is that after that first delay there is another, and that a long one?'

The Master said, 'Sit down, and I will tell you. Music is a representation of accomplished facts. The pantomimes stand with their shields, each erect and firm as a hill, representing the attitude of king Wû. The violent movements of the arms and fierce stamping represent the enthusiasm of Thâi-kung. The kneeling of all at the conclusion of the performance represents the government (of peace, instituted) by (the dukes of) Kâu and Shâo.

18. 'Moreover, the pantomimes in the first movement proceed towards the north (to imitate the marching of king Wû against Shang); in the second, they show the extinction of Shang; in the third, they show the return march to the south; in the fourth, they show the laying out of the Southern states; in the fifth, they show how (the dukes of) Kâu and Shâo were severally put in charge of the states on the left and right; in the sixth, they again unite at the point of starting to offer their homage to the son of Heaven. Two men, one on each side of the performers, excite them with bells, and four times they stop and strike and thrust, showing the great awe with which (king Wû) inspired the Middle states. Their advancing with these men on each side shows his eagerness to complete his helpful undertaking. The performers standing long together show bow he waited for the arrival of the princes.

19. 'And have you alone not heard the accounts of Mû-yeh? King Wû, after the victory over Yin, proceeded to (the capital of) Shang; and before he

descended from his chariot he invested the descendants of Hwang Tî with Kî; those of the Tî Yâo with Kû; and those of the Tî Shun with Khan. When he had descended from it, he invested the descendant of the sovereign of Hsiâ with Kî; appointed the descendants of Yin to Sung; raised a mound over the grave of the king's son, Pî-kan; released the count of Khî from his imprisonment, and employed him to restore to their places the officers who were acquainted with the ceremonial usages of Shang. The common people were relieved from (the pressure) of the (bad) government which they had endured, and the emoluments of the multitude of (smaller) officers were doubled. '(The king then) crossed the Ho, and proceeded to the West. His horses were set free on the south of mount Hwâ, not to be yoked again. His oxen were dispersed in the wild of the Peach forest, not to be put to the carriages again. His chariots and coats of mail were smeared with blood, and despatched to his arsenals, not to be used again. The shields and spears were turned upside down and conveyed away, wrapped in tiger skins, which were styled "the appointed cases." The leaders and commanders were then constituted feudal lords; and it was known throughout the kingdom that king Wû would have recourse to weapons of war no more.

20. 'The army having been disbanded (the king commanded) a practice of archery at the colleges in the suburbs. At the college on the left (or east) they shot to the music of the Lî-shâu; at that on the right (or west) they shot to the music of the Zâu-yü; and (from this time) the archery which consisted in going through (so many) buffcoats ceased. They wore (only) their civil robes and caps, with their ivory tokens of rank stuck in their girdles; and the officers of the guard put off their swords. (The king) offered sacrifice in the Hall of Distinction, and the people learned to be filial. He gave audiences at court, and the feudal lords knew how they ought to demean themselves. He ploughed in the field set apart for that purpose, and the lords learned what should be the object of reverence to them (in their states), These five things constituted great lessons for the whole kingdom.'

21. In feasting the three (classes of the) old and the five (classes of the) experienced in the Great college, he himself (the son of Heaven) had his breast bared and cut up the animals. He (also) presented to them the condiments and the cups. He wore the royal cap, and stood with a shield before him. In this way he taught the lords their brotherly duties.

22. 'In this manner the ways of Kâu penetrated everywhere, and the interaction of ceremonies and music was established; — is it not right that in the performance of the Wû there should be that gradual and long-continuing action?'

23. A superior man says: 'Ceremonies and music should not for a moment be neglected by any one. When one has mastered completely (the principles of)

music, and regulates his heart and mind accordingly, the natural, correct, gentle, and honest heart is easily developed, and with this development of the heart comes joy. This joy goes on to a feeling of repose. This repose is long-continued. The man in this constant repose becomes (a sort of) Heaven. Heaven-like, (his action) is spirit-like. Heaven-like, he is believed without the use of words. Spirit-like, he is regarded with awe, without any display of rage. So it is, when one by his mastering of music regulates his mind and heart.

24. 'When one has mastered completely (the principle of) ceremonies so as to regulate his person accordingly, he becomes grave and reverential. Grave and reverential, he comes to be regarded with awe. If the heart be for a moment without the feeling of harmony and joy, meanness and deceitfulness enter it. If the outward demeanour be for a moment without gravity and respectfulness, indifference and rudeness show themselves.

25. 'Therefore the sphere in which music acts is the interior of man, and that of ceremonies is his exterior. The result of music is a perfect harmony, and that of ceremonies a perfect observance (of propriety). When one's inner man is (thus) harmonious, and his outer man thus docile, the people behold his countenance and do not strive with him; they look to his demeanour, and no feeling of indifference or rudeness arises in them. Thus it is that when virtue shines and acts within (a superior), the people are sure to accept (his rule), and hearken to him; and when the principles (of propriety) are displayed in his conduct, the people are sure (in the same way) to accept and obey him. Hence it is said, "Carry out perfectly ceremonies and music, and give them their outward manifestation and application, and under heaven nothing difficult to manage will appear."'

26. Music springs from the inward movements (of the soul); ceremonies appear in the outward movements (of the body). Hence it is the rule to make ceremonies as few and brief as possible, and to give to music its fullest development. This rule for ceremonies leads to the forward exhibition of them, and therein their beauty resides; that for music leads to the introspective consideration of it, and therein its beauty resides. If ceremonies demanding this condensation were not performed with this forward exhibition of them, they would almost disappear altogether; if music, demanding this full development, were not accompanied with this introspection, it would produce a dissipation of the mind. Thus it is that to every ceremony there is its proper response, and for music there is its introspection. When ceremonies are responded to, there arises pleasure; and when music is accompanied with the right introspection, there arises the (feeling of) repose. The responses of ceremony and the introspection of music spring from one and the same idea, and have one and the same object.

27. Now music produces pleasure; — what the nature of man cannot be without. That pleasure must arise from the modulation of the sounds, and have its embodiment in the movements (of the body); — such is the rule of humanity. These modulations and movements are the changes required by the nature, and they are found complete in music. Thus men will not be without the ministration of pleasure, and pleasure will not be without its embodiment, but if that embodiment be not suitably conducted, it is impossible that disorder should not arise. The ancient kings, feeling that they would feel ashamed (in the event of such disorder arising), appointed the tunes and words of the Yâ and the Sung to guide (in the music), so that its notes should give sufficient pleasure, without any intermixture of what was bad, while the words should afford sufficient material for consideration without causing weariness; and the bends and straight courses, the swell and diminution, the sharp angles, and soft melody throughout all its parts, should be sufficient to stir up in the minds of the hearers what was good in them, without inducing any looseness of thought or depraved air to be suggested. Such was the plan of the ancient kings when they framed their music.

28. Therefore in the ancestral temple, rulers and ministers, high and low, listen together to the music, and all is harmony and reverence; at the district and village meetings of the heads of clans, old and young listen together to it, and all is harmony and deference. Within the gate of the family, fathers and sons, brothers and cousins, listen together to it, and all is harmony and affection. Thus in music there is a careful discrimination (of the voices) to blend them in unison so as to bring out their harmony; there is a union of the (various) instruments to give ornamental effect to its different parts; and these parts are combined and performed so as to complete its elegance. In this way fathers and sons, rulers and subjects are united in harmony, and the people of the .myriad states are associated in love. Such was the method of the ancient kings when they framed their music.

29. In listening to the singing of the Yâ and the Sung, the aims and thoughts receive an expansion. From the manner in which the shields and axes are held and brandished, and from the movements of the body in the practice with them, now turned up, now bent down, now retiring, now stretching forward, the carriage of the person receives gravity. From the way in which (the pantomimes) move to their several places, and adapt themselves to the several parts (of the performance), the arrangement of their ranks is made correct, and their order in advancing and re tiring is secured. In this way music becomes the lesson of Heaven and Earth, the regulator of true harmony, and what the nature of man cannot dispense with.

30. It was by music that the ancient kings gave elegant expression to their joy; by their armies and axes that they gave the same to their anger. Hence their joy and anger always received their appropriate response. When they were joyful, all under heaven were joyful with them; when they were angry, the oppressive and disorderly feared them. In the ways of the ancient kings, ceremonies and music may be said to have attained perfection.

31. (Once), when Dze-kung had an interview with the music-master Yî, he asked him, saying, 'I have heard that in the music and words belonging to it there is that which is specially appropriate to every man; what songs are specially appropriate to me?' The other replied, 'I am but a poor musician, and am not worthy to be asked what songs are appropriate for particular individuals;- allow me to repeat to you what I have heard, and you can select for yourself (what is appropriate to you). The generous and calm, the mild and correct, should sing the Sung; the magnanimous and calm, and those of wide penetration and sincere, the Tâ Yâ (Major Odes of the Kingdom); the courteous and self-restraining, the lovers of the rules of propriety, the Hsiâo Yâ (Minor Odes of the Kingdom); the correct, upright, and calm, the discriminating and humble, the Fang, (Airs of the States); the determinedly upright, but yet gentle and loving, the Shang; and the mild and honest, but yet capable of decision, the Khî The object of this singing is for one to make himself right, and then to display his virtue. When he has thus put himself in a condition to act, Heaven and Earth respond to him, the four seasons revolve in harmony with him, the stars and constellations observe their proper laws, and all things are nourished and thrive.

32. 'What are called the Shang were the airs and words transmitted from the five Tîs; and having been remembered by the people of Shang, we call them the Shang. What are called the Khî were transmitted from the three dynasties; and having been remembered by the people of Khî, we call them the Khî. He who is versed in the airs of the Shang Will generally be found to manifest decision in the conduct of affairs. He who is versed in the airs of the Khî, when he is attracted by the prospect of profit, will yet give place to others. To manifest decision in the conduct of affairs is bravery; to give. place to others in the prospect of gain is righteousness. Who, without singing these songs, can assure himself that he will always preserve such bravery and righteousness?

33. 'In singing, the high notes rise as if they were borne aloft; the low descend as if they were falling to the ground; the turns resemble a thing broken off; and the finale resembles the breaking) of a willow tree; emphatical notes seem made by the square; quavers are like the hook (of a spear); and those prolonged on the same key are like pearls strung together. Hence, singing means the prolonged expression of the words; there is the utterance of the words, and

when the simple utterance is not sufficient, the prolonged expression of them. When that prolonged expression is not sufficient, there come the sigh and exclamation. When these are insufficient, unconsciously there come the motions of the hands and the stamping of the feet.'

(Such was the answer to) Dze-kung's question about music.

BOOK XVIII. ZÂ KÎ

or

Miscellaneous Records.

Section I. Part I.

1. When a feudal lord was on the march and died in his lodging, they called back his soul in the same way as in his state. If he died on the road, (one) got up on the nave of the left wheel of the chariot in which he had been riding, and called it, waving the pennon of his flag. (For the carriage with the bier) there was a pall, and attached to it a fringe made of black cloth, like a lower garment, serving as a curtain (to the temporary coffin), and the whole was made into a sort of house by a covering of white brocade. With this they travelled (back to his state), and on arriving at the gate of the temple, without removing the (curtain) wall, they entered and went straight to the place where the coffining was to take place. The pall was removed at the outside of the door.

2. When a Great officer or an ordinary officer died on the road, (one) got up on the left end of the nave of his carriage, and called back his soul, waving his pennon. If he died in his lodging, they called the soul back in the same manner as if he had died in his house.

In the case of a Great officer they made a pall of cloth, and so proceeded homewards. On arriving at the house, they removed the pall, took the (temporary) coffin on a handbarrow, entered the gate, and proceeding to the eastern steps, there halted and removed the barrow, after which they took the body up the steps, right to the place where it was to be coffined.

The pall-house made over the body of an ordinary officer was made of the phragmites rush; and the fringe for a curtain below of the typha.

4. In every announcement of a death to the ruler it was said, ‘Your lordship’s minister, so and so, has died. When the announcement was from a parent, a wife, or an eldest son, it was said, ‘Your lordship’s minister, my —— , has died.’ In an announcement of the death of a ruler to the ruler of another state, it was said, ‘My unworthy ruler has ceased to receive his emoluments. I venture to announce it to your officers.’ If the announcement were about the death of his wife, it was said, ‘The inferior partner of my poor ruler has ceased to receive her emoluments.’ On the death of a ruler’s eldest son, the announcement ran, ‘The heir-Son of my unworthy ruler, so and so, has died.’

5. When an announcement of the death of a Great officer was sent to another of the same grade, in the same state, it was said, ‘So and so has ceased to receive

his emoluments.' The same terms were employed when the announcement was to an ordinary officer. When it was sent to the ruler of another state, it ran, 'Your lordship's outside minister, my poor Great officer, so and so, has died.' If it were to one of equal degree (in the other state), it was said, 'Sir, your outside servant, our poor Great officer, has ceased to receive his emoluments, and I am sent here to inform you.' If it were to an ordinary officer, the announcement was made in the same terms.

6. In the announcement of the death of an ordinary officer to the same parties, it was made in the same-style, only that 'So and so has died,' was employed in all the cases.

7. A Great officer had his place in the lodgings about the palace, till the end of the mourning rites (for a ruler), while another officer returned to his home on the completion of a year. An ordinary officer had his place in the same lodgings. A Great officer occupied the mourning shed; another officer, the unplastered apartment.

8. In the mourning for a cousin, either paternal or maternal, who had not attained to the rank of a Great officer, a Great officer wore the mourning appropriate for an ordinary officer; and an ordinary officer, in mourning similarly for a cousin on either side who had been a Great officer, wore the same mourning.

9. The son of a Great officer by his wife proper wore the mourning appropriate for a Great officer.

10. The son of a Great officer by any other member of his harem, who was himself a Great officer wore for his father or mother the mourning of a Great officer; but his Place was only the same as that of a son by the proper wife who was not a Great officer.

11. When the son of an ordinary officer had become a Great officer, his parents could not preside at his mourning rites. They made his son do so; and if he had no son, they appointed some one to perform that part, and be the representative of the deceased.

12. When they were divining by the tortoise-shell about the grave and the day of interment of a Great officer, the officer superintending (the operation) wore an upper robe of sackcloth, with (strips of) coarser cloth (across the chest), and a girdle of the same and the usual mourning shoes. His cap was of black material, without any fringe. The diviner wore a skin cap.

13. If the stalks were employed, then the manipulator wore a cap of plain silk, and the long robe. The reader of the result wore his court robes.

14. At the mourning rites for a Great officer (preparatory to the interment), the horses were brought out. The man who brought them wailed, stamped, and

went out. After this (the son) folded up the offerings, and read the list (of the gifts that had been sent).

15. At the mourning rites for a Great officer, one from the department of the chief superintendent of the ancestral temple assisted (the presiding mourner), and one from that of the assistant superintendent put the question to the tortoise-shell, which was then manipulated in the proper form by the diviner.

16. In calling back (the soul of) a feudal lord, they used the robe which had first been conferred on him, with the cap and corresponding robes, varying according to the order of his nobility.

17. (In calling back the soul of) a friends wife, they used the black upper robe with a purple border, or that with pheasants embroidered on it in various colours; both of them lined with white crape.

18. (In calling back that of) the wife of a high noble, they used the upper robe of light green, worn on her first appointment to that position, and lined with white crape; (in calling back that of the wife of) a Great officer of the lowest grade, the upper robe of plain white. (The souls of other wives were called back) by parties with the same robe as in the case of an ordinary officer.

19. In the calling back, they stood (with their faces to the north), inclining to the west.

20. (To the pall over the coffin of a Great officer) there was not attached the (curtain of) yellow silk with pheasants on it, descending below the (bamboo) catch for water.

21. (The tablet of a grandson who had been) a Great officer was placed (in the shrine of his grandfather who had (only) been an officer; but not if he had only been an officer, and the grandfather a Great officer. In that case, the tablet was placed in the shrine of a brother of the grandfather (who had only been an officer). If there were no such brother, (it was placed in the shrine of their high ancestor), according to the regular order of relationship. Even if his grand-parents were alive, it was so.

22. The (tablet of a) wife was placed after that of the wife (of the principal of the shrine), in which her husband's tablet was placed. If there had been no such wife, it was placed in the shrine of the wife of the high ancestor, according to the regular order of relationship. The (tablet of a) concubine was placed in the shrine of her husband's grandmother (concubine). If there had been no such concubine, then (it was placed in that of the concubine of the high ancestor) according to the regular order of relationship.

23. (The tablet of) an unmarried son was placed in the shrine of his grandfather, and was used at sacrifices. That of an unmarried daughter was placed in the shrine of her grandmother, but was not used at sacrifices. The

(tablet of) the son of a ruler was placed in the shrine of (one of) the sons (of his grandfather), that grandfather having also been a ruler.

24. When a ruler died, his eldest son was simply styled son (for that year), but he was treated (by other rulers) as the ruler.

25. If one, after wearing for a year the mourning and cap proper to the three years for a parent, met with the death of a relative for whom he had to wear the mourning of nine months, he changed it for the hempen-cloth proper to the nine months; but he did not change the staff and shoes.

26. In mourning for a parent, (after a year) the sackcloth of the nine months' mourning is preferred; but if there occurred the placing in its shrine of the tablet of a brother who had died prematurely, the cap and other mourning worn during that first year was worn in doing so. The youth who had died prematurely was called 'The Bright Lad,' and (the mourner said), 'My so and so,' without naming him. This was treating him with reference to his being in the spirit-state.

27. In the case of brothers living in different houses, when one first heard of the death of another, he might reply to the messenger simply with a wail. His first step then was to put on the sackcloth, and the girdle with dishevelled edges. If, before he had put on the sackcloth, he hurried off to the mourning rites, and the presiding mourner had not yet adjusted his head-band and girdle, in the case of the deceased being one for whom he had to mourn for five months, he completed that term along with the presiding mourner. If nine months were due to the deceased, he included the time that had elapsed since he assumed the sackcloth and girdle.

28. The master, presiding at the mourning rites for a concubine, himself conducted the placing of her tablet (in its proper shrine). At the sacrifices at the end of the first and second years, he employed her son to preside at them. The sacrifice at her offering did not take place in the principal apartment.

29. A ruler did not stroke the corpse of a servant or a concubine.

30. Even after the wife of a ruler was dead, the concubines (of the harem) wore mourning for her relatives. If one of them took her place (and acted as mistress of the establishment), she did not wear mourning for the relatives.

See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, page 34.

The public lodging assigned to him in the state where he was.

Not daring to communicate the evil tidings directly to the ruler.

Two places of lodging about the palace are mentioned, here the mourning shed, and the unplastered apartment. Both these appear to have been in the courtyard, outside the palace itself; the former, a hut, formed by trees and branches of trees, placed against the wall on the east, with the most slender provision for accommodation and comfort; the latter, an apartment in some other

place, made of unburnt bricks, and unplastered, more commodious, but nearly as destitute of comfort. In the former, the chief mourners ‘afflicted themselves,’ while those whose mourning was not so intense occupied the other.

The ordinary officer, who returned home at the end of a year, is supposed to hive had his charge in some town at a distance from court, where his presence could no longer be dispensed with; and the other, who occupies the unplastered apartment to the end of the rites, to have been employed at the court.]

Paragraph 18 in the ordinary editions is before 16. The tablets must have been confused, and were, perhaps, defective.

This lady took the deceased wife’s place, and performed many of the duties; but she bad not the position of wife. Anciently, a feudal ruler could only, in all his life, have one wife, one lady, that is, to be called by that name.

Part ii.

1. If one heard of the mourning rites for a cousin for whom he had to wear mourning for nine months or more, when he looked in the direction of the place where those rites were going on, he wailed. If he were going to accompany the funeral to the grave, but did not get to the house in time, though he met the presiding mourner returning, he himself went on to the grave. The president at the mourning rites for a cousin, though the relationship might not have been near, also presented the sacrifice of Repose.

2. On all occasions of mourning, if, before the mourning robes had all been completed, any one arrived to offer condolences, (the president) took the proper place, wailed, bowed to the visitor, and leaped.

3. At the wailing for a Great officer, another of the same rank, wore the conical cap, with a sackcloth band round it. He wore the same also when engaged with the coffining.

If he had on the cap of dolichos-cloth in mourning for his own wife or son, and were called away to the lighter mourning for a distant relative, he put on the conical cap and band.

4. (In wailing for) an eldest son, he carried a staff, but not for that son’s son; he went without it to the place of wailing. (An eldest son), going to wail for his wife, if his parents were alive, did not carry a staff, nor bow so as to lay his forehead on the ground. If (only) his mother were alive, he did not lay his forehead to the ground. Where such a prostration should have taken place, as in the case of one who brought a gift with his condolence, an ordinary bow was made.

5. (An officer) who had left a feudal prince and gone into the service of a Great officer did not on the lord's death return and wear mourning for him; nor did one who had left a Great officer to serve a prince, return to mourn on the death of the former.

6. The strings of the mourning cap served to distinguish it from one used on a festive occasion. The silk cap worn after a year's mourning, and belonging to that for three years, had such strings, and the seam of it was on the right. That worn in the mourning of five months, and a still shorter time, was seamed on the left. The cap of the shortest mourning had a tassel of reddish silk. The ends of the girdle in the mourning of nine months and upward hung loose.

7. Court robes were made with fifteen skeins (1200 threads) in the warp. Half that number made the coarse cloth for the shortest mourning, which then was glazed by being steeped with ashes.

8. In sending presents to one another for the use of the dead, the princes of the states sent their carriages of the second class with caps and robes. They did not send their carriages of the first class, nor the robes which they had themselves received (from the king).

9. The number of (small) carriages sent (to the grave) was according to that of the parcels of flesh to be Conveyed. Each one had a pall of coarse cloth. All round were ornamental figures. These parcels were placed at the four corners of the coffin.

10. (Sometimes) rice was sent, but Yû-dze said that such an offering was contrary to rule. The food put down (by the dead) in mourning was only dried meat and pickled.

11. At the sacrifices (after the sacrifice of Repose), the mourner styled himself 'The filial son,' or 'The filial grandson;' at the previous rites, 'The grieving son,' or 'The grieving grandson.'

12. In the square upper garment of the mourner and the sackcloth over it, and in the carriage in which he rode to the grave, there was no difference of degree.

13. The white cap of high (antiquity) and the cap of black cloth were both without any ornamental fringe. The azure-coloured and that of white silk with turned-up rim had such a fringe.

14. A Great officer wore the cap with the square top when assisting at a sacrifice of his ruler; but that of skin when sacrificing at his own shrines. An ordinary officer used the latter in his ruler's temple, and the cap (of dark cloth) in his own. As an officer wore the skin cap, when going in person to meet his bride, he might also use it at his own shrines.

15. The mortar for the fragrant herbs, in making sacrificial spirits, was made of cypress wood, and the pestle of dryandria. The ladle (for lifting out the flesh)

was of mulberry wood, three, some say five, cubits long. The scoop used in addition was of mulberry, three cubits long, with its handle and end carved.

16. The girdle over the shroud used for a prince or a Great officer was of five colours; that used for another officer, only of two.

17. The must (put into the grave) was made from the malt of rice. There were the jars (for it and other liquids), the baskets (for the millet), and the boxes (in which these were placed). These were placed outside the covering of the coffin; and then the tray for the mats was put in.

18. The spirit-tablet (which had been set up over the coffin) was buried after the sacrifice of Repose.

19. (The mourning rites for) all wives were according to the rank of their husbands.

20. (Visitors who had arrived) during the slighter dressing of the corpse, the more complete dressing, or the opening (the enclosure where the coffin was), were all saluted and bowed to (after these operations were finished).

21. At the wailing morning and evening, (the coffin) was not screened from view. When the bier had been removed, the curtain was no more suspended.

22. When the ruler came to condole, after the carriage with its coffin (had reached the gate of the temple), the presiding mourner bowed towards him with his face towards the east, and moving to the right of the gate, leaped there, with his face towards the north. Going outside, he waited till the ruler took his departure and bade him go back, after which he put down (by the bier the gifts which the ruler had brought).

23. When Dze-kâo was fully dressed after his death, first, there were the upper and lower garments both wadded with floss silk, and over them a suit of black with a purple border below; next, there was a. suit of white made square and straight, (the suit belonging to) the skin cap; next, that belonging to the skin cap like the colour of a sparrow's head; and next, (that belonging to) the dark-coloured cap, with the square top. Zang-dze said, 'In such a dressing there should be nothing of woman's dress.'

24. When an officer died on some commission, upon which he had gone for his ruler, if the death took place in a public hotel, they called his soul back; if in a private hotel, they did not do so. By a public hotel was meant a ruler's palace, or some other building, erected by him, and by a private hotel, the house of a noble, a Great officer, or an officer below that rank.

25. (On the death of) a ruler, there is the leaping for him for seven days in succession; and on that of a Great officer, it lasts for five days. The women take their share in this expression of grief at intervals, between the presiding mourner

and his visitors. On the death of an ordinary officer, it lasts for three days; the women taking their part in the same way.

26. In dressing the corpse of a ruler, there is first put on it the upper robe with the dragon; next, a dark-coloured square-cut suit; next, his court-robes; next, the white lower garment with gathers; next, a purple-coloured lower garment; next, a sparrow-head skin cap; next, the dark-coloured cap with the square top; next, the robe given on his first investiture; next, a girdle of red and green; over which was laid out the great girdle.

27. At the slight dressing of the corpse the son (or the presiding mourner) wore the band of sackcloth about his head. Rulers, Great officers, and ordinary officers agreed in this.

28. When the ruler came to see the great dressing of the corpse, as he was ascending to the hall, the Shang priest spread the mat (afresh), and proceeded to the dressing.

29. The gifts (for the dead, and to be placed in the grave), contributed by the people of Lo, consisted of three rolls of dark-coloured silk, and two of light red, but they were (only) a cubit in width, and completing the length of (one) roll.

30. When one came (from another ruler) with a message of condolence, he took his place outside, on the west of the gate, with his face to the east. The chief officer attending him was on the southeast of him, with his face to the north, inclining to the west, and west from the gate. The orphan mourner, with his face to the west, gave his instructions to the officer waiting on him, who then went to the visitor and said, ‘My orphaned master has sent me to ask why you have given yourself this trouble,’ to which the visitor replies, ‘Our ruler has sent me to ask for your master in his trouble.’ With this reply the officer returned to the mourner and reported it, returning and saying, ‘My orphaned master is waiting for you.’ On this the visitor advanced. The mourning host then went up to the reception hall by the steps on the east, and the visitor by those on the west. The latter, with his face to the east, communicated his message, saying, ‘Our ruler has heard of the bereavement you have sustained, and has sent me to ask for you in your sorrows.’ The mourning son then bowed to him, kneeling with his forehead to the ground. The messenger then descended the steps, and returned to his place.

31. The attendant charged with the jade for the mouth of the deceased, and holding it in his hands flat round piece of jade — communicated his instructions, saying, ‘Our ruler has sent me with the gem for the mouth.’ The officer in waiting went in and reported the message, then returning and saying, ‘Our orphaned master is waiting for you.’ The bearer of the gem then advanced, ascended the steps, and communicated his message. The son bowed to him, with

his forehead to the ground. The bearer then knelt, and placed the gem on the southeast of the coffin, upon a phragmites mat; but if the interment had taken place, on a typha mat. After this, he descended the steps, and returned to his place, The major-domo, in his court robes, but still wearing his mourning shoes, then ascended the western steps, and kneeling with his face to the west, took up the piece of jade, and descending by the same steps, went towards the east (to deposit it in the proper place).

32. The officer charged with the grave-clothes said, ‘Our ruler has sent me with the grave-clothes.’ The officer in waiting, having gone in and reported, returned and said, ‘Our orphaned master is waiting for you.’ Then the other took up first the cap with the square top and robes, with his left hand holding the neck of the upper garment, and with his right the waist. He advanced, went up to the hall, and communicated his message, saying, ‘Our ruler has sent me with the grave-clothes.’ The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground; and when the bearer laid down the things on the east of the coffin, he then went down, and received the skin cap of the sparrow’s-head colour, with the clothes belonging to it inside the gate, under the eaves. These he presented with the same forms; then the skin cap and clothes which he received in the middle of the courtyard; then the court robes; then the dark-coloured, square-cut garments, which he received at the foot of the steps on the west. When all these presentations were made, five men from the department of the major-domo took the things up, and going down the steps on the west, went away with them to the-east. They all took them up with their faces towards the west.

33. The chief of the attendants (of the messenger) had charge of the carriage and horses, and with a long symbol of jade in his hand communicated his message, saying, ‘Our ruler has sent me to present the carriage and horses.’ The officer in waiting went in and informed the presiding mourner, and returned with the message, ‘The orphan, so and so, is waiting for you.’ The attendant then had the team of yellow horses and the grand carriage exhibited in the central courtyard, with the front to the north; and with the symbol in hand he communicated his message. His grooms were all below, on the west of the carriage. The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground. He then knelt, and placed his symbol in the corner, on the southeast of the coffin. The major-domo then took the symbol up, and proceeded with it to the east.

34, The message was always delivered with the face turned towards the coffin, and the son always bowed to the attendant charged with it, with his forehead down to the ground. The attendant then knelt with his face to the west, and deposited his gift (or its representative). The major-domo and his employés

ascended by the steps on the west to take these up, and did so with their faces towards the west, descending (again) by the same steps.

The attendant charged with the carriage and horses went out, and returned to his place outside the gate.

35. The chief visitor then, (wishing) to perform the ceremony of wailing, said, ‘My ruler, being engaged in the services of his own ancestral temple, could not come and take part in your rites, and has sent me, so and so, his old servant, to assist in holding the rope.’ The officer in waiting (reported his request), and returned with the message, ‘The orphan, so and so, is waiting for you.’ The messenger then entered and took his place on the right of the gate. His attendants all followed him, and stood on his left, on the cast. The superintendent of ceremonies introduced the visitor, and went up on the hall, and received his ruler’s instructions, then descending and saying, ‘ The orphan ventures to decline the honour which you propose, and begs you to return to your place.’ The messenger, however, replied. ‘My ruler charged me that I should not demean myself as a visitor or guest, and I venture to decline doing as you request.’ The other then reported this reply, and returned, and told the messenger that the orphan firmly declined the honour which he proposed, and repeated the request that he would return to his place. The messenger repeated his reply, saying that he also firmly declined (to return to his place). The same message from the mourner was repeated, and the same reply to it, (after which) the mourner said, ‘Since he thus firmly declines what I request, I will venture respectfully to comply with his wish.’

The messenger then stood on the west of the gate, and his attendants on his left, facing the west. The orphaned mourner descended by the steps on the east, and bowed to him, after which they both ascended and wailed, each of them leaping three times in response to each other. The messenger then went out, escorted by the mourner outside of the gate, who then bowed to him, with his forehead down to the ground.

36. When the ruler of a state had mourning rites in hand for a parent, (any officer who was mourning for a parent) did not dare to receive visits of condolence (from another state).

37. The female relatives of the exterior kept in their apartments; the servants spread the mats; the officer of prayer, who used the Shang forms, spread out the girdle, sash, and upper coverings; the officers washed their hands, standing on the north of the vessel; they then removed the corpse to the place where it was to be dressed. When the dressing was finished, the major-domo reported it. The son then leant on the coffin and leaped. The wife with her face to the east, also leant on it, kneeling; and then she got up and leaped.

38. There are three things in the mourning rites for an officer which agree with those used on the death of the son of Heaven: — the torches kept burning all night (when the coffin is to be conveyed to the grave); the employment of men to draw the carriage; and the keeping of the road free from all travellers on it.

It is generally supposed that the Dze-kâo here was the disciple of Confucius, so styled, and also known as Mo Khâi; but the dressing here is that of the corpse of a Great officer, and there is no evidence that the disciple ever attained to that rank; and I am inclined to doubt, with Kiang Kâo-hsî and others, whether the party in the text may not have been another Dze-kâo. The caps of the last three suits are understood to be used for the suits themselves, with which they were generally worn. Zang-dze's condemnation of the dressing was grounded on the purple border of one of the articles in the first suit. See Analects X, 4.

This paragraph, which it is not easy to construe or interpret, is understood to be condemnatory of a stinginess in the matter spoken of, which had begun in the Lû. The rule had been that such pieces of silk should be twenty-five cubits wide, and eighteen cubits long.

See the twelfth paragraph in the second, section of next Book. it appears here, with some alteration, by mistake.

Section ii. Part i.

1. When a man was wearing mourning for his father, if his mother died before the period was completed, he put off the mourning for his father (and assumed that proper for his mother). He put on, however, the proper dress when sacrificial services required it; but when they were over, he returned to the mourning (for his mother).

2. When occasion occurred for wearing the mourning for uncles or cousins, if it arrived during the period of mourning for a parent, then the previous mourning was not laid aside, save when the sacrificial services in these cases required it to be so; and when they were finished, the mourning for a parent was resumed.

3. If during the three years' mourning (there occurred also another three years' mourning for the eldest son), then after the coarser girdle of the Kiung hemp had been assumed in the latter case, the sacrifices at the end of the first or second year's mourning for a parent might be proceeded with.

4. When a grandfather had died, and his grandson also died before the sacrifices at the end of the first or second year had been performed, (his spirit-tablet) was still placed next to the grandfather's.

5. When a mourner, while the coffin was in the house, heard of the death of another relative at a distance, he went to another apartment and wailed for him. (Next day), he entered where the coffin was, and put down the offerings (to the deceased), after which he went out, changed his clothes, went to the other apartment, and repeated the ceremony of the day before.

6. When a Great officer or another officer was about to take part in a sacrifice at his ruler's, if, after the inspection of the washing of the vessels to be used, his father or mother died, he still went to the sacrifice; but took his place in a different apartment. After the sacrifice he put off his (sacrificial) dress, went outside the gate of the palace, wailed, and returned to his own house. In other respects he acted as he would have done in hurrying to the mourning rites. If the parent's death took place before the inspection of the washing, he sent a messenger to inform the ruler of his position; and when he returned, proceeded to wail (for his deceased parent).

When the death that occurred was that of an uncle, aunt, or cousin, if he had received the previous notice to fast, he went to the sacrifice; and when it was over, he went out at the ruler's gate, put off his (sacrificial) dress, and returned to his own house. In other respects he acted as if he had been hurrying to the mourning rites. If the deceased relative lived under the same roof with him, he took up his residence in other apartments.

7. Zang dze asked, 'When a high minister or Great officer is about to act the part of the personator of the dead at a sacrifice by his ruler, and has received instructions to pass the night previous in solemn vigil, if there occur in his own family occasion for him to wear the robe of hemmed sackcloth, what is he to do?' Confucius said, 'The rule is for him to leave his own house, and lodge in the ruler's palace till the service (for the ruler) is accomplished.

8. Confucius said, 'When the personator of the dead comes forth in his leathern cap, or that with the square top, ministers, Great officers, and other officers, all should descend from their carriages when he passes. He should bow forward to them, and he should (also) have people going before him (to notify his approach, that people may get out of the way).

9. During the mourning rites for a parent, when the occasion for one of the sacrifices was at hand, if a death occurred in the family of a brother or cousin, the sacrifice was postponed till the burial of the dead had taken place. If the cousin or brother were an inmate of the same palace with himself, although the death were that of a servant or concubine, the party postponed his sacrifice in this way, At the sacrifice the mourner went up and descended the steps with only one foot on each, all assisting him, doing the same. They did so even for the sacrifice of Repose, and to put the spirit-tablet in its place.

10. From the feudal rulers down to all officers, at the sacrifice at the end of the first year's mourning for a parent, when the chief mourner took the cup offered to him by the chief among the visitors, he raised it to his teeth, while the visitors, brothers, and cousins all sipped the cups presented to them. After the sacrifice at the end of the second year, the chief mourner might sip his cup, while all the visitors, brothers, and cousins might drink off their cups.

11. The attendants at the sacrifices during the funeral rites give notice to the visitors to present the offerings, of which, however, they did not afterwards partake.

12. Dze-kung asked about the rites of mourning (for parents), and the Master said, 'Reverence is the most important thing; grief is next to it; and emaciation is the last. The face should wear the appearance of the inward feeling, and the demeanour and carriage should be in accordance with the dress.'

He begged to ask about the mourning for a brother, and the Master said, 'The rites of mourning for a brother are to be found in the tablets where they are written.'

13. A superior man will not interfere with the mourning of other men to diminish it, nor will he do so with his own mourning.

14. Confucius said, 'Shâo-lien and Tâ-lien demeaned themselves skilfully during their mourning (for their parents). During the (first) three days they were alert; for the (first) three months they manifested no weariness; for the (first) year they were full of grief; for the (whole) three years they were sorrowful. (And yet) they belonged to one of the rude tribes on the East'.

15. During the three years of mourning (for his father), (a son) might speak, but did riot discourse; might reply, but did not ask questions. In the shed or the unplastered apartment he sat (alone), nobody with him. While occupying that apartment, unless there were some occasion for him to appear before his mother, he did not enter the door (of the house). On all occasions of wearing the sackcloth with its edges even, he occupied the unplastered apartment, and not the shed. To occupy the shed was the severest form in mourning.

16. (The grief) in mourning for a wife was like that for an uncle or aunt; that for a father's sister or one's own sister was like that for a cousin; that for any of the three classes of minors dying prematurely was as if they had been full-grown.

17. The mourning for parents is taken away (at the end of three years), (but only) its external symbols; the mourning for brothers (at the end of one year), (and also) internally.

18. (The period of mourning) for ruler's mother or wife is the same as that for brothers. But (beyond) what appears in the countenance is this, that (in the latter

case) the mourners do not eat and drink (as usual).

19. After a man has put off the mourning (for his father), if, when walking along the road, he sees one like (his father), his eyes look startled. If he hear one with the same name, his heart is agitated.

In condoling with mourners on occasion of a death, and inquiring for one who is ill, there will be something in his face and distressed manner different from other men. He who is thus affected is fit to wear 'the three years' mourning. So far as other mourning is concerned, he may walk right on (without anything) having such an effect on him.

20. The sacrifice at the end of the second, year is signalized by the principal mourner putting off his mourning dress. The evening (before), he announces the time for it, and puts on his court robes, which he then wears at the sacrifice.

21. Dze-yû said, 'After the sacrifice at the end of the second year, although the mourner should not wear the cap of white silk, (occasions may occur when) he must do so. Afterwards he resumes the proper dress.'

22. (At the mourning rites of an officer), if, when he had bared his breast, a Great officer arrived (on a visit of condolence), although he might be engaged in the leaping, he put a stop to it, and went to salute and bow to him. Returning then, he resumed his leaping and completed it, after which he readjusted his dress and covered his breast.

In the case of a visit from another officer, he went on with his leaping, completed it, readjusted his upper dress, and then went to salute and bow to him, without having occasion to resume and complete the leaping.

23. At the sacrifice of Repose for a Great officer of the highest grade, there were offered a boar and a ram; at the conclusion of the wailing, and at the placing of his spirit-tablet, there was, in addition, the bull. On the similar occasions for a Great officer of the lowest grade, there was in the first case a single victim, and in the others the boar and the ram.

24. In consulting the tortoise-shell about the burial and sacrifice of Repose, the style of the petition was as follows: — A son or grandson spoke of himself as 'the sorrowing,' (when divining about his father or grandfather); a husband (divining about his wife) said, 'So and so for so and so;' an elder brother about a younger brother, simply said, 'So and so;' a younger brother about an elder brother said, 'For my elder brother, so and so.'

25. Anciently, noble and mean all carried staffs. (On one occasion) Shû-sun Wû-shû, when going to court, saw a wheelwright put his staff through the nave of a wheel, and turn it round. After this (it was made a rule that) only men of rank should carry a staff ,26. (The custom of) making a hole in the napkin

(covering the face of the dead) by which to introduce what was put into the mouth, was begun by Kung yang Kiâ.

27. What were the grave-clothes (contributed to the dead)? The object of them was to cover the body. From the enshrouding to the slighter dressing, they were not put on, and the figure of the body was seen. Therefore the corpse was first enshrouded, and afterwards came the grave-clothes.

28. Some one asked Zang-dze, 'After sending away to the grave the offerings to the dead, we wrap up what up remains; — is this not like a man, after partaking of a meal, wrapping-what is left (to take with him)? Does a gentleman do such a thing? Zang-dze said, 'Have you not seen what is done at a great feast? At a great feast, given by a Great officer, after all have partaken, he rolls up what is left on the stands for the three animals, and sends it to the lodgings of his guests. When a son treats his parents in this way as his (honoured) guests, it is an expression of his grief (for their loss). Have you, Sir, not seen what is done at a great feast?'

29. 'Excepting at men's funeral rites, do they make such inquiries and present such gifts as they then do? At the three years' mourning, the mourner bows to his visitors in the manner appropriate to the occasion; at the mourning of a shorter period, he salutes them in the usual way.'

30. During the three years' mourning, if any one sent wine or flesh to the mourner, be received it after declining it thrice; he received it in his sackcloth and band. If it came from the ruler with a message from him, he did not presume to decline it; — he received it and presented it (in his ancestral temple).

One occupied with such mourning did not send any gift, but when men sent gifts to him he received them. When engaged in the mourning rites for an uncle, cousin, or brother, and others of a shorter period, after the wailing was concluded, he might send gifts to others.

31. Hsien-dze said, 'The pain occasioned by the mourning for three years is like that of beheading; that arising from the one year's mourning, is like the stab from a sharp weapon.'

32. During the one year's mourning, in the eleventh month, they put on the dress of silk, which was called lien; in the thirteenth month they offered the hsiang sacrifice, and in the same month that called than; — which concluded the mourning.

During the mourning for three years, even though they had occasion to assume the dress proper for the nine months' mourning, they did not go to condole (with the other mourners). From the feudal lords down to all officers, if they bad occasion to dress and go to wail (for a relative newly deceased), they

did so in the dress proper to the mourning for him, After putting on the lien silk, they paid visits of condolence.

33. When one was occupied with the nine months' mourning, if the burial had been performed, he might go and condole with another mourner, retiring after he had wailed without waiting for any other part of the mourner's proceedings.

During the mourning for one year, if before the burial one went to condole with another in the same district, he withdrew after he had wailed, without waiting for the rest of the proceedings.

If condoling during the mourning for nine months, he waited to see the other proceedings, but did not take part in them.

During the mourning for five months or three months, he waited to assist at the other proceedings, but did not take part in the (principal) ceremony.

34. When one (was condoling with) another whom he had been accustomed to pass with a hasty step, (at the interment of his dead relative), he retired when the bier had passed out from the gate of the temple. If they had been on bowing terms, he retired when they had reached the station for wailing. If they had been in the habit of exchanging inquiries, he retired after-the coffin was let down into the grave. if they had attended court together, he went back to the house with the other, and wailed with him. If they were intimate friends, he did not retire till after the sacrifice of Repose, and the placing of the spirit tablet of the deceased in the shrine.

35. Condoling friends did not (merely) follow the principal mourner. Those who were forty (or less) held the ropes when the coffin was let down into the grave. Those of the same district who were fifty followed him back to the house and wailed; and those who were forty waited till the grave was filled up.

36. During mourning, though the food might be bad, the mourner was required to satisfy his hunger with it. If for hunger he had to neglect anything, this was contrary to the rules. If he through satiety forgot his sorrow, that also was contrary to the rules. It was a distress to the wise men (who made the rules) to think that a mourner should not see or hear distinctly; should not walk correctly or be unconscious of his occasion for sorrow; and therefore (they enjoined) that a mourner, when ill, should drink wine and eat flesh; that people of fifty should do nothing to bring on emaciation; that at sixty they should not be emaciated; that at seventy they should drink liquor and eat flesh: — all these rules were intended as preventives against death.

37. If one, while in mourning, was invited by another to eat with him, he did not go while wearing the nine months' mourning or that of a shorter period; if the burial had taken place, he might go to another party's house. If that other

party belonged to his relative circle, and wished him to eat with him, he might do so; if he did not belong to that circle, he did not eat with him.

38. While wearing the mourning of nine months, one might eat vegetables and fruits, and drink water and congee, using no salt or cream. If he could not eat dry provisions, he might use salt or cream with them.

39. Confucius said, 'If a man have a sore on his body, he should bathe. If he have a wound on his head, he should wash it. If he be ill, he should drink liquor and eat flesh. A superior man will not emaciate himself so as to be ill. If one die from such emaciation, a superior man will say of him that he has failed in the duty of a son.'

40. Excepting when following the carriage with the bier to the grave, and returning from it, one was not seen on the road with the mourning cap, which was used instead of the ordinary one.

41. During the course of mourning, from that worn for five months and more, the mourner did not wash his head or bathe, excepting for the sacrifice of Repose, the placing the spirit-tablet in the shrine, the assuming the dress of lien silk, and the sacrifice at the end of a year.

42. During mourning rites, when the sackcloth with the edges even was worn, after the burial, if one asked an interview with the mourner, he saw him, but he himself did not ask to see any person. He might do so when wearing the mourning of five months. When wearing that for nine months, he did not carry the introductory present in his hand (when seeking an interview). It was only when wearing the mourning for a parent that the mourner did not avoid seeing any one, (even) while the teats were running from him.

43. A man while wearing the mourning for three years might execute any orders of government after the sacrifice at the end of a year. One mourning for a year, might do so when the wailing was ended; one mourning for nine months, after the burial; one mourning for five months or three, after the encoffining and dressing.

44. Zang Shen asked Zang-dze, saying, 'In wailing for a parent, should one do so always in the same voice?' The answer was, 'When a child has lost its mother on the road, is it possible for it to think about the regular and proper voice?'

That is, the sacrifices regularly presented at the end of the first and second year from the death. The translation here and in the next three paragraphs, if it were from an Aryan or Semitic language, could not be said to be literal; but it correctly represents the ideas of the author.

The Khien-lung editors doubt the genuineness of this last sentence. A commissioned officer, they say, and much more a Great officer, occupied his

own residence, and had left the family at home; and they fail to see how the condition supposed could' have existed.

See vol. xxvii, Page 341, Paragraph 26, which is here repeated.

The Khien-lung editors think paragraph 13 is out of place, and would place it farther on, after paragraph 43.

Shâo-lien; see Analects XVIII, 8, 3, and 'Narratives of the School,' Article 43.

So, Khan Kâo.

Such as receiving the condolences of visitors on account of some other occasion of mourning.

A Great officer of Lû, about B.C. 500.

We do not find anything about this man elsewhere.

See vol. xxvii, p-3, paragraph 5. There is probably something wanting at the beginning of this paragraph.

That is, in putting down the offerings to the deceased.

This was a mark of respect. Compare Analects IX, 9.

Part ii.

1. After the wailing was ended, there commenced the avoiding of certain names. (An officer) did not use the name of his (paternal) grandfather or grandmother, of his father's brothers or uncles; of his father's aunts or sisters. Father and son agreed in avoiding all these names. The names avoided by his mother the son avoided in the house. Those avoided by his wife he did not use when at. her side. If among them there were names which had been borne by his own paternal great-grandfather or great-grand-uncles, he avoided them (in all places).

2. When (the time for) capping (a young man) came during the time of the mourning rites, though they were those for a parent, the ceremony might be performed. After being capped in the proper place, the subject went in, wailed and leaped, — three times each bout, and then came out again.

3. At the end of the nine months' mourning, it was allowable to cap a son or to marry a daughter. A father at the end of the five months' mourning, might cap a son, or marry a daughter, or take a wife (for a son). Although one himself were occupied with the five months' mourning, yet when he had ended the wailing, he might be capped, or take a wife. If it were the five months' mourning for one who had died in the lowest degree of immaturity, he could not do so.

4. Whenever one wore the cap of skin with a sackcloth band (in paying a visit of condolence), his upper garment of mourning had the large sleeves.

5. When the father was wearing mourning, a son, who lived in the same house with him, kept away from all music. When the mother was wearing it, the son might listen to music, but not play himself When a wife was wearing it, the son, (her husband), did not play music by her side. When an occasion for the nine months' mourning was about to occur, the lute and cithern were laid aside. If it were only an occasion for the five months' mourning, music was not stopped.

6. When an aunt or sister died (leaving no son), if her husband (also) were dead, and there were no brother or cousin in his relative circle, some other of her husband's more distant relatives was employed to preside at her mourning rites. None of a wife's relatives, however near, could preside at them. If no distant relative even of her husband could be found, then a neighbour, on the east or the west, was employed. If no such person (suitable) could be found, then the head man of the neighbourhood presided. Some say, 'One (of her relatives) might preside, but her tablet was placed by that of the (proper) relative of her husband.'

7. The girdle was not used along with the sackcloth band. That band could not be used by one who carried in his hand his jade-token; nor could it be used along with a dress of various colours.

8. On occasions of prohibitions issued by the state (in connexion with the great sacrifices), the wailing ceased; as to the offerings deposited by the coffin, morning and evening, and the repairing to their proper positions, mourners proceeded as usual.

9. A lad, when wailing, did not sob or quaver; did not leap; did not carry a staff; did not wear the straw sandals; and did not occupy the mourning shed.

10. Confucius said, 'For grand-aunts the mourning with the edges even is worn, but the feet in leaping are not lifted from the ground. For aunts and sisters the mourning for nine months is worn, but the feet in leaping are lifted from the ground. If a man understands these things, will he not (always) follow, the right forms of ceremonies? Will he not do so?'

11. When the mother of Î Liû died, his assistants in the rites stood on his left; when Î Liû died, they stood on his right. The practice of the assistants (at funeral rites) giving their aid on the right, originated from the case of Î Liû..

12. The mouth of the son of Heaven was stuffed after death with nine shells; that of a feudal lord, with seven; that of a Great officer, with five; and that of an ordinary officer, with three.

13. An officer was interred after three months, and the same month the wailing was ended. A Great officer was interred (also) after three months, and after five months the wailing was ended. A prince was interred after five months, and after seven the wailing was ended.

For an officer the sacrifice of Repose was offered three times; for a Great officer, five times; and for a feudal prince, seven times.

14. A feudal lord sent a messenger to offer his condolences; and after that, his contributions for the mouth, the grave-clothes, and the carriage. All these things were transacted on the same day, and in the order thus indicated.

15. When a high minister or Great officer was ill, the ruler inquired about him many times. When an ordinary officer was ill, he inquired about him once. When a Great officer or high minister was buried, the ruler did not eat flesh; when the wailing was finished, he did not have music. When an officer was encoffined, he did not have music.

16. After they had gone up, and made the bier ready, in the case of the burial of a feudal lord, there were 500 men to draw the ropes. At each of the four ropes they were all gagged. The minister of War superintended the clappers; eight men with these walking on each side of the bier. The chief artizan, carrying a shade of feathers, guided the progress (of the procession). At the burial of a Great officer, after they had gone up and made the bier ready, 300 men drew the ropes; four men with their clappers walked on each side of the bier; and its progress was guided (by the chief artizan) with a reed of white grass in his hand.

17. Confucius said, 'Kwan Kung had carving on the square vessels for holding the grain of his offerings, and red ornaments for his cap; he set up a screen where he lodged on the way, and had a stand of earth on which the cups he had used, in giving a feast, were replaced; he had hills carved on the capitals of his pillars, and. pondweed on the lower pillars supporting the rafters'. He was a worthy Great officer, but made it difficult for his superiors (to distinguish themselves from him). 'An Phing-kung, in sacrificing to his father and other progenitors, used only the shoulders of a pig, not large enough to cover the dish. He was a worthy Great officer, but made it difficult for his inferiors (to distinguish themselves from him).

'A superior man will not encroach on (the observances of) those above him, nor put difficulties in the way of those below him.'

18. Excepting on the death of her father or mother, the wife (of a feudal lord) did not cross the boundaries of the state to pay a visit of condolence. On that occasion she did so, and went back to her original home, where she used the ceremonies of condolence proper to a feudal lord, and she was treated as one. When she arrived, she entered by the women's gate, and went up (to the reception hall) by steps at the side (of the principal steps), the ruler receiving her at the top of the steps on the east. The other ceremonies were the same as those of a guest who hastened to attend the funeral rites.

19. A sister-in-law did not lay the soothing hand on the corpse of her brother-in-law; and vice versâ.

20. There are three things that occasion sorrow to a superior man (who is devoted to learning): — If there be any subject of which he has not heard, and he cannot get to hear of it; if he hear of it, and cannot get to learn it; if he have learned it, and cannot get to carry it out in practice. There are five things that occasion shame to a superior man (who is engaged in governmental duties): — If he occupy an office, and have not well described its duties; if he describe its duties well, but do not carry them into practice; if he have got his office, and lost it again; if he be charged with the care of a large territory, and the people be not correspondingly numerous; if another, in a charge like his own, have more merit than he.

21. Confucius said, 'In bad years they used in their carriages their poorest horses, and in their sacrifices the victims lowest (in the classes belonging to them).'

22. At the mourning rites for Hsü Yû, duke Âi sent Zû Pî to Confucius to learn the rites proper at the mourning for the officer. Those rites were thus committed at that time to writing.

23. Dze-kung having gone to see the agricultural sacrifice at the end of the year, Confucius said to him, 'Zhze, did it give you pleasure?' The answer was, 'The people of the whole state appeared to be mad; I do not know in what I could find pleasure.' The Master said, 'For their hundred days' labour in the field, (the husbandmen) receive this one day's enjoyment (from the state); — this is what you do not understand. (Even) Wan and Wû could not keep a bow (in good condition), if it were always drawn and never relaxed; nor did they leave it always relaxed and never drawn. To keep it now strung and now unstrung was the way of Wan and Wû.'

24. Mang Hsien-dze said, 'If in the first month at the (winter) solstice it be allowable to offer the (border) sacrifice to God, in the seventh month, at the summer solstice, we may offer the sacrifice in the temple of the ancestor (of our ruling House).' Accordingly Hsien-dze offered that sacrifice to all the progenitors (of the line of Lû) in the seventh month.

25. The practice of not obtaining from the son of Heaven the confirmation of her dignity for the wife (of the ruler of Lû) began with duke Kâo.

26. The mourning of a ruler and his wife were regulated by the same rules for the ladies of his family married in other states and for those married in his own.

27. When the stables of Confucius were burned, and the friends of his district came (to offer their condolences) on account of the fire, he bowed once to the

ordinary officers, and twice to the Greater officers; — according to the rule on occasions of mutual condolence.

28. Confucius said, ‘Kwan Kung selected two men from among (certain) thieves with whom he was dealing, and appointed them to offices in the state, saying, “They were led astray by bad men with whom they bad associated, but they are proper men themselves.” When he died, duke Hwan made these two wear mourning for him. The practice of old servants of a Great officer wearing mourning for him, thus arose from Kwan Kung. But these two men only mourned for him by the duke’s orders.’

29. When an officer, in a mistake, used a name to his ruler which should be avoided, he rose to his feet. If he were speaking to any one who had the name that should be avoided with the ruler, he called him by the name given to him on his maturity.

30. (A Great officer) took no part in any seditious movements within his state, and did not try to avoid calamities coming from without.

31. The treatise on the duties of the Chief Internuncius says, ‘The length of the long symbol of rank was for a duke, nine inches; for a marquis or earl, seven; for a count or baron, five. The width in each case was three inches; and the thickness, half an inch. They tapered to the point for one inch and a half. They were all of jade. The mats for them were made with three different colours, (two rows of each,) six in all.’

32. Duke Âi asked Dze-kâo, ‘When did members of your family first begin to be in office?’ The answer was) ‘My ancestor held a small office under duke Wan.’

33. When a temple was completed, they proceeded to consecrate it with the following ceremony: — The officer of prayer, the cook, and the butcher, all wore the cap of leather of the colour of a sparrow’s head, and the dark-coloured dress with the purple border. The butcher rubbed the sheep clean, the officer of prayer blessed it, and the cook with his face to the north took it to the pillar and placed it on the southeast of it. Then the butcher took it in his arms, went up on the roof at the middle point between the east and west, and with his face to the south stabbed it, so that the blood ran down in front; and then he descended. At the gate of the temple, and of each of the two side apartments, they used a fowl, one at the gate of each (going up as before and stabbing them). The hair and feathers about the ears were first pulled out under the roof (before the victims were killed). When the fowls were cut at the gates of the temple, and the apartments on each side of it, officers stood, opposite to each gate on the north. When the thing was over, the officer of prayer announced that it was so, and they all retired, after which he announced it to the ruler, saying, ‘The blood-

consecration has been performed.' This announcement was made at the door of the back apartment of the temple, inside which the ruler stood in his court-robes, looking towards the south. This concluded the ceremony, and all withdrew.

When the great apartment (of the palace) was completed, it was inaugurated (by a feast), but there was no shedding of blood. The consecration by blood of the temple building was the method taken to show how intercourse with the spirits was sought. All the more distinguished vessels of the ancestral temple were consecrated, when completed, by the blood of a young boar.

34. When a feudal lord sent his wife away, she proceeded on her journey to her own state, and was received there with the observances due to a lord's wife. The messenger, accompanying her, then discharged his commission, saying, 'My poor ruler, from his want of ability, was not able to follow her, and take part in the services at your altars and in your ancestral temple. He has, therefore, sent me, so and so, and I venture to inform your officer appointed for the purpose of what he has done.' The officer presiding (on the occasion) replied, 'My poor ruler in his former communication did not lay (her defects) before you, and he does not presume to do anything but respectfully receive your lord's message.' The officers in attendance on the commissioner then set forth the various articles sent with the other the lady on her marriage, and those on side received them.

35. When the wife went away from her husband, she sent a messenger and took leave of him, saying, 'So and so, through her want of ability, is not able to keep on supplying the vessels of grain for your sacrifices, and has sent me, so and so, to, presume to announce this to your attendants.' The principal party (on the other side) replied, 'My son, in his inferiority, does not presume to avoid you punishing him, and dares not but respectfully receive your orders.' The messenger then retired, the principal party bowing to him, and escorting him. If the father-in-law were alive, then he named him self; if he were dead, an elder brother of the husband acted for him, and the message was given as from him; if there were no elder brother, then it ran as from the husband himself. The message, as given above, was) 'The son of me, so and so, in his inferiority.' (At the other end of the transaction), if the lady were an aunt, an elder sister, or a younger, she was mentioned as such.

36. Confucius said, 'When I was at a meal at Shâo-shih's, I ate to the full. He entertained me courteously, according to the rules. When I was about to offer some in sacrifice, he got up and wished to stop me, saying, "My poor food is not worth being offered in sacrifice." When I was about to take the concluding portions, he got up and wished to stop me, saying, "I would not injure you with my poor provisions."

37. A bundle of silk (in a marriage treaty) contained live double rolls, each double roll being forty cubits in length.

38. At the (first) interview of a wife with her father and mother-in-law, (her husband's) unmarried aunts and sisters all stood below the reception hall, with their faces towards the west, the north being the place of honour. After this interview, she visited all the married uncles of her husband, each in his own apartment.

Although not engaged to be married, the rule was for a young lady to wear the hair-pin; — she was thus treated with the honours of maturity. The (principal) wife managed the ceremony. When she was unoccupied and at ease, she wore her hair without the pin, on each side of her head.

BOOK XIX. SANG TÂ KÎ

or

The Greater Record of Mourning Rites

Section I.

1. When the illness was extreme, all about the establishment was swept clean, inside and out. In the case of a ruler or Great officer, the stands, with the martial instruments suspended from them, were removed; in that of an officer, his lute and cithern. The sufferer lay with his head to the east, under the window on the north. His couch was removed (and he was laid on the ground). The clothes ordinarily worn at home were removed, and new clothes substituted for them. (In moving the body) one person took hold of each limb. Males and females changed their dress. Some fine floss was put (on the mouth and nostrils), to make sure that the breath was gone. A man was not permitted to die in the hands of the women, or a woman in the hands of the men.

2. A ruler and his wife both died in the Great chamber, a Great officer and his acknowledged wife in the Proper chamber; the not yet acknowledged wife of a high minister, in an inferior chamber, but the corpse was then removed to the higher chamber. The wives of officers died in their chambers.

3. At (the ceremony of) calling back the soul, if (the deceased were a lord on whose territory) there were forests and copses, the forester arranged the steps (by which to go up on the roof); and if there were no forests, one of the salvage men (employed about the court in menial offices) did so. An officer of low rank performed the ceremony. All who did so employed some of the court robes (of the deceased): — for a ruler, the robe with the descending dragon; for the wife, that with the descending pheasant; for a Great officer, the dark robe and red skirt; for his recognised wife, the robe of fresh yellow; for an officer, that worn with the cap of deep purple leather; and for his wife, the dark dress with the red border. In all cases they ascended from the east wing to the middle of the roof, where the footing was perilous. Facing the north, they gave three loud calls for the deceased, after which they rolled up the garment they had employed, and cast it down in front, where the curator of the robes received it, and then they themselves descended by the wing on the north-west.

If the deceased were a visitor, and in a public lodging, his soul was called back; if the lodging were private, it was not called back. If he were in the open country, one got up on the left end of the nave of the carriage in which he had been riding, and called it back.

4. The garment which had been used in calling not employed to cover the corpse, the soul back was nor in dressing it. In calling back the soul of a wife, the upper robe with the purple border in which she had been married was not employed. In all cases of calling back the soul, a man was called by his name, and a woman by her designation. Nothing but the wailing preceded the calling the soul back. After that calling they did what was requisite on an occasion of death.

5. Immediately after death, the principal mourners sobbed; brothers and cousins (of the deceased) wailed; his female relatives wailed and leaped.

6. When the dead body (of a ruler) had been placed properly (beneath the window with the head to the south), his son sat (or knelt) on the east; his ministers, Great officers, uncles, cousins, their sons and grandsons, stood (also) on the cast; the multitude of ordinary officers, who had the charge of the different departments, wailed below the hall, facing the north. His wife knelt on the west; the wives, aunts, sisters, their daughters and grand-daughters, whose husbands were of the same surname as he, stood (behind her) on the west; and the wives, his relatives of the same surname, whose position had been confirmed in their relation to their husbands, at the head of all the others married similarly to husbands of other surnames, wailed above in the hall, facing the north.

7. At the mourning rites (immediately after death) of a Great officer, the (son), presiding, knelt on the east, and the wife, presiding, on the west. The husbands and wives (among the relations) whose positions had been officially confirmed, sat (or knelt); others who had not that confirmation, stood.

At the rites for a deceased officer, the son presiding, uncles, brothers, and cousins, with their sons and grandsons, all sat (or knelt) on the east; the wife presiding, aunts, sisters, and cousins, with their female children and grandchildren, all sat (or knelt) on the west.

Whenever they wailed by the corpse in the apartment, the presiding mourner did so, holding up the shroud with his two hands at the same time.

8. At the mourning rites of a ruler, before the slighter dressing was completed, the principal mourner came out to receive the visit of a refugee ruler, or a visitor from another state.

At those for a Great officer, at the same period, he came out to receive a message from his ruler. At those for an ordinary officer, also at the same period, he came out to receive a Great officer, if he were not engaged in the dressing.

9. Whenever the presiding mourner went forth (to meet visitors), he had his feet bare, his skirt tucked under his girdle, and his hands across his chest over his heart. Having gone down by the steps on the west, if a ruler, he bowed to a refugee ruler, or a minister commissioned from another state, each in his proper

place. When a message from his ruler came to a Great officer, he came to the outside of the door of the apartment (where the dead was), to receive the messenger who had ascended to the hall and communicated his instructions. (They then went down together), and the mourner bowed to the messenger below.

When a Great officer came himself to condole with an ordinary officer, the latter wailed along with him, but did not meet him outside the gate.

10. The wife of a ruler went out (of her apartment) on a visit from the wife of a refugee ruler.

The confirmed wife (of a Great officer) went out (in the same way) on the arrival of a message from the ruler's wife.

The wife of an officer, if not engaged in the dressing, (also) went out to receive the confirmed wife (of a Great officer).

11. At the slighter dressing, the presiding mourner took his place inside the door (on the east of it), and the presiding wife had her face to the east. When the dressing was ended, both of them made as if they leant on the body, and leaped. The mourner unbared his breast, took off the tufts of juvenility, and bound up his hair with sackcloth. The wife knotted up her hair, and put on her sackcloth girdle in her room.

12. When the curtain (which screened the body) was removed, the men and women carried it and put it down in the hall, (the eldest son) going down the step's and bowing (to the visitors).

13. The (young) ruler (who was mourning) bowed to refugee lords, and to ministers, commissioners from other states. Great officers and other officers bowed to ministers and Great officers in their respective places. In the case of (the three grades of) officers, they received three side bows, one for each grade. The ruler's wife also bowed to the wife of a refugee lord, above in the hall. With regard to the wives of Great officers and of other officers, she bowed specially to each whose position had received the official appointment; to the others she gave a general bow; — all above in the hall.

14. When the mourner had gone to his own place (after bowing to his visitors), he closed the robe which was drawn on one side, covering his breast, put on his girdle and head-band, and leapt. When the mourning was for his mother, he went to his place, and tied up his hair, after which he put down the offerings by the body. The visitors who had come to condole, covered their fur robes, put the roll at the back of their caps, assumed their girdles and head-bands, and leapt in correspondence with the mourner.

15. At the funeral rites for a ruler, the chief forester supplied wood and horns; the chief of the salvage-men supplied the vases for water; the chief of the

slaughtering department supplied boilers; and (an officer from the department of) the minister of War (saw to the) hanging of these. Thus they secured the succession of wailers. Some of those in the department took their part in the wailing. If they did not hang up the vases, and the Great officers were sufficient to take the wailing in turns, then they did not use those others.

In the hall of the ruler there were two lights above and two below; for that of a Great officer, one above and two below; for that of an ordinary officer, one above and one below.

16. When the guests went out, the curtain was removed.

17. When they were wailing the corpse above in the hall, the principal mourner was at the east; visitors coming from without, took their place at the west, and the women stood facing the south.

18. The wife (presiding), in receiving guests and escorting them, did not go down from the hall with them. If she did go down (as with the wife of the ruler), she bowed to her, but did not wail.

If the son (presiding), had occasion to go outside the door of the apartment, and saw the guest (whom he so went to meet), he did not wail.

When there was no female to preside, a son did so, and bowed to the female visitors inside the door of the apartment. If there were no son to preside, a daughter did so, and bowed to the male visitors at the foot of the steps on the east.

If the son were a child, then he was carried in his sackcloth in the arms, and his bearer bowed for him.

If the successor of the deceased were not present, and wag a man of rank, an apology was made to the guests; if he were not a man of rank, some other one bowed to them for him.

If he were anywhere in the state, they waited for him; if he had gone beyond it, the encoffining and burial might go on. The funeral rites might proceed without the presence of the successor of the deceased, but not without one to preside over them.

19. At the mourning rites for a ruler, on the third day his son and his wife assumed the staff. On the fifth day, when the corpse was put into the coffin, his daughters who had become the wives of Great officers were allowed to use it. His (eldest) son and Great officers used it outside the door of the apartment (where the coffin was); inside the door they carried it in their hands (but did not use it). The wife and his daughters, the wives of Great officers, used the staff in their rooms; when they went to their places (in the apartment where the coffin was), people were employed to hold it for them.

When a message came from the king, (the son presiding) put away his staff; when one came from the ruler of another state, he only held it in his hand. When attending to any consultation of the tortoise-shell about the corpse, he put away his staff.

A Great officer, in the place of the ruler, carried his staff in his hand; at another Great officer's, he used it.

20. At the mourning rites for a Great officer, on the morning of the third day, when the body was put into the coffin, his son presiding, his wife presiding, and the steward of the House, all assumed the staff. On a message from the ruler, the (new) Great officer put away his staff; on a message from another Great officer, he carried it in his hand. His wife, on a message from the wife of the ruler, put her staff away; on a message from the confirmed wife (of another Great officer), she gave it to some one to hold for her.

21. At the mourning rites for an officer, the body on the second day was put into the coffin. On the morning of the third day, the presiding mourner assumed the staff, and his wife also. The same observances as in the rites fur a Great officer were observed on messages arriving from the ruler or his wife, or from a Great officer and his confirmed wife.

22. All the sons assumed the staff, but only the eldest son used it when they were going to their places (in the apartment where the coffin was). Great officers and other officers, when wailing by the coffin, used the staff; when wailing by the bier, they carried it in their hands. When the staff (used in mourning) was thrown away, it was broken and thrown away in secret.

23. As soon as death took place, the corpse was transferred to the couch, and covered with a large sheet. The clothes in which the deceased had died were removed. A servant plugged the mouth open with the spoon of horn; and to keep the feet from contracting, an easy stool was employed. These observances were the same for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.

24. The servant in charge of the apartments drew the water, and without removing the well-rope from the bucket gathered it up, and carried the whole up to the top of the steps. There, without going on the hall, he gave it to the attendants in waiting on the body. These then went in to wash the corpse, four lower servants holding up the sheet, and two performing the washing; having put the water in basins, to which they took it with ladles. In washing they used napkins of fine linen, and in drying the body the ordinary bathing clothes. Another servant then pared the nails of the feet, after which they threw away the rest of the water into the pit. At the funeral rites for a mother (or other female), the female attendants in waiting in the inner room held up the sheet and washed the body.

25. The servant in charge of the apartments, having drawn water and given it to the attendants in waiting on the body, these prepared the wash for the head, above in the hall: — for a ruler, made from maize-water; for a Great officer, from that of the glutinous millet; and for an ordinary officer, that from maize-water. After this, some of the forester's department made a sort of furnace at the foot of the wall on the west; and the potter brought out a large boiler, in which the servant in charge of the apartments should boil the water. The servants of the forester's department brought the fuel which he had removed from the crypt in the north-west of the apartment, now converted into a shrine, to use for that purpose. When the water was heated, he gave it to the attendants, who proceeded to wash the head, and poured the water into an earthenware basin, using the napkin as on ordinary occasions to dry the head. Another servant then clipped the nails of the fingers, and wiped the beard. The water was then thrown into the pit.

26. For a ruler they put down a large vessel, full of ice; for a Great officer, a middle-sized one, full of ice; and for an ordinary officer, only one of earthenware, without any ice in it. Over these they placed the couch with a single sheet and pillow on it; another couch on which the jade should be put into the mouth; and another still, where the fuller dressing should be done. Then the corpse was removed to a couch in the hall, on which was a pillow and mat. The same forms were observed for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.

27. At the mourning rites for a ruler, his (eldest) son, Great officers, his other sons and all the (other) officers (employed about the court), ate nothing for three days, but confined themselves to gruel. (Afterwards) for their consumption they received in the morning a handful of rice, and another in the evening; which they ate without any observance of stated times. Officers (at a distance) were restricted to coarse rice and water for their drink, without regard to any stated times. The wife (of the new ruler), the confirmed wives (of the Great officers), and all the members of their harems, had coarse rice and drank water, having no regard in their eating to stated times.

28. At the mourning rites for a Great officer, the presiding mourner, the steward, and grandsons, all were confined to gruel. All the inferior officers were restricted to coarse rice, and water to drink. Wives and concubines took coarse rice, and water to drink. At the rites for an ordinary officer the same rules were observed.

29. After the burial, the presiding mourner had (only) coarse rice and water to drink; — he did not eat vegetables or fruits. His wife observed the same rule. So it was in the case of rulers, Great officers, and other officers.

After the change of mourning, towards the end of the year, they ate vegetables and fruit; and after the subsequent sacrifice, they ate flesh.

30. They took their gruel in bowls, and did not wash their bands (before doing so). When they took their rice from the basket, they washed their hands. They ate their vegetables along with pickles and sauces. When they first ate flesh, it was dry flesh; when they first drank liquor, it was that newly made.

31. During the mourning of a year, on three occasions they abstained from eating. When eating coarse rice, with water to drink, they did not eat vegetables or fruits. After the burial, at the end of three months, they ate flesh and drank liquor. When the year's mourning was ended, they did not eat flesh nor drink liquor. When the father was alive, in the mourning of nine months, the rules were the same as in that for a year, on account of the mother or of the wife. Though they ate flesh and drank liquor, they could not take the enjoyment of these things in company with others.

32. During the mourning for five months, and that for three months, it was allowable to abstain from eating once or twice. Between the coffining and burial, when eating flesh and drinking liquor, they did not take the enjoyment of these things in company with others. While mourning for an aunt, the confirmed wife of an uncle, one's old ruler, or the head of a clan, they ate flesh and drank liquor.

If a mourner could not eat the gruel, he might eat soup of vegetables. If he were ill, he might eat flesh and drink liquor. At fifty, one did not go through all the observances of mourning. At seventy, he simply wore the sackcloth on his person.

33. After the burial, if his ruler feasted a mourner, he partook of the viands; if a Great officer or a friend of his father did so, he partook in the same way. He, did not even decline the grain and flesh that might be set before him, but wine and new wine he declined.

See introductory notice, vol., xxvii, pages 34, 35.

The clothes of the dying master and friend were changed; it was right that all about them should also change their dress. The court or best robes were put on, moreover, that inquiring visitors might be properly received.

This proper, or 'legitimate' chamber corresponded in the mansion of a Great officer to the Grand chamber in the palace. Connected with the Grand chamber were two smaller apartments. It is mentioned in the Zo Kwan, under B.C. 627, that duke Hsî of Lû died 'in the small apartment;' which has always been understood as discreditable to him.

They were too much affected, it is said, to give loud expression to their grief.

The side-bows were somehow made, without the ruler's turning directly towards the officers.

The object of the arrangements in this obscure paragraph was evidently to maintain the wailing uninterrupted, and to provide, by means of the clepsydra, a regular marking of the time for that purpose. See, in the Kâu Kwan XXX, 51-52, the duties of the officer of the department of the minister of War who had charge of the vase.

This must have been towards morning. During the night torches were kept burning.

This should be at the end of paragraph 14.

When death seemed to be imminent, the body was removed from the couch and laid on the ground; — if, perhaps, contact with 'mother' earth might revive it. When death had taken place, it was replaced on the couch.

I do not quite understand how this stool was applied so as to accomplish its purpose.

This paragraph is the 24th in We Khien-lung edition. See below, paragraph 26.

This paragraph is the 23rd in the Khien-lung edition, confessedly out of place.

The statements in this paragraph, and those in the next, might certainly be stated more distinctly.

Such is the meaning of the text here, as fully defined by a Fang Pâo (###).

Section ii.

1. The slighter dressing was performed inside the door (of the apartment where the body was); the fuller dressing (at the top of) the steps (leading up to the reception hall) on the east. The body of a ruler was laid on a mat of fine bamboo; of a Great officer, on one of typha grass; and of an ordinary officer, on one of phragmites grass.

2. At the slighter dressing one band of cloth was laid straight, and, there were three bands laid cross-wise. The sheet for a ruler's body was embroidered; for a Great officer's? white; for an ordinary officer's, black: — each had one sheet.

There were nineteen suits of clothes; those for the ruler, displayed in the corridor on the east; and those for a Great officer, or a common officer, inside the apartments: — all with their collars towards the west, those in the north being the best. The sash and sheet were not reckoned among them.

3. At the fuller dressing there were three bands of cloth laid straight, and five laid cross-wise. There were (also) strings of cloth, and two sheets: — equally for a ruler, a Great officer, and a common officer. The clothes for a ruler consisted of one hundred suits, displayed in the courtyard, having their collars towards the north, those on the west being the best; those of a Great officer were fifty suits,

displayed in the corridor on the east, having the collars towards the west, those on the south being the best; those of a common officer were thirty suits, displayed also in the corridor on the east, with their collars towards the west, the best on the south. The bands and strings were of the same quality as the court robes. One strip of the band-cloth was divided into three, but at the ends was not further divided. The sheets were made of five pieces, without strings or buttons.

4. Among the clothes at the slighter dressing, the sacrificial robes were not placed below the others. For the ruler no clothes were used that were presented. For a Great officer and a common officer, the sacrificial (and other) robes belonging to the principal mourner were all used, and then they used those contributed by their relatives; but these were not displayed along with the others.

At the slighter dressing, for a ruler, a Great officer, and a common officer, they used wadded upper robes and sheets.

At the greater dressing, the number of sacrificial (and other) robes put on a ruler, a Great officer, or another officer', was not definitely fixed; but the upper robes and sheets for a ruler had only a thin lining, (instead of being wadded); for a Great officer and a common officer, they were as at the slighter dressing.

5. The long robe (worn in private) had a shorter one placed over it; — it was not displayed alone. It was the rule that with the upper garment the lower one should also be shown. So only could they be called a suit.

6. All who set forth the clothes took them from the chests in which they had been deposited; and those who received the clothes brought (as contributions) placed them in (similar) chests. In going up to the hall and descending from it, they did so by the steps on the west. They displayed the clothes without rumpling them. They did not admit any that were not correct; nor any of fine or coarse dolychos fibre, or of coarse flax.

7. All engaged in dressing the corpse hag their arms bared; those who moved it into the coffin, had their breasts covered. At the funeral rites for a ruler, the Great officer of prayer performed the dressing, assisted by all the members of his department; at those for a Great officer, the same officer stood by, and saw all the others dress the body; at those of a common officer, the members of that department stood by, while other officers (his friends) performed the dressing.

8. At both the dressings the sacrificial robes were not placed below the others. They were all placed with the lappel to lie on the left side. The bands were tied firmly, and not in a bow-knot.

9. The rule was that the dressers should wail, when they had completed their work. But in the case of an officer, as the dressing was performed by those who had served in office along with him, they, after the work was done, omitted a meal. In all cases the dressers were six.

10. The body cases (used before the dressing) were made: — for a ruler, the upper one embroidered, and the lower one striped black and white, with seven strings on the open side; for a Great officer, the upper one dark blue, and the lower one striped black and white, with five tie-strings on the side; for a common officer, the upper one black, and the lower one red, with three tie-strings at the side. The upper case came down to the end of the hands, and the lower case was three feet long. At the smaller dressing and afterwards, they used coverlets laid on the body (instead of these cases), their size being the same as that of the cases.

11. When the great dressing of a ruler's body was about to commence, his son, with the sackcloth band about his cap, went to his place at the (south) end of the (eastern) corridor, while the ministers and Great officers took theirs at the corner of the hall, with the pillar on their west, their faces to the north, and their row ascending to the east. The uncles, brothers, and cousins were below the hall, with their faces to the north, The (son's) wife, and other wives whose position had been confirmed were on the west of the body, with their faces to other states the east. The female relations from the other states were in their apartments with their faces to the south. Inferior officers spread the mats. The Shang officers of prayer spread the strings, the coverlet, and clothes. The officers had their hands over the vessels. They then lifted the corpse and removed it to the place for the dressing. When the dressing was finished, the superintendent announced the fact. The son then (seemed to) lean on it, and leaped while his wife did the same, with her face to the east.

2. At the mourning rites of a Great officer, they were about to proceed to the great dressing, and the tie-strings, coverlets, and clothes had all been spread out, the ruler arrived, and was met by (the son), the principal mourner. The son entered before him, (and stood) at the right of the gate, outside which the exorcist stopped. The ruler having put down the vegetables (as an offering to the spirit of the gate), and the blesser entered preceding him, entered and went up to the hall. He then repaired to his place at the end of the corridor, while the ministers, and Great officers took theirs at the corner of the hall on the west of the pillar, looking to the north, their row ascending to the east. The presiding mourner was outside the apartment (where the corpse was), facing the south. His wife presiding was on the west of the body, facing the east. When they had moved the corpse, and finished the dressing, the steward reported that they had done so, and the presiding mourner went down below the hall, with his face to the north. There the ruler laid on him the soothing hand, and he bowed with his forehead, to the ground. The ruler signified to him to go up, and lean on the body, and also requested his wife, presiding, to lean on it.

13. At the mourning rites for a common officer, when they were about to proceed to the great dressing, the ruler was not present. In other respects the observances were the same as in the case of a Great officer.

14. They also leaped at the spreading out of the ties and strings; of the sheet; of the clothes; at the moving of the corpse; at the putting on of the clothes; of the coverlet; and of the adjusting of the ties and bands.

15. The ruler laid his hand on the body of a Great officer, and on that of the most honourable ladies of his own harem. A Great officer laid his hand on the body of the steward of his house, and on that of his niece and the sister of his wife, who had accompanied her to the harem.

The ruler and a Great officer leant closely with their breasts over the bodies of their parents, wives, and eldest sons, but not over those of their other sons.

A common officer, however, did so also to all his other sons.

If a son by a concubine had a son, the parents did not perform this ceremony over him. When it was performed, the parents did it first, and then the wife and son.

A ruler laid his hand on the body of a minister; parents, while bending over that of a son, also took hold of his hand. A son bent over his parents, bringing his breast near to theirs. A wife seemed as if she would place her two arms beneath the bodies of her patents-in-law; while they (simply) laid their hands on her. A wife made as if she would cling to her husband's body; while the husband held her hand as he did that of a brother or cousin. When others brought the breast near the body of a corpse, they avoided the point at which the ruler had touched it. After every such mark of sorrow, the mourner rose up and leaped.

16. At the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) occupied the slanting shed, unplastered; slept on straw, with a clod of earth for his pillow. He spoke of nothing but what related to the rites. A ruler enclosed this hut; but Great and common officers left it exposed.

After the burial, the inclined posts were set up on lintels, and the hut was plastered, but not on the outside which could be seen. Rulers, Great and common officers, all had it enclosed.

All the other sons, but the eldest by the proper wife, even before the burial had huts made for themselves in out-of-the-way places.

17. After the burial, the son would stand with others. If a ruler, he would speak of the king's affairs, but not of those of his own state. If a Great officer, or a common officer, he would speak of the ruler's affairs, but not of those of his own clan or family.

18. When the ruler was buried, the royal ordinances came into the state. After the wailing was finished, the new ruler engaged in the king's affairs.

When a Great officer or a common officer was buried, the ordinances of the state came to his family. After the wailing was finished, while continuing the sackcloth band round his cap, and the girdle, he might don his armour and go into the field.

19. After the mourning was changed at the end of a year, (the sons) occupied the unplastered apartment, and did not occupy one along with others. Then the ruler consulted about the government of the state; and Great officers and common officers about the affairs of their clan and families. After the sacrifice at the end of two years, the ground of the apartment was made of a dark green, and the walls were whitened. After this, they no longer wailed outside; and after the sacrifice at the end of twenty-seven months, they did not do so inside; for, after it, music began to be heard.

20. After that sacrifice, at the end of twenty-seven months, (the son) attended to all his duties; and after the felicitous sacrifice (of re-arranging the tablets in his ancestral temple), he returned to his (usual) chamber.

At the one year's mourning, he occupied the hut; and when it was completed, the occasions on which he did not seek the nuptial chamber were:-when his father was alive, and he had been wearing the hemmed sackcloth of a year for his mother or his wife, and when he had been wearing the cloth mourning of nine months; on these occasions, for three months he did not seek the intercourse of the inner chamber.

A wife did not occupy the hut, nor sleep on the straw. At the mourning for her father or mother, when she had changed the mourning at the end of a year, she returned to her husband; when the mourning was that of nine months, she returned after the burial.

21. At the mourning rites for a duke (of the royal domain), his Great officers continued till the change of mourning at the end of a year, and then returned to their own residences. A common officer returned at the conclusion of the wailing.

22. At the mourning rites for their parents, (the other sons who were) Great officers or common officers, returned to their own residences after the change of the mourning at the end of the year; but on the first day of the month and at full moon, and on the return of the death-day, they came back and wailed in the house of him who was now the Head of their family.

At the mourning for uncles and cousins, they returned to their own residences at the conclusion of the wailing.

23. A father did not take up his quarters (during the mourning) at a son's, nor an elder brother at a younger's.

24. At the mourning rites for a Great officer or his acknowledged wife, a ruler (went to see) the greater dressing; but if he wished to show special favour, he attended the slighter dressing.

The ruler, in the case of an acknowledged wife, married to a Great officer of a different surname from his own, arrived after the lid was put on the coffin.

He went to an officer's, when the body was put into the coffin.; but if he wanted to show special favour, he attended at the greater dressing.

The ruler's wife, at the mourning for a (Great officer's) acknowledged wife, attended at the greater dressing; but if she wished to show special favour, at the slighter. In the case of his other wives, if she wished to show special favour, she attended at the greater dressing in the case of a Great officer's acknowledged wife, who was of a different surname from her own, she appeared after the coffining had taken place.

25. When the ruler went to a Great officer's or a common officer's, after the coffining had taken place, he sent word beforehand of his coming. The chief mourner provided all the offerings to be set down for the dead in the fullest measure, and waited outside the gate, till he saw the heads of the horses. He then led the way in by the right side of the gate. The exorcist stopped outside, and the blesser took his place, and preceded the ruler, who put down the offerings of vegetables (for the spirit of the gate) inside it. The blesser then preceded him up the eastern steps, and took his place with his back to the wall, facing the south. The ruler took his place at (thc top of) the steps; two men with spears standing before him, and two behind. The officer of reception then advanced. The chief mourner bowed, laying his forehead to the ground. The ruler then said what he had to say; looked towards the blesser and leaped. The chief mourner then (also) leaped.

26. If the visit were paid to a Great officer, the offerings might at this point be put down by the coffin. If it were to a common officer, he went out to wait outside the gate. Being requested to return and put down the offerings, he did so. When this was done, he preceded the ruler, and waited for him outside the gate. When the ruler retired, the chief mourner escorted him outside the gate, and bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground.

27. When a Great officer was ill, the ruler thrice inquired for him; and when his body was coffined, visited (his son) thrice. When a common officer was ill, he inquired for him once; and when his body was coffined, visited (his son) once.

When the ruler came to condole (after the coffining), the (son) put on again the clothes he had worn at the coffining.

28. When the ruler's wife went lo condole at a Great officer's or a common officer's, the chief mourner went out to meet her outside the gate, and, when he saw her horses heads, went in before her by the right side of the gate. She then entered, went up to the hall, and took her place. The wife presiding went down by the steps on the west, and bowed with her head to the ground below (the hall). The ruler's wife looked towards her eldest son (who had accompanied her), and leaped.

The offerings were put down according to the rules for them on the visit of the ruler. When she retired, the wife presiding went with her to the inside of the door of the apartment, and bowed to her with her head to the ground. The chief mourner escorted her to the outside of the great gate, but did not bow.

29. When a Great officer came to the mourning rites of one of his officers to whom he stood in the relation of ruler, the officer did not meet him outside the gate. He entered and took his place below the hall. The chief mourner (stood on the south of his place), with his face to the north, though the general rule for chief mourners was to face the south. The wife took her place in the room.

If, at this juncture, there came a message from the ruler of the state, or one from a confirmed (Great) officer or his confirmed wife, or visitors from, the neighbouring states, the Great officer-ruler, having the chief mourner behind him, performed the bow of ceremony to each visitor.

30. When a ruler, on a visit of condolence, saw the bier for the corpse, he leaped.

If a ruler had not given notice beforehand of his coining to a Great officer or a common officer, and he had not prepared the various offerings to be put down by the coffin on the occasion, when the ruler withdrew, the rule was that they should then be put down.

31. The largest (or outermost) coffin of the ruler of a state was eight inches thick; the next, six inches; and the innermost, four inches. The larger coffin of a Great officer of the highest grade was eight inches thick; and the inner, six inches; for one of the lowest grade, the dimensions were six inches and four. The coffin of a common officer was six inches thick.

32. The (inner) coffin of a ruler was lined with red (silk), fixed in its place with nails of various metals; that of a Great officer with (silk of a) dark blue, fixed with nails of ox-bone; that of a common officer was lined, but had no nails.

33. The lid of a ruler's coffin was varnished, with three double wedges (at the edges) over which were three bands; that of a Great officer's was (also) varnished, with two double wedges and two bands; that of a common officer was not varnished, but it had two double wedges and two bands.

34. The (accumulated) hair and nails of a ruler and Great officer were placed (in bags) at the four corners of the coffin; those of an officer were buried (without being put in the coffin).

The coffin of a ruler was placed upon a bier, which was surrounded with high stakes, inclined over it till, when all was finished and plastered, there was the appearance of a house. That of a Great officer, having been covered with a pall, was placed in the did not western corridor and staked, but the plastering did not reach all over the coffin. That of a common officer was placed so that the double wedges could be seen; above that it was plastered. All were screened.

36. Of scorched grain there were put by the coffin of a ruler eight baskets, containing four different kinds; by that of a Great officer, six baskets, containing three kinds; by that of a common officer, four baskets, containing two kinds. Besides these, there were (dried) fish and flesh.

37. Ornamenting the coffin (on its way to the grave), there were for a ruler: — the curtains with dragons (figured on them), and over them three gutter-Spouts; the fluttering ornaments (with pheasants figured on them and the ends of the curtains); above (on the sloping roof of the catafalque) were figures of axe-heads, of the symbol of discrimination, thrice repeated, and of flames, thrice repeated. These occupied the pall-like roof of white silk, as embroidery, and above it was the false covering attached to it by six purple ties, and rising up with ornaments in five, colours and five rows of shells. There were (at the corners) two streamers of feathers, suspended from a frame with the axes on it; two from another, bearing the symbol of discrimination; two from another, variously figured; all the frames on staffs, showing jade-symbols at the top. Fishes were made as if leaping at the ends of the gutters, The whole of the catafalque was kept together by six supports rising from the coffin, and wound round with purple silk, and six sustaining ropes, also purple, (drawn through the curtains).

For the catafalque of a Great officer there were painted curtains, with two gutter-spouts (above them); there were not the fluttering ornaments; above (on the sloping roof) there were flames painted, thrice repeated; and three symbols of discrimination, These formed the pall-like roof, and there were two purple ties, and two of deep blue. At the very top there were ornaments in three colours, and three rows of shells. There were two feather-streamers from a frame with axes, and two from a painted frame; all the frames on staffs with plumage at the tops. Figures of fishes were made at the ends of the gutters. The front supports of a Great officer’s catafalque were purple, and those behind deep blue. So also were the sustaining ropes.

For the catafalque of a common officer, the curtains were of (plain) linen, and there was the sloping roof. There was (but) one gutter-spout. There were the fluttering pheasants on the bands. The purple ties were two, and the black also two. At the very top the ornaments were of three colours, and there was only one row of shells. The streamers of feathers from a painted frame were two, the staffs of which had plumage at their tops. The front supports of the catafalque were purple, and those behind black. The sustaining ropes were purple.

38. In burying the coffin of a ruler, they used a bier, four ropes, and two pillars. Those guiding the course of the coffin carried the shade with pendent feathers.

In burying a Great officer, they used two ropes and two pillars. Those who guided the coffin used a reed of white grass.

In burying a common officer, they used a carriage of the state. They employed two ropes and no post. As soon as they left the residence, those who directed the coffin used the shade of merit.

39. In letting down the coffin into the grave, they removed the ropes from the posts, and pulled at them with their backs to the posts. For a ruler's coffin, they also used levers, and for a Great officer's or a common officer's, ropes attached to the sides of the coffin. Orders were given that they should not cry out in letting down that of the ruler. They let it down as guided by the sound of a drum in letting down a Great officer's, they were commanded not to wail. In letting down a common officer's, those who began to wail stopped one another.

40. The outer shell of the coffin of a ruler was of pine; of a Great officer, of cypress; of another officer, of various kinds of wood.

41. The surface between the coffin and shell of a ruler was sufficient to contain a music stopper; in the case of the coffin and shell of a Great officer, a vase for water; in that of the coffin and shell of a common officer, a jar of liquor.

42. In the rites of a ruler, the shell was lined, and there were baskets of yü; in those of a Great officer, the shell was not lined; in those of a common officer, there were no baskets of yü.

BOOK XX. KÎ FÂ

or

The Law of Sacrifices

According to the law of sacrifices, (Shun), the sovereign of the line of Yü, at the great associate sacrifice, gave the place of honour to Hwang Tî, and at the border sacrifice made Khû the correlate of Heaven; he sacrificed (also) to Kwan-hsü as his ancestor (on the throne) and to Yâo as his honoured predecessor.

The sovereigns of Hsiâ, at the corresponding sacrifice, gave the place of honour also to Hwang Tî, and made Khwan the correlate at the border sacrifice; they sacrificed to Kwan-hsü as their ancestor, and to Yü as their honoured predecessor.

Under Yin, they gave the place of honour to Khû, and made Ming the correlate at the border sacrifice; they sacrificed to Hsieh as their ancestor, and to Thang as their honoured predecessor.

Under Kâu they gave the place of honour to Khû, and made Kî the correlate at the border sacrifice, they sacrificed to king Wan as their ancestor, and to king Wân as their honoured predecessor.

2. With a blazing pile of wood on the Grand altar they sacrificed to Heaven; by burying (the victim) in the Grand mound, they sacrificed to the Earth. (In both cases) they used a red victim.

3. By burying a sheep and a pig at the (altar of) Great brightness, they sacrificed to the seasons. (With similar) victims they sacrificed to (the spirits of cold and heat, at the pit and the altar, using prayers of deprecation and petition; to the sun, at the (altar called the) royal palace; to the moon, at the (pit called the) light of the night; to the stars at the honoured place of gloom; to (the spirits of) flood and drought at the honoured altar of rain; to the (spirits of the) four quarters at the place of the four pits and altars; mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mounds, which are able to produce clouds, and occasion winds and rain, were all regarded as (dominated by) spirits.

He by whom all under the sky was held sacrificed to all spirits. The princes of states sacrificed to those which were in their own territories; to those which were not in their territories, they did not sacrifice.

4. Generally speaking, all born between heaven and earth were said to have their allotted times; the death of all creatures is spoken of as their dissolution; but man when dead is said to be in the ghostly state. There was no change in

regard to these points in the five dynasties. What, the seven dynasties made changes in, were the assessors at the Great associate and the border sacrifices, and the parties sacrificed to in the ancestral temple; — they made no other changes.

5. The sovereigns, coming to the possession of the kingdom, divided the land and established the feudal principalities; they assigned (great) cities (to their nobles), and smaller towns (to their chiefs); they made ancestral temples, and the arrangements for altering the order of the spirit-tablets; they raised altars, and they cleared the ground around them for the performance of their sacrifices. In all these arrangements they made provision for the sacrifices according to the nearer or more remote kinship, and for the assignment of lands of greater or less amount.

Thus the king made for himself seven ancestral temples, with a raised altar and the surrounding area for each. The temples were-his father's; his grandfather's; his great-grandfather's; his great-great-grandfather's; and the temple of his (high) ancestor. At all of these a sacrifice was offered every month. The temples of the more remote ancestors formed the receptacles for the tablets as they were displaced; they were two, and at these only the seasonal sacrifices were offered. For the removed tablet of one more remote, an altar was raised and its corresponding area; and on occasions of prayer at this altar and area, a sacrifice was offered, but if there were no prayer, there was no sacrifice. In the case of one still more remote, (there was no sacrifice); — he was left in his ghostly state.

A feudal prince made for himself five ancestral temples, with an altar and a cleared area about it for each. The temples were — his father's; his grandfather's; and his great-grandfather's; in all of which a sacrifice was offered every month. In the temples of the great-great-grandfather, and that of the (high) ancestor only, the seasonal sacrifices were offered. For one beyond the high ancestor a special altar was raised, and for one still more remote, an area was prepared. If there were prayer at these, a sacrifice was offered; but if there were no prayer, there was no sacrifice. In the case of one still more remote, (there was no service); — he was left in his ghostly state.

A Great officer made for himself three ancestral temples and two altars. The temples were-his father's; his grandfather's; and his great-grandfather's. In this only the seasonal sacrifices were offered. To the great-great-grandfather and the (high) ancestor there were no temples. If there were occasion for prayer to them, altars were raised, and sacrifices offered on them. An ancestor still more remote was left in his ghostly state.

An officer of the highest grade had two ancestral temples and one altar; — the temples of his father and grandfather, at which only the seasonal sacrifices were presented. There was no temple for his great-grandfather. If there were occasion to pray to him, an altar was raised, and a sacrifice offered to him. Ancestors more remote were left in their ghostly state.

An officer in charge merely of one department had one ancestral temple; that, namely, of his father. There was no temple for his grandfather, but he was sacrificed to (in the father's temple.) Ancestors beyond the grandfather were left in their ghostly state.

The mass of ordinary officers and the common people had no ancestral temple. Their dead were left in their ghostly state, (to have offerings presented to them in the back apartment, as occasion required).

6. The king, for all the people, erected an altar to (the spirit of) the ground, called the Grand altar, and one for himself, called the Royal altar.

A feudal prince, for all his people, erected one called the altar of the state, and one for himself called the altar of the prince.

Great officers and all below them in association erected such an altar, called the Appointed altar.

7. The king, for all the people, appointed (seven altars for) the seven sacrifices: — one to the superintendent of the lot; one in the central court, for the admission of light and the rain from the roofs; one at the gates of the city wall; one in the roads leading from the city; one for the discontented ghosts of kings who had died without posterity; one for the guardian of the door; and one for the guardian of the furnace. He also had seven corresponding altars for himself.

A feudal prince, for his state, appointed (five altars for) the five sacrifices: — one for the superintendent of the lot; one in the central court, for the admission of light and rain; one at the gates of the city wall; one in the roads leading from the city; one for the discontented ghosts of princes who had died without posterity. He also had five corresponding altars for himself.

A Great officer appointed (three altars for) the three sacrifice: — one for the discontented ghosts of his predecessors who had died without posterity; one at the gates of his city; and one on the roads leading from it.

An officer of the first grade appointed (two altars for) the two sacrifices: — one at the gates; and one on the roads (outside the gates).

Other officers and the common people had one (altar and one) sacrifice. Some raised one altar for the guardian of the door; and others, one for the guardian of the furnace.

8. The king, carrying down (his favour), sacrificed to five classes of those who had died prematurely: — namely, to the rightful eldest sons (of former

kings); to rightful grandsons; to rightful great-grandsons; to rightful great-great-grandsons; and to the rightful sons of these last.

A feudal prince, carrying down (his favour), sacrificed to three classes; a Great officer similarly to two; another officer of the first grade and the common people sacrificed only to the son who had died prematurely,

9. According to the institutes of the sage kings about sacrifices, sacrifice should be offered to him who had given (good) laws to the people to him who had laboured to the death in the discharge of his duties; to him who had strengthened the state by his laborious toil; to him who had boldly and successfully met great calamities; and to him who had warded off great evils.

Such were the following: — Nang, the son of the lord of Lî-shan, who possessed the kingdom, and showed how to cultivate all the cereals; and Khî (the progenitor) of Kâu, who continued his work after the decay of Hsiâ, and was sacrificed to under the name of Kî; Hâu-thû, a son of the line of Kung-kung, that swayed the nine provinces, who was able to reduce them all to order, and was sacrificed to as the spirit of the ground; the Tî Khû, who could define all the zodiacal stars, and exhibit their times to the people; Yâo, who rewarded (the worthy), made the penal laws impartial, and the end of whose course was distinguished by his righteousness; Shun, who, toiling amid all his affairs, died in the country (far from his capital); Yü, (the son of) Khwan, who was kept a prisoner till death for trying to dam up the waters of the flood, while Yü completed the work, and atoned for his father’s failure; Hwang Tî, who gave everything its right name, thereby showing the people how to avail themselves of its qualities; Kwan-hsü, who completed this work of Hwang Tî; Hsieh, who was minister of Instruction, and perfected the (condition and manners of the) people; Ming, who, through his attention to the duties of his office, died in the waters; Thang, who ruled the people with a benignant sway and cut off their oppressor; and king Wan, who by his peaceful rule, and king Wû, who by his martial achievements, delivered the people from their afflictions. All these rendered distinguished services to the people.

BOOK XXI. KÎ Î

or

The Meaning of Sacrifices.

Section I.

1. Sacrifices should not be frequently repeated. Such frequency is indicative of importunateness; and importunateness is inconsistent with reverence. Nor should they be at distant intervals. Such infrequency is indicative of indifference; and indifference leads to forgetting them altogether. Therefore the superior man, in harmony with the course of Heaven, offers the sacrifices of spring and autumn. When he treads on the dew which has descended as hoar-frost he cannot help a feeling of sadness, which arises in his mind, and cannot be ascribed to the cold. In spring, when he treads on the ground, wet with the rains and dews that have fallen heavily, he cannot avoid being moved by a feeling as if he were seeing his departed friends. We meet the approach of our friends with music, and escort them away with sadness, and hence at the sacrifice in spring we use music, but not at the sacrifice in autumn.

2. The severest vigil and purification is maintained and carried on inwardly; while a looser vigil is maintained externally. During the days of such vigil, the mourner thinks of his departed, how and where they sat, how they smiled and spoke, what were their aims and views, what they delighted in, and what things they desired and enjoyed. On the third day of such exercise he will see those for whom it is employed.

3. On the day of sacrifice, when he enters the apartment (of the temple), he will seem to see (the deceased) in the place (where his spirit-tablet is). After he has moved about (and performed his operations), and is leaving at the door, he will seem to be arrested by hearing the sound of his movements, and will sigh as he seems to hear the sound of his sighing.

4. Thus the filial piety taught by the ancient kings required that the eyes of the son should not forget the looks (of his parents), nor his ears their voices; and that he should retain the memory of their aims, likings, and wishes. As he gave full play to his love, they seemed to live again; and to his reverence, they seemed to stand out before him. So seeming to live and stand out, so unforgotten by him, how could his sacrifices be without the accompaniment of reverence?

5. The superior man, while (his parents) are alive, reverently nourishes them; and, when-they are dead, he reverently sacrifices to them; — his (chief) thought is how to the end of life not to disgrace them. The saying that the superior man mourns all his life for his parents has reference to the recurrence of the day of their death. That he does not do his ordinary work on that day does not mean that it would be unpropitious to do so; it means that on that day his thoughts are occupied with them, and he does not dare to occupy himself as on other days with his private and personal affairs.

6. It is only the sage who can sacrifice to God, and (only) the filial son who can sacrifice to his parents. Sacrificing means directing one's self to, The son directs his thoughts (to his parents), and then he can offer his sacrifice (so that they shall enjoy it). Hence the filial son approaches the personator of the departed without having occasion to blush; the ruler leads the victim forward, while his wife puts down the bowls; the ruler presents the offerings to the personator, while his wife sets forth the various dishes; his ministers and Great officers assist the ruler, while their acknowledged wives assist his wife. How well sustained was their reverence! How complete was the expression of their loyal devotion! How earnest was their wish that the departed should enjoy the service!

7. King Wan, in sacrificing, served the dead as if he were serving the living. He thought of them dead as if he did not wish to live (any longer himself). On the recurrence of their death-day, he was sad; in calling his father by the name elsewhere forbidden, he looked as if he saw him. So sincere was he in sacrificing that he looked as if he saw the things which his father loved, and the pleased expression of his face:-such was king Wan! The lines of the ode (II, v, ode 2),

'When early dawn unseals my eyes,
Before my mind my parents rise,'

might be applied to king Win. On the day after the sacrifice, when the day broke, he did not sleep, but hastened to repeat it; and after it was finished, he still thought of his parents. On the day of sacrifice his joy and sorrow were blended together. He could not but rejoice in the opportunity of offering the sacrifice; and when it was over, he could not but be sad.

8. At the autumnal sacrifice, when Kung-nî advanced, bearing the offerings, his general appearance was indicative of simple sincerity, but his steps were short and oft repeated. When the sacrifice was over, Dze-kung questioned him, saying, 'Your account of sacrificing was that it should be marked by the dignity and intense absorption of all engaged in it; and now how is it that in your sacrificing there has been no such dignity and absorption?'

The Master said, ‘That dignity of demeanour should belong to those who are only distantly connected (with him who is sacrificed to), and that absorbed demeanour to one whose thoughts are turned in on himself (lest he should make any mistake). But how should such demeanour consist with communion with the spirits (sacrificed to)? How should such unity and absorption be seen in my sacrifice? (At the sacrifices of the king and rulers) there is the return of the personator to his apartment, and the offering of food to him there; there are the performances of the music, and the setting forth of the stands with the victims on them; there are the ordering of the various ceremonies and the music; and there is the complete array of the officers for all the services. When they are engaged in the maintenance of that dignity and absorption in their duties, how can they be lost in their abandonment to intercourse with the spiritual presences? Should words be understood only in one way? Each saying has its own appropriate application.’

9. When a filial son is about to sacrifice, he is anxious that all preparations should be made beforehand; and when the time arrives, that everything necessary should be found complete; and then, with a mind free from all pre-occupation, he should address himself to the performance of his sacrifice.

The temple and its apartments having been repaired, the walls and roofs having been put in order, and all the assisting officers having been provided, husband and wife, after vigil and footing, bathe their heads and persons, and array themselves in full dress. In coming in with the things which they carry, how grave and still are they! how absorbed in what they do! as if they were not able to sustain their weight, as if they would let them fall: — Is not theirs the highest filial reverence? He sets forth the stands with the victims on them; arranges all the ceremonies and music; provides the officers for, the various ministries. These aid in sustaining and bringing in the things, and thus he declares his mind and wish, and in his lost abstraction of mind seeks to have communion with the dead in their spiritual state, if peradventure they will enjoy his offerings, if peradventure they will do so. Such is the aim of the filial son (in his sacrifices)!

10. The filial son, in sacrificing, seems never able to exhaust his earnest purpose, his sincerity, and reverence. He observes every rule, without transgression or short-coming. His reverence appears in his movements of advancing and retiring, as if he were hearing the orders (of his parents), or as if they were perhaps directing him.

11. What the sacrifice of a filial son should be can be known. While he is standing (waiting for the service to commence), he should be reverent, with his body somewhat bent; while he is. engaged in carrying forward the service, he

should be reverent, with an expression of pleasure; when he is presenting the offerings, he should be reverent, with an expression of desire. He should then retire and stand, as if he were about to receive orders; when he has removed the offerings and (finally) retires, the expression of reverent gravity should continue to be worn on his face. Such is the sacrifice of a filial son.

To stand without any inclination of the body would show insensibility; to carry the service forward without an expression of pleasure would show indifference; to present the offerings without an expression of desire (that they may be enjoyed) would show a want of love; to retire and stand without seeming to expect to receive orders would show pride; to retire and stand, after the removal of the offerings, without an expression of reverent gravity would show a forgetfulness of the parent to whom he owes his being. A sacrifice so conducted would be wanting in its proper characteristics.

12. A filial son, cherishing a deep love (for his parents), is sure to have a bland air; having a bland air, he will have a look of pleasure; having a look of pleasure, his demeanour will be mild and compliant. A filial son will move as if he were carrying a jade symbol, or bearing a full vessel. Still and grave, absorbed in what he is doing, he will seem as if he were unable to sustain the burden, and in danger of letting it fall. A severe gravity and austere manner are not proper to the service of parents; — such is the manner of a full-grown man.

13. There were five things by means of which the ancient kings secured the good government of the whole kingdom: — the honour which they paid to the virtuous; to the noble; and to the old; the reverence which they showed to the aged; and their kindness to the young. It was by these five things that they maintained the stability of the kingdom.

Why did they give honour to the virtuous? Because of their approximation to the course of duty. They did so to the noble because of their approximation to the position of the ruler; and to the old because of their approximation to that of parents. They showed reverence to the aged, because of their approximation to the position of elder brothers; and kindness to the young, because of their approximation to the position of sons.

14. Therefore he who is perfectly filial approximates to be king, and he who is perfectly fraternal approximates to being presiding chieftain. He who is perfectly filial approximates to being king, for even the son of Heaven had the father (whom he must revere); and he who is perfectly fraternal approximates to being presiding chieftain, for even a feudal lord bad his elder brothers (or cousins), (whom he must obey). The observance of the lessons of the ancient kings, without admitting any change in them, was the way by which they united and kept together the kingdom with its states and families.

15. The Master said, ‘The laying the foundation of (all) love in the love of parents teaches people concord. The laying the foundation of (all) reverence in the reverence of elders teaches the people obedience. When taught loving harmony, the people set the (proper) value on their parents; when taught to reverence their superiors, the people set the (Proper) value in obeying the orders given to them. Filial piety in the service of parents, and obedience in the discharge of orders can be displayed throughout the kingdom, and they will everywhere take effect.

16. At (the time of) the border sacrifice (to Heaven), those who are engaged in funeral rites do not dare to wail, and those who are wearing mourning do not dare to enter the gate of the capital; — this is the highest expression of reverence.

17. On the day of sacrifice, the ruler led the victim forward, along with and assisted by his son on the opposite side; while the Great officers followed in order. When they had entered the gate of the temple, they fastened the victim to the stone pillar. The ministers and Great officers then bared their arms, and proceeded to inspect the hair, paying particular attention to that of the ears. They then with the knife with the bells attached to it, cut it open, took out the fat about the inwards, and withdrew (for a time). Afterwards they offered some of the flesh boiled, and some raw, then (finally) withdrawing. There was the highest reverence about everything.

18. The sacrifice in the suburb of the capital was the great expression of gratitude to Heaven, and it was specially addressed to the sun, with which the moon was associated. The sovereigns of Hsiâ presented it in the dark. Under the Yin dynasty they did so at noon. Under the Kâu they sacrificed all the day, especially at daybreak, and towards evening.

19. They sacrificed to the sun on the altar, and to the moon in the hollow; — to mark the distinction between (the) gloom (of the one) and (the) brightness (of the other), and to show the difference between the high and the low. They sacrificed to the sun in the east, and to the moon in the west; — to mark the distinction between (the) forthcoming (of the former) and (the) withdrawing (of the latter), and to show the correctness of their (relative) position. The sun comes forth from the east, and the moon appears in the west; the darkness and the light are now long, now short; when the one ends, the other begins, in regular succession:-thus producing the harmony of all under the sky’

20. The rites to be observed by all under heaven were intended to promote the return (of the mind) to the beginning (= Creator of all); to promote (the honouring of) spiritual Beings; to promote the harmonious use (of all resources and appliances) of government; to promote righteousness; and to promote

humility. They promote the return to the beginning, securing the due consideration, of their originator. They promote (the honouring) of spiritual Beings, securing the giving honour to superiors. They promote the (proper) use of all resources, thereby establishing the regulations (for the well-being of) the people. They promote righteousness, and thus there are no oppositions and conflictings between high and low. They promote humility, in order to prevent occasions of strife. Let these five things be united through the rites for the regulation of all under heaven, and though there may be some extravagant and perverse who are not kept in order, they will be few.

See the introduction, vol. xxvii, pages 36, 37.

The spring sacrifice is here called tî (###), probably by mistake for yo (###), the proper name for it.

According to rule, and in fact, only. the sovereign sacrifices to God. He may be ‘a sage,’ but more frequently is not. But the ritual of China should impress on him, as on no other person, the truth in the words ‘noblesse oblige.’

Khan Hâo says here:— ‘As if he wished to die himself and follow them.’

P. Callery translates this by— ‘Parce qu’ils sont proche de la vérité,’ saying in a note:— ‘According to the Chinese philosophers, they understand by teh (###) that which man has obtained by his own efforts or the virtue he has acquired, and by tâo (###) that which all men should be striving to reach, what is suitable, what is in order, or virtue in the abstract. Now, as I think, there is nothing but truth which satisfies these conditions, for, according to the Christian philosophy, God Himself is the truth,’ &c. Zottoli’s translation is, ‘Quia hi appropinquant ad perfectionem.’

The sequence in the writer’s mind in this paragraph almost eludes my discovery; it does so still more in the translation of it by Callery and Zottoli.

They withdrew for a time, ‘to offer the hair and blood.’

This sentence is translated by Zottoli:— ‘Coeli sacrificio summe rependitur coelum sed potissimum intenditur Sol, consociatus cum luna.’ Callery says:— ‘Le sacrifice qu’on offre dans la campagne est un acte de grande reconnaissance envers le ciel, et principalement envers le soleil, auquel on associe la lune.’

Here, again, nature-worship seems to crop up. Khan Hâo says on the passage:— ‘Heaven is the great source of tâo (the course of nature and duty), and of all the visible bodies which it hangs out, there are none greater than the sun and moon. Therefore, while the object of the suburban sacrifice was a grateful acknowledgment of Heaven, the sun was chosen as the resting place for its spirit (or spirits). The idea in the institution of the rite was deep and far-reaching.’ It must be borne in mind that the rites described in the text are those of former dynasties, especially of that of Kâu. I cannot bring to mind any passages in

which there is mention made of any sacrifice to the sun or sun-spirit in connexion with the great sacrifice to Heaven., or Shang Tî, at the service on the day of the water solstice in the southern suburb.]

The sacrifices in this paragraph are those at the equinoxes; that to the sun at the vernal in the eastern suburb, aid that to the moon at the autumnal in the western suburb. They are still maintained. See the ritual of the present dynasty (###) Book VIII, where the former is called in ### and the latter ###.

Section ii.

1. Zâi Wo said, ‘I have heard the names Kwei and Shan, but I do not know what they mean.’ The Master said, ‘The (intelligent) spirit is of the shin nature, and shows that in fullest measure; the animal soul is of the kwei nature, and shows that in fullest measure. It is the union of kwei and shan that forms the highest exhibition of doctrine. ‘All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground; this is what is called kwei. The bones and flesh, moulder below, and, hidden away, become the earth of the fields. But the spirit issues forth, and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness. The vapours and odours which produce a feeling of sadness, (and arise from the decay of their substance), are the subtle essences of all things, and (also) a manifestation of the shan nature.

‘On the ground of these subtle essences of things, with an extreme decision and inventiveness, (the sages) framed distinctly (the names of) kwei and shan, to constitute a pattern for the black-haired race; and all the multitudes were filled with awe, and the myriads of the people constrained to submission.’

2. ‘The sages did not consider these (names) to be sufficient, and therefore. they built temples with their (different) apartments, and framed their rules for ancestors who were always to be honoured, and those whose tablets should be removed; — thus making a distinction for nearer and more distant kinship, and for ancestors the remote and the recent, and teaching the people to go back to their oldest fathers, and retrace their beginnings, not forgetting those to whom they owed their being. In consequence of this the multitude submitted to their lessons, and listened to them with a quicker readiness.

3. ‘These two elements (of the human constitution) having been established (with the two names), two ceremonies were framed in accordance with them. They appointed the service of the morning, when the fat of the inwards was burned so as to bring out its fragrance, and this was mixed with the blaze of dried southern-wood. This served as a tribute to the (intelligent) spirit, and taught all to go back to their originating ancestors. They (also) presented millet and rice, and offered the delicacies of the liver, lungs, head, and heart, along

with two bowls (of liquor) and odoriferous spirits. This served as a tribute to the animal soul, and taught the people to love one another, and high and low to cultivate good feeling between them; — such was the effect of those ceremonies.

4. ‘The superior man, going back to his ancient fathers, and returning to the authors of his being, does not forget those to whom he owes his life, and therefore he calls forth all his reverence, gives free vent to his feelings, and exhausts his strength in discharging the above service;-as a tribute of gratitude to his parents he dares not but do his utmost.’

5. Thus it was that anciently the, son of Heaven had his field of a thousand acres, in which he himself held the plough, wearing the square-topped cap with red ties. The feudal princes also had their field of a hundred acres, in which they did the same, wearing the same cap with green ties. They did this in the service of Heaven, Earth, the Spirits of the land and grain, and their ancient fathers, to supply the new wine, cream, and vessels of grain. In this way did they procure these things;-it was a great expression of their reverence.

6. Anciently, the son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their officers who attended to their animals; and at the proper seasons, after vigil and fasting, they washed their heads, bathed, and visited them in person, taking from them for victims those which were spotless and perfect; — it was a great expression of their reverence.

The ruler ordered the oxen to be brought before him, and inspected them; he chose them by their hair, divined whether it would be fortunate to use them, and if the response were favourable, he had them cared for. In his skin cap, and the white skirt gathered up at the waist, on the first day and at the middle of the month, he inspected them. Thus did he do his utmost; — it was the height of filial piety.

7. Anciently, the son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their own mulberry trees and silkworms’ house; the latter built near a river, ten cubits in height, the surrounding walls being topped with thorns, and the gates closed on the outside. In the early morning of a very bright day, the ruler, in his skin cap and the white skirt, divined for the most auspicious of the honourable ladies in the three palaces of his wife, who were then employed to take the silkworms into the house. They washed the seeds in the stream, gathered the leaves from the mulberry trees, and dried them in the wind to feed the worms.

When the (silkworm) year was ended, the honourable ladies had finished their work with the insects, and carried the cocoons to show them to the ruler. They then presented them to his wife, who said, ‘Will not these supply the materials for the ruler’s robes?’ She forthwith received them, wearing her head-dress and the robe with pheasants on it, and afterwards caused a sheep and a pig to be

killed and cooked to treat (the ladies). This probably was the ancient custom at the presentation of the cocoons.

Afterwards, on a good day, the wife rinsed some of them thrice in a vessel, beginning to unwind them, and then distributed them to the auspicious and honourable ladies of her three palaces to (complete) the unwinding. They then dyed the thread red and green, azure and yellow, to make the variously coloured figures on robes. When the robes were finished, the ruler wore them in sacrificing to the former kings and dukes; — all displayed the greatest reverence.

8. The superior man says, ‘Ceremonies and music should not for a moment be neglected by any one. When one has mastered (the principles of) music, and regulates his heart and mind accordingly, the natural, correct, gentle, and honest heart is easily developed, and with this development of the heart comes joy. This joy goes on to a feeling of repose. This repose is long continued. The man in this constant repose becomes (a sort of) heaven. Heaven-like, his action is spirit-like. Heaven-like, he is believed, though he do not speak. Spirit-like, he is regarded with awe, though he display no rage. So it is when one by his mastering of music regulates his mind and heart.

When one has mastered (the principle of) ceremonies, and regulates his person accordingly, he becomes grave and reverential. Grave and reverential, he is regarded with awe. If the heart be for a moment without the feeling of harmony and joy, meanness and deceitfulness enter it. If the outward demeanour be for a moment without gravity and reverentialness, indifference and rudeness show themselves. ‘Therefore the sphere in which music acts is the interior of man, and that of ceremonies is his exterior. The result of music is a perfect harmony, and that of ceremonies is a perfect observance (of propriety). When one’s inner man is thus harmonious, and his outer man thus docile, the people behold his countenance and do not strive with him; they look to his demeanour, and no feeling of indifference or rudeness arises in them. Thus it is that when virtue shines and moves within (a superior), the people are sure to accept (his rule) and hearken to him; and when the principles (of propriety) are displayed in his conduct, the people are all sure to accept (his rule) and obey him. Therefore it is said, ‘Let ceremonies and music have their course till all under heaven is filled with them; then give them their manifestation and application, and nothing difficult to manage will appear.’

Music affects the inward movements (of the soul); ceremonies appear in the outward movements (of the body). Hence it is the rule to make ceremonies as few and brief as possible, and to give to music its fullest development. This leads to the forward exhibition of ceremonies, and therein their beauty resides; and to the introspective consideration of music, and therein its beauty resides. If

ceremonies, demanding this condensation, did not receive this forward exhibition of them, they would almost disappear altogether; if music, demanding this full development, were not accompanied with the introspection, it would produce a dissipation of the mind. Thus it is that to every ceremony there is its proper response, and for music there is this introspection. When ceremonies are responded to, there arises pleasure, and when music is accompanied with the right introspection, there arises repose. The response of ceremony and the introspection of music spring from one and the same idea, and have one and the same object.

9. Zang-dze said, 'There are three degrees of filial piety. The highest is the honouring of our parents; the second is the not disgracing them; and the lowest is the being able to support them.'

10. (His disciple), Kung-ming Î, said, 'Can you, master, be considered (an example of a) filial son?' Zang-dze replied, 'What words are these? What words are these? What the superior man calls filial piety requires the anticipation of our parents' wishes, the carrying out of their aims and their instruction in the path (of duty). I am simply one who supports his parents; — how can I be considered filial?'

11. Zang-dze said, 'The 'body is that which has been transmitted to us by our parents; dare any one allow himself to be irreverent in the employment of their legacy? If a man in his own house and privacy be not grave, he is not filial; if in serving his ruler, he be not loyal, he is not filial; if in discharging the duties of office, he be not reverent, he is not filial; if with friends he be not sincere, he is not filial; if on the field of battle he be not brave, he is not filial. If he fail in these five things, the evil (of the disgrace) will reach his parents; — dare he but reverently attend to them?'

To prepare the fragrant flesh and grain which he has cooked, tasting and then presenting them before his parents, is not filial piety; it is only nourishing them. He whom the superior man pronounces filial is he whom (all) the people of (his) state praise, saying with admiration, 'Happy are the parents who have such a son as this!' — that indeed is what can be called being filial. The fundamental lesson for all is filial piety. The practice of it is seen in the support (of parents). One may be able to support them; the difficulty is in doing so with the proper reverence. One may attain to that reverence; the difficulty is to do so without self-constraint. That freedom from constraint may be realised; — the difficulty is to maintain it to the end. When his parents are dead, and the son carefully watches over his actions, so that a bad name, (involving) his parents, shall not be handed down, he may be said to be able to maintain his piety to the end. True love is the love of this; true propriety is the doing of this; true righteousness is

the rightness of this; true sincerity is being sincere in this; true strength is being strong in this joy springs from conformity to this; punishments spring from the violation of this.

12. Zang-dze said, ‘Set up filial piety, and it will fill the space from earth to heaven; spread it out, and it will extend over all the ground to the four seas;’ hand it down to future ages, and from morning to evening it will be observed; push it on to the eastern sea, the western sea, the southern sea, and the northern sea, and it will be (everywhere) the law for men, and their obedience to it will be uniform. There will be a fulfilment of the words of the ode (III, i, ode 10, 6),

“From west to east, from south to north,
There was no unsubmissive thought.”

13. Zang-dze said, ‘Trees are felled and animals killed, (only) at the proper seasons. The Master said,

“To fell a single tree, or kill a single animal, not at the proper season, is contrary to filial piety.”’

There are three degrees of filial piety: — the least, seen in the employment of one’s strength (in the service of parents); the second, seen in the endurance of toil (for them); and the greatest, seen in its never failing. Thinking of the gentleness and love (of parents) and forgetting our toils (for them) may be called the employment of strength. Honouring benevolences and resting with the feeling of repose in righteousness may be called the endurance of toil; the wide dispensation of benefits and the providing of all things (necessary for the people) may be called the piety that does not fail.

When his parents love him, to rejoice, and not allow himself to forget them; when they hate him, to fear and yet feel no resentment; when they have faults, to remonstrate with them, and yet not withstand them; when they are dead, to ask (the help only of) the good to obtain the grain with which to sacrifice to them: — this is what is called the completion (by a son) of his proper services.

14. The disciple Yo-king Khun injured his foot in descending from his hall, and for some months was not able to go out. Even after this he still wore a look of sorrow, and (one of the) disciples of the school said to him, ‘Your foot, master, is better; and though for some months you could not go out, why should you still wear a look of sorrow?’ Yo-kang Khun replied, ‘It is a good question which you ask! It is a good question which you ask! I heard from Zang-dze what he had heard the Master say, that of all that Heaven produces and Earth nourishes, there is none so great as man. His parents give birth to his person all complete, and to return it, to them all complete may be called filial duty. When no member has been mutilated and no disgrace done to any part of the person, it may be called complete; and hence a superior man does not dare to take the

slightest step in forgetfulness of his filial duty. But now I forgot the way of that, and therefore I wear the look of sorrow. (A son) should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, nor in the utterance of a single word. He should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, and therefore he will walk in the highway and not take a by-path, he will use a boat and not attempt to wade through a stream; — not daring, with the body left him by his parents, to go in the way of peril. He should not forget his parents in the utterance of a single word, and therefore an evil word will not issue from his mouth, and an angry word will not come back to his person. Not to disgrace his person and not to cause shame to his parents may be called filial duty.'

15. Anciently, the sovereigns of the line of Yü honoured virtue, and highly esteemed age; the sovereigns of Hsiâ honoured rank, and highly esteemed age; under Yin they honoured riches, and highly esteemed age; under Kâu, they honoured kinship, and highly esteemed age. Yü, Hsiâ, Yin, and Kâu produced the greatest kings that have appeared under Heaven, and there was not one of them who neglected age. For long has honour been paid to years under the sky; to pay it is next to the service of parents.

16. Therefore, at court among parties of the same rank, the highest place was 'given to the oldest. Men of seventy years carried their staffs at the court. When the ruler questioned one of them, he made him sit on a mat. One of eighty years did not wait out the audience, and when the ruler would question him he went to his house. Thus the submission of a younger brother (and juniors generally) was recognised at the court.

17. A junior walking with one older (than himself), if they were walking shoulder to shoulder, yet it was not on the same line. If he did not keep transversely (a little behind), he followed the other. When they saw an old man, people in carriages or walking got out of his way. Men, where the white were mingling with their black hairs, did not carry burdens on the roads. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised on the public ways.

Residents in the country took their places according to their age, and the old and poor were not neglected, nor did the strong come into collision with the weak, or members of a numerous clan do violence to those of a smaller. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the country districts and hamlets.

18. According to the ancient rule, men of fifty years were not required to serve in hunting expeditions; and in the distribution of the game, a larger share was given to the more aged. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the arrangements for the hunts. In the tens and fives of the army and its detachments, where the rank was the same, places were given according to age. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the army.

19. The display of filial and fraternal duty in the court; the practice of them on the road; their reaching to the districts and hamlets; their extension to the huntings; and the cultivation of them in the army, (have thus been described). All would have died for them under the constraint of righteousness, and not dared to violate them.

20. The sacrifice in the Hall of Distinction served to inculcate filial duty on the feudal lords; the feasting of the three classes of the old and five classes of the experienced in the Great college served to inculcate brotherly submission on those princes; the sacrifices to the worthies of former times in the western school served to inculcate virtue on them; the (king's) ploughing in the field set apart for him, served to teach them the duty of nourishing (the people); their appearances at court in spring and autumn served to inculcate on them their duty as subjects or ministers. Those five institutions were the great lessons for the kingdom.

21. When feasting the three classes of the old and five classes of the experienced, the son of Heaven bared his arm, cut up the bodies of the victims, and handed round the condiments; he also presented the cup with which they rinsed their mouths, wearing the square-topped cap, and carrying a shield. It was thus he inculcated brotherly submission on the princes. It was thus that in the country and villages regard was paid to age, that the old and poor were not neglected, and that the members of a numerous clan did hot oppress those of a smaller; — these things came from the Great college.

The son of Heaven appointed the four schools; and when his eldest son entered one of them, he took his place according to his age.

22. When the son of Heaven was on a tour of inspection, the princes (of each quarter) met him on their borders. The son of Heaven first visited those who were a hundred years old. If there were those of eighty or ninety, on the way to the east, he, though going to the west, did not dare to pass by (without seeing them); and so, if their route was to the west, and his to the west. If he wished to speak of matters of government, he, though ruler, might go to them.

23. Those who had received the first degree of office took places according to age (at meetings) in the country and villages; those who had received the second, took places in the same way (at meetings) of all the members of their relatives. Those who had received the third degree did not pay the same regard to age. But at meetings of all the members of a clan no one dared to take precedence of one who was seventy years old.

Those who were seventy, did not go to court unless for some great cause. When they did so for such a cause, the ruler would bow and give place to them, afterwards going on to the parties possessed of rank.

24. Whatever good was possessed by the son of Heaven, he humbly ascribed the merit of it to Heaven; whatever good was possessed by a feudal lord, he ascribed it to the son of Heaven; whatever good was possessed by a minister or Great officer, he attributed it to the prince of his state; whatever good was possessed by an officer or a common man, he assigned the ground of it to his parents, and the preservation of it to his elders. Emolument, rank, felicitations, and rewards were (all) transacted in the ancestral temple; and it was thus that they showed (the spirit of) submissive deference.

25. Anciently, the sages, having determined the phenomena of heaven and earth in their states of rest and activity, made them the basis of the Yî (and divining by it). The diviner held the tortoise-shell in his arms, with his face towards the south, while the son of Heaven, in his dragon-robe and square-topped cap, stood with his face to the north. The latter, however intelligent might be his mind, felt it necessary to set forth and obtain a decision on what his object was;-showing that he did not dare to take his own way, and giving honour to Heaven (as the supreme Decider). What was good in him (or in his views) he ascribed to others; what was wrong, to himself; thus teaching not to boast, and giving honour to men of talents and virtue.

26. When a filial son was about to sacrifice; the rule was that he should have his mind well adjusted and grave, to fit him for giving to all matters their full consideration, for providing the robes and other things, for repairing the temple and its fanes, and for regulating everything. When the day of sacrifice arrived, the rule was that his countenance should be mild, and his movements show an anxious dread, as if he feared his love were not sufficient. When he put down his offerings, it was required that his demeanour should be mild, and his body bent, as if (his parents) would speak (to him) and had not yet done so; when the officers assisting had all gone out, he stood lowly and still, though correct and straight, as if he were about to lose the sight (of his parents).

After the sacrifice, he looked pleased and expectant, as if they would again enter.

In this way his ingenuousness and goodness were never absent from his person; his ears and eyes were never withdrawn from what was in his heart; the exercises of his thoughts never left his parents. What was bound up in his heart was manifested in his countenance; and he was continually examining himself;-such was the mind of the filial son.

27. The sites for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain were on the right; that for the ancestral temple on the left.

BOOK XXII. KÎ THUNG

or

A Summary Account of Sacrifices

1. Of all the methods for the good ordering of men, there is none more urgent than the use of ceremonies. Ceremonies are of five kinds, and there is none of them more important than sacrifices.

Sacrifice is not a thing coming to a man from without; it issues from within him, and has its birth in his heart. When the heart is deeply moved, expression is given to it by ceremonies; and hence, only men of ability and virtue can give complete exhibition to the idea of sacrifice.

2. The sacrifices of such men have their own blessing; — not indeed what the world calls blessing. Blessing here means perfection;-it is the name given to the complete and natural discharge of all duties. When nothing is left incomplete or improperly discharged; — this is what we call perfection, implying the doing everything that should be done in one's internal self, and externally the performance of everything according to the proper method. There is a fundamental agreement between a loyal subject in his service of his ruler and a filial son in his service of his parents. In the supernal sphere there is a compliance with (what is due to) the repose and expansion of the energies of nature; in the external sphere, a compliance with (what is due) to rulers and elders; in the internal sphere, the filial service of parents; — all this constitutes what is called perfection.

It is only the able and virtuous man who can attain to this perfection; and can sacrifice when he has attained to it. Hence in the sacrifices of such a man he brings into exercise all sincerity and good faith, with all right-heartedness and reverence; he offers the (proper) things; accompanies them with the (proper) rites; employs the soothing of music; does everything suitably to the season. Thus intelligently does he offer his sacrifices, without seeking for anything to be gained by them: — such is the heart and mind of a filial son.

3. It is by sacrifice that the nourishment of parents is followed up and filial duty to them Perpetuated. The filial heart is a storehouse (of all filial duties). Compliance with everything that can mark his course, and be no violation of the relation (between parent and child): — the keeping of this is why we call it a storehouse. Therefore in three ways is a filial son's service of his parents shown: — while they are alive, by nourishing them; when they are dead, by all the rites

of mourning; and when the mourning is over by sacrificing to them. In his nourishing them we see his natural obedience; in his funeral rites we see his sorrow; in his sacrifices we see his reverence and observance of the (proper) seasons. In these three ways we see the practice of a filial son.

4. When a son had done everything (for his sacrifices) that he could do himself, he proceeded to seek assistance from abroad; and this came through the rites of marriage. Hence the language of a ruler, when about to marry a wife, was:— 'I beg you, O ruler, to give me your elegant daughter, to share this small state with my poor self, to do service in the ancestral temple, and at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain.' This underlay his seeking for that assistance (from abroad).

In sacrificing, husband and wife had their several duties which they personally attended to; and on this account there was the array of officials belonging to the exterior and interior departments (of the palace). When these officers were complete, all things necessary (for the service) were made ready: — small things, such as the sourcrout of water plants and pickles from the produce of dry grounds; and fine things, such as the stands for the bodies of the three victims, and the supplies for the eight dishes. Strange insects and the fruits of plants and trees, produced under the best influences of light and shade, were all made ready. Whatever heaven produces, whatever earth develops in its growth; — all were then exhibited in the greatest abundance. Everything was there from without, and internally there was the utmost effort of the will: — such was the spirit in sacrificing.

5. For this reason, also, the son of Heaven himself guided the plough in the southern suburb, to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels; and the queen looked after her silkworms in the northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk. The princes of the states guided the plough in their eastern suburb, also to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels, and their wives looked after their silkworms in the northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk. This was not because the son of Heaven and the princes had not men to plough for them, or 'because the queen and the princes' wives had not women to tend the silkworms for them; it was to give the exhibition of their personal sincerity. Such sincerity was what is called doing their utmost; and such doing of their utmost was what is called reverence. When they had reverently done their utmost, they could serve the spiritual Intelligences — such was the way of sacrificing.

6. When the time came for offering a sacrifice, the man wisely gave himself to the work of purification. That purification meant the production of uniformity (in all the thoughts);-it was the giving uniformity to all that was not uniform, till a uniform direction of the thoughts was realised. Hence a superior man, unless

for a great occasion, and unless he were animated by a great reverence, did not attempt this purification. While it was not attained, he did not take precautions against the influence of (outward) things, nor did he cease from all (internal) desires. But when he was about to attempt it, he guarded against all things of an evil nature, and suppressed all his desires, His ears did not listen to music; — as it is said in the Record, 'People occupied with purification have no music,' meaning that they did not venture to allow its dissipation of their minds. He allowed no vain thoughts in his heart, but kept them in a strict adherence to what was right. He allowed no reckless movement of his hands or feet, but kept them firmly in the way of propriety. Thus the superior man, in his purification, devotes himself to carrying to its utmost extent his refined and intelligent virtue.

Therefore there was the looser ordering of the mind for seven days, to bring it to a state of fixed determination; and the complete ordering of it for three days, to effect the uniformity of all the thoughts. That determination is what is called purification; the final attainment is when the highest degree of refined intelligence is reached. After this it was possible to enter into communion with the spiritual Intelligences.

7. Moreover, on the eleventh day, before that appointed for the sacrifice, the governor of the palace gave warning notice to the wife of the ruler, and she also conducted that looser ordering of her thoughts for seven days, and that more complete ordering of them for three. The ruler accomplished his purification in the outer apartment, and the wife her purification in the inner. After this they met in the grand temple.

The ruler, in the dark-coloured square-topped cap, stood at the top of the steps on the cast; his wife in her head-dress and pheasant-embroidered robe stood in the eastern chamber. The ruler from his mace-handled libation-cup poured out the fragrant spirit before the personator of the dead; and the great minister in charge of the temple with his halfmace-handled cup poured the second libation (for the wife). When the victim was introduced, the ruler held it by the rope; the ministers and Great officers followed; other officers carried the dried grass (to lay on the ground when it should be killed); the wives of the ruler's surname followed the wife with the basins; she presented the purified liquid; the ruler held in his hand the knife with bells; he prepared the lungs (to be offered to the personator); and his wife put them on the dishes and presented them. All this shows what is meant in saying that husband and wife had their parts which they personally performed.

8. When they went in for the dance, the ruler, holding his shield and axe, went to the place for the performance. He took his station at the head of those on the east, and in his square-topped cap,, carrying his shield, he led on all his officers,

to give pleasure to the august personator of the dead. Hence the son of Heaven in his sacrifices (gave expression to) the joy of all in the kingdom. (In the same way) the feudal princes at their sacrifices (gave expression to) the joy of all within their territories. In their square-topped caps, and carrying their shields, they led on all their officers, to give joy to the august personators: — with the idea of showing the joy of all within their territories.

9. At a sacrifice there were three things specially important. Of the offerings there was none more important than the libation; of the music there was none more important than the singing in the hall. above; of the pantomimic evolutions there was none more important than that representing (king) Wû's (army) on the night (before his battle). Such was the practice of the Kâu dynasty. All the three things were designed to increase the aim of the superior man by the use of these external representations. Hence their movements in advancing and retreating were regulated by (the degree of) that aim. If it were less intense, they were lighter; if it were more intense, they were more vehement. If the aim were less intense, and they sought to make the outward representation more vehement, even a sage could not have accomplished this.

Therefore the superior man, in sacrificing, exerted himself to the utmost in order to give clear expression to these more important things. He conducted everything according to the rules of ceremony, thereby giving prominent exhibition to them, and displaying them to the august personator: — Such was the method of the sages.

10. At sacrifices there are the provisions that are left. The dealing with these is the least important thing in sacrifices, but it is necessary to take knowledge of it. Hence there is the saying of antiquity, 'The end must be attended to even as the beginning:' — there is an illustration of it in these leavings. Hence it was the remark of a superior man of antiquity, that 'The personator also eats what the spirits have left; — it is a device of kindness, in which may be seen (the method of) government.'

Hence, when the personator rose, the ruler and his three ministers partook of what he had left. When the ruler had risen, the six Great officers partook;-the officers partook of what the ruler had left. When the Great officers rose, the eight officers partook: — the lower in rank ate what the higher had left. When these officers rose, each one took what was before him and went out, and placed it (in the court) below the hall, when all the inferior attendants entered and removed it: — the inferior class ate what the superior had left.

11. Every change in the disposal of these relics was marked by an increase in the number (of those who partook of them); and thus there was marked the distinction between the degrees of the noble and the mean, and a representation

given of the dispensation of benefits (by the sovereign). Hence by means of the four vessels of millet there is shown the cultivation of this in the ancestral temple, which becomes thereby a representation of all comprised within the confines (of the state).

What is done at sacrifices afforded the greatest example of the dispensation of favours Hence when the superior possessed the greatest blessing, acts of favour were sure to descend from him to those below him, the only difference being that he enjoyed the blessing first, and those below him afterwards; — there was no such thing as the superior's accumulating a great amount for himself, while the people below him might be suffering from cold and want. Therefore when the superior enjoyed his great blessing, even private individuals waited till the stream should flow down, knowing that his favours would surely come to them. This was shown by what was done with the relics at sacrifices, and hence came the saying that 'By the dealing with these was seen (the method of) government.'

12. Sacrifice is the greatest of all things. Its apparatus of things employed in it is complete, but that completeness springs from all being in accordance with the requirements (of nature and reason) is it not this which enables us to find in it the basis of all the lessons of the sages? Therefore those lessons, in the external sphere, inculcated the honouring of the ruler and of elders, and, in the internal sphere, filial piety towards parents. Hence, when there was an intelligent ruler above, all his ministers submitted to and followed him. When he reverently sacrificed in his ancestral temple, and at the altars to the (spirits of the) land and grain, his sons and grandsons were filially obedient. He did all his duty in his own walk, and was correct in his righteousness; and thence grew up the lessons (of all duty).

Therefore a superior man, in the service of his ruler, should find (guidance for) all his personal conduct. What does not satisfy him in (the behaviour of) his superiors, he will not show in his employment of those below himself; and what he dislikes in the behaviour of those below him, he will not show in the service of his superiors. To disapprove of anything in another, and do the same himself, is contrary to the rule of instruction. Therefore the superior in the inculcation of his lessons, ought to proceed from the foundation (of all duty). This will show him pursuing the greatest method of what is natural and right in the highest degree; and is not this what is seen in sacrifice? Hence we have the saying that 'The first and greatest teaching is to be found in sacrifice.'

13. In sacrifice there is a recognition of what belongs to ten relationships. There are seen in it the method of serving spiritual Beings; the righteousness between ruler and subject; the relation between father and son; the degrees of the noble and mean; the distance gradually increasing between relatives; the

bestowment of rank and reward; the separate duties of husband and wife; impartiality in government affairs; the order to be observed between old and young; and the boundaries of high and low. These are what are called the (different duties in the) ten relationships.

14. The spreading of the mat and placing on it a stool to serve for two, was intended as a resting-place for the united spirits (of husband and wife). The instruction to the blesser in the apartment and the going out to the inside of the gate, was the method pursued in (seeking) communion with the spirits.

15. The ruler went to meet the victim, but not to meet the representative of the dead;-to avoid misconstruction. While the representative was outside the gate of the temple, he was to be regarded only as a subject; inside the temple, he had the full character of a ruler. While the ruler was outside the gate of the temple, he was there the ruler; when he entered that gate (on the occasion of the sacrifice), he had the full character of a subject, or a son. Hence his not going forth (to meet the representative) made clear the right distinction between the ruler and subject.

16. According to the rule in sacrifices, a grandson acted as the representative of his grandfather. Though employed to act the part of representative, yet he was only the son of the sacrificer. When his father, with his face to the north, served him, he made clear how it is the way of a son to serve his father. Thus (sacrifice) illustrated the relation of father and son.

17. When the representative had drunk the fifth cup, the ruler washed the cup of jade, and presented it to the ministers. When he had drunk the seventh cup, that of green jasper was presented to the Great officers. When he had drunk the ninth cup, the plain one varnished was presented to the ordinary officers, and all who were taking part in the service. In all the classes the cup passed from one to another, according to age; and thus were shown the degrees of rank as more honourable and lower.

18. At the sacrifice the parties taking part in it were arranged on the left and right, according to their order of descent from the common ancestor, and thus the distinction was maintained between the order of fathers and sons, the near and the distant, the older and the younger, the more nearly related and the more distantly, and there, was no confusion. Therefore at the services in the grand ancestral temple, all in the two lines of descent were present, and no one failed to receive his proper place in their common relationship. This was what was called (showing) the distance gradually increasing between relatives.

19. Anciently the intelligent rulers conferred rank on the virtuous, and emoluments on the meritorious; and the rule was that this should take place in the Grand temple, to show that they did not dare to do it on their own private motion. Therefore, on the day of sacrifice, after the first presenting (of the cup to

the representative), the ruler descended and stood on the south of the steps on the east, with his face to the south, while those who were to receive their appointments stood facing the north. The recorder was on the right of the ruler, holding the tablets on which the appointments were written. He read these, and (each man) bowed twice, with his head to the ground, received the writing, returned (home), and presented it in his (own) ancestral temple: — such was the way in which rank and reward were given.

20. The ruler, in the dragon robe and square-topped cap, stood at the top of the steps on the east, while his wife in her head-dress and pheasant-embroidered robe, stood in the chamber on the east. When the wife presented and put down the dishes or, stands, she held them by the foot; (the officer) who held the vessels with new wine, presented them to her, holding them by the bottom; when the representative of the dead was handing, the cup to the wife, he held it by, the handle, and she gave it to him by the foot; when husband and wife were giving and receiving, the one did not touch the place where the other had held the article; in passing the pledge cup, they changed the cups: — so was the distinction to be maintained between husband and wife shown.

21. In all arrangements with the stands, the chief attention was given to the bones. Some bones were considered nobler, and some meaner. Under the Yin they preferred the thigh bone; and under the Kâu, the shoulder bone. Generally, the bones in front were thought nobler than those behind. The stands served to illustrate the rule in sacrifices of showing favours. Hence the nobler, guests received the nobler bones, and the lower, the less noble; the nobler did not receive very much, and the lower were not left without any: — impartiality was thus shown. With impartiality of favours, government proceeded freely; with the free proceeding of government, undertakings were accomplished; with the accomplishment of undertakings, merit was established. It is necessary that the way in which merit is established should be known. The stands served to show the rule for the impartial bestowment of favours. So did the skilful administrators of government proceed, and hence it is said that (sacrifices showed the principle of) impartiality in the business of government.

22. Whenever they came to the (general) circulation of the cup, those whose place was on the left stood in one row, and also those whose place was on the right. The members of each row had places according to their age; and in the same way were arranged all the assistants at the service. This was what was called (exhibiting) the order of the old and young.

23. At sacrifices there were portions give skinners, cooks, assistants, feather-wavers, and doorkeepers, — showing how favours should descend to the lowest. Only a virtuous ruler, however, could do this; having intelligence sufficient to

perceive (the wisdom of) it, and benevolence equal to the bestowment of it. Apportioning means bestowing; they were able to bestow what was left on those below them.

Skinners were the meanest of those who looked after the buff-coats; cooks' assistants, the meanest of those who looked after the flesh; feather-wavers, the meanest of those who had to do with the music; doorkeepers, those who looked after the doors; for anciently they did not employ men who had suffered dismemberment to keep the doors. These four classes of keepers were the meanest of the servants; and the representative of the dead was the most honoured of all. When the most honoured, at the close of the sacrifice, did not forget those who were the most mean, but took what was left and bestowed it on them, (it may be seen how) with an intelligent ruler above, there would not be any of the people within his territory who suffered from cold and want. This is what was meant by saying that sacrifices show the relation between high and low.

24. For the sacrifices (in the ancestral temple) there were the four seasons. That in spring was called yo; that in summer, tî; that in autumn, khang; and that in winter, khang. The yo and tî expressed the idea in the bright and expanding (course of nature); the khang and khang, that in the sombre and contracting (course). The a showed the former in its fullest development, and the khang showed the latter in the same. Hence it is said, 'There is nothing more important than the tî and khang.' Anciently, at the tî sacrifice, they conferred rank, and bestowed robes; — acting according to the idea in the bright and expanding (course); and at the khang they gave out fields and homesteads, and issued the rules of autumn-work; — acting according to the idea in the sombre and contracting (course). Hence it is said in the Record, 'On the day of the khang sacrifice they gave forth (the stores of) the ruler's house;' showing how rewards (were then given). When the plants were cut down, the punishment of branding might be inflicted. Before the rules of autumn-work were issued, the people did not dare to cut down the grass.

25. Hence it is said that 'the ideas in the tî and khang are great, and lie at the, foundation of the government of a state; and should by all means be known.' It is for the ruler to know clearly those ideas, and for the minister to be able to execute (what they require). The ruler who does not know the ideas is not complete, and the minister who cannot carry them into execution is not complete.

Now the idea serves to direct and help the aim, and leads to the manifestation of all virtue. Hence he whose virtue is the completest, has the largest aims; and he whose aims are the largest, has the clearest idea. He whose idea is the

clearest, will be most reverent in his sacrifices. When the sacrifices (of a state) are reverent, none of the sons and grandsons within its borders will dare to be irreverent. Then the superior man, when he has a sacrifice, will feel it necessary to preside at it in person. if there be a (sufficient) reason for it, he may commit the performance of it to another. But when committing the performance to another, the ruler will not fail (to think) of its meaning, because he understands the ideas in it. He whose virtue is slight, has but a small aim. He who is in doubts as to the idea in it, and will yet seek to be reverent in his sacrifice, will find it impossible to be so; and how can he, who sacrifices without reverence, be the parent of his people?

26. The tripods (at the sacrifices) had inscriptions on them. The maker of an inscription named himself, and took occasion to praise and set forth the excellent qualities of his ancestors, and clearly exhibit them to future generations. Those ancestors must have had good qualities and also bad. But the idea of an inscription is to make mention of the good qualifies and not of the bad: — such is the heart of a filial descendant; and it is only the man of ability and virtue who can attain to it.

The inscriber discourses about and panegyrises the virtues and goodness of his ancestors, their merits and zeal, their services and toils, the congratulations and rewards (given to them), their fame recognised by all under heaven; and in the discussion of these things on his spiritual vessels, he “makes himself famous; and thus he sacrifices to his ancestors. In the celebration of his ancestors he exalts his filial piety. That he himself appears after them is natural. And in the clear showing (of all this) to future generations, he is giving instruction.

27. By the one panegyric of an inscription benefit accrues to the ancestors, to their descendant and to others after them. Hence when a superior man looks at an inscription, while he admires those whom it praises, he also admires him who made it. That maker had intelligence to see (the excellences of his ancestors), virtue to associate himself with them, and wisdom to take advantage (of his position);-he may be pronounced a man of ability and virtue. Such worth without boasting may be pronounced courteous respect.

28. Thus the inscription on the tripod of Khung Khwei of Wei was:-’In the sixth month, on the day ting-hâi, the duke went to the Grand Temple, and said, “My young uncle, your ancestor Kwang Shû assisted duke Khang, who ordered him to follow him in his difficulties on the south of the Han, and afterwards to come to him in his palace (of imprisonment) in the honoured capital of Kâu; and all these hurried journeyings he endured without wearying of them. From him came the helper of duke Hsien, who charged your (later) ancestor Khang Shuh to continue the service of his ancestor. Your deceased father Wan Shû cherished

and stimulated in himself the old desires and aims, roused and led on the admirable officers, and showed his own great personal interest in the state of Wei. His labours for our ducal house never wearied early or late, so that the people all testified how good he was." The duke further said, "My young uncle, I give you (this tripod with) its inscription. Carry on and out the services of your father." Khwei bowed with his head to the ground, and said, "In response to the distinction (you have conferred upon me) I will take your great and important charge, and I will put it on the vases and tripods of my winter sacrifice."' Such was the inscription on the tripod of Khung Khwei of Wei.

In this way the superior men of antiquity panegyrised the excellent qualities of their ancestors, and clearly exhibited them to future generations, thereby having the opportunity to introduce their own personality and magnify their states. If descendants who maintain their ancestral temples and the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, praised their ancestors for good qualities which they did not possess, that was falsehood; if they did not take knowledge of the good qualities which they did possess, that showed their want of intelligence; if they knew them and did not transmit them (by their inscriptions), that showed a want of virtue: — these are three things of which a superior man should have been ashamed.

29. Anciently, Tan, duke of Kâu, did most meritorious service for the kingdom. After his death the kings Khang and Khang, bearing in mind all his admirable work, and wishing to honour Lû, granted to its lords the right of offering the greatest sacrifices; — those in the borders of their capital to. Heaven and Earth, in the wider sphere of sacrifice; and the great summer and autumnal sacrifices in the ancestral temple of the state. At those great summer and autumnal sacrifices, on the hall above, they sang the Khing Miâo, and in the courtyard below it they danced the Hsiang to the flute; they carried red shields and axes adorned with jade in performing the Tâ Wû dance; and this was the music employed by the son of Heaven. (Those kings) in acknowledgment of the great merit of the duke of Kâu, allowed (the use of those sacrifices and this music) to the (marquis of) Lû. His descendants have continued it, and down to the present day it is not abolished, thereby showing clearly the virtue of the lords of Kâu and magnifying their state.

BOOK XXIII. KING KIEH

or

The Different Teaching of the Different Kings.

1. Confucius said, ‘When you enter any state you can know what subjects (its people) have been taught. If they show themselves men who are mild and gentle, sincere and good, they have been taught from the Book of Poetry. If they have a wide comprehension (of things), and know what is remote and old, they have been taught from the Book of History. If they be large-hearted and generous, bland and honest, they have been taught from the Book of Music. If they be pure and still, refined and subtile, they have been taught from the Yî. If they be courteous and modest, grave and respectful, they have been taught from the Book of Rites and Ceremonies. If they suitably adapt their language to the things of which they speak, they have been taught from the Khun Khiû.

‘Hence the failing that may arise in connexion with the study of the Poems is a stupid simplicity; that in connexion. with the History is duplicity; that in connexion with Music is extravagance; that in connexion with the Yî is the violation (of reason); that in connexion with the practice of Rites and Ceremonies is fussiness; and that in connexion with the Khun Khiû is insubordination.

2. ‘If they show themselves men who are mild and gentle, sincere and good, and yet free from that simple stupidity, their comprehension of the Book of Poetry is deep. If they have a wide comprehension (of things), and know what is remote and old, and yet are free from duplicity, their understanding of the Book of History is deep. If they are large-hearted and generous, bland and honest, and yet have no tendency to extravagance, their knowledge of Music is deep. If they are pure and still, refined and subtle, and yet do not violate (reason), they have made great attainments in the Yî. If they are courteous and modest, grave and reverent, and yet not fussy, their acquaintance with the Book of Rites and Ceremonies is deep. If they suitably adapt their language to the things of which they speak, and yet have no disposition to be insubordinate, their knowledge of the Khun Khiû is deep.’

3. The son of Heaven forms a ternion with heaven and earth. Hence, in power of his goodness he is their correlate, and his benefits extend at once to all things. His brilliancy is equal to that of the sun and moon, and enlightens all within the four seas, not excepting anything, however minute and small. In the audiences at

his court everything is done according to the orderly procedure of benevolence, wisdom, propriety, and righteousness. At his entertainments he listens to the singing of the Odes of the Kingdom and the Odes of the Temple and Altar. When he walks, there are the notes from his girdle pendant. When he rides in his chariot, there are the harmonious sounds of the bells attached to his horses. When he is in private at ease, there is the observance of the rules of propriety. When he advances or retires, he does so according to rule and measure. All the officers fulfil their duties rightly, and all affairs are carried on with order. It is as described in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, 3),

'That virtuous man, the princely one,
Has nothing wrong in his deportment;
He has nothing wrong in his deportment,
And thus he rectifies the four quarters of the state.'

4. When (a ruler) issues his notices and gives forth his orders, and the people are pleased, we have what may be called the condition of harmony. When superiors and inferiors love one another, we have the condition of benevolence. When the people get what they desire without seeking for it, we have the condition of confidence. When all things in the operations of heaven and earth that might be injurious are taken out of the way, we have the condition of rightness. Rightness and confidence, harmony and benevolence are the instruments of the presiding chieftain and the king. If anyone wishes to govern the people, and does not employ these instruments, he will not be successful.

5. In the right government of a state, the Rules of Propriety serve the same purpose as the steelyard in determining what is light and what is heavy; or as the carpenter's line in determining what is crooked and what is straight; or as the circle and square in determining what is square and what is round. Hence, if the weights of the steelyard be true, there can be no imposition in the matter of weight; if the line be truly applied, there can be no imposition in the evenness of a surface; if the square and compass be truly employed, there can be no imposition in the shape of a figure. When a superior man (conducts, the government of his state) with a discriminating attention to these rules, he cannot be imposed on by traitors and impostors.

6. Hence he who has an exalted idea of the rules, and guides his conduct by them, is called by us a mannerly gentleman, and be who has no such exalted idea and does not guide his conduct by the rules, is called by us one of the unmannerly people. These rules (set forth) the way of reverence and courtesy; and therefore when the services in the ancestral temple are performed according to them, there is reverence; when they are observed in the court, the noble and the mean have their proper positions; when the family is regulated by them, there

is affection between father and son, and harmony among brothers; and when they are honoured in the country districts and villages, there is the proper order between old and young. There is the verification of what was said by Confucius, ‘For giving security to superiors and good government Of the people, there is nothing more excellent than the Rules of Propriety.’

7. The ceremonies at the court audiences of the different seasons were intended to illustrate the righteous relations between ruler and subject; those of friendly messages and inquiries, to secure mutual honour and respect between the feudal princes; those of mourning and sacrifice, to illustrate the kindly feelings of ministers and sons; those of social meetings in the country districts, to show the order that should prevail between young and old; and those of marriage, to exhibit the separation that should be maintained between males and females. Those ceremonies prevent the rise of disorder and confusion, and are like the embankments which prevent the overflow of water. He who thinks the old embankments useless and destroys them is sure to suffer from the desolation caused by overflowing water; and he who should consider the old rules of propriety useless and abolish them would be sure to suffer from the calamities of disorder.

8. Thus if the ceremonies of marriage were discontinued, the path of husband and wife would be embittered, and there would be many offences of licentiousness and depravity. If the drinking ceremonies at country feasts were discontinued, the order between old and young would be neglected, and quarrelsome litigations would be numerous. If the ceremonies of mourning and sacrifice were discontinued, the kindly feeling of officers and sons would become small; there would be numerous cases in which there was a revolt from the observances due to the dead, and an oblivion of (those due) to the living. If the ceremonies of friendly messages and court attendances were discontinued, the positions of ruler and subject would fall into disuse, the conduct of the feudal princes would be evil, and the ruin wrought by rebellion, encroachment, and oppression would ensue.

9. Therefore the instructive and transforming power of ceremonies is subtile; they stop depravity before it has taken form, causing men daily to move towards what is good, and keep themselves farther apart from guilt, without being themselves conscious of it. It was on this account that the ancient kings set so high a value upon them. This sentiment is found in the words of the Yî, ‘The superior man is careful at the commencement; a mistake, then, of a hair’s breadth, will lead to an error of a thousand lî.’

BOOK XXIV. ÂI KUNG WAN

or

Questions of Duke ÂI.

1. Duke Âi asked Confucius, saying, ‘What do you say about the great rites? How is it that superior men, in speaking about them, ascribe so much honour to them?’ Confucius said, ‘I, Khiû, am a small man, and unequal to a knowledge of the rites.’ ‘By no means,’ said the ruler. ‘Tell me what you think, my Master.’ Then Confucius replied, ‘According to what I have heard, of all things by which the people live the rites are the greatest. Without them they would have no means of regulating the services paid to the spirits of heaven and earth; without them they would have no means of distinguishing the positions proper to father and son, to high and low, to old and young; without them they would have no means of maintaining the separate character of the intimate relations between male and female, father and son, elder brother and younger, and conducting the intercourse between the contracting families in a marriage, and the frequency or infrequency (of the reciprocities between friends). These are the grounds on which superior men have honoured and reverenced (the rites) as they did.

2. ‘Thereafter, (having this view of the rites), they taught them to the people, on the ground of their ability (to practise them), not disregarding their general principles or the limitations (that circumstances impose in particular cases).

3. ‘When their object had been accomplished (so far), they proceeded to give rules for the engraving (of the ceremonial vessels), and the embroidering in various colours (of the robes), in order to secure the transmission (of the rites).

4. ‘Having obtained the concurrence (of the people in these things), they proceeded to tell them the different periods of mourning; to provide the full amount of tripods and stands; to lay down the (offerings of) pork and dried meats; to maintain in good order their ancestral temples; and then at the different seasons of the year reverently to present their sacrifices; and to arrange thereat, in order, the different branches and members of their kindred. Meanwhile (they themselves) were content to live economically, to have nothing fine about their dress; to have their houses low and poor; to eschew much carving about their carriages; to use their vessels without carving or graving; and to have the plainest diet, in order to share all their advantages in common with the people. In this manner did the superior men of antiquity practise the rites.’

5. The duke said, ‘How is it that the superior men of the present day do not practise them (in this way).’ Confucius said, ‘The superior men of the present day are never satisfied in their fondness for wealth, and never wearied in the extravagance of their conduct. They are wild, idle, arrogant, and insolent. They determinedly exhaust the (resources of the) people, put themselves in opposition to the multitude, and seek to overthrow those who are pursuing the right way. They seek to get whatever they desire, without reference to right or reason. The former using of the people was according to the ancient rules; the using of them now-a-days is according to later rules. The superior men of the present day do not practise the rites (as they ought to be practised).’

6. Confucius was sitting beside duke Âi, when the latter said, ‘I venture to ask, according to the nature of men, which is the greatest thing (to be attended to in dealing with them).’ Confucius looked startled, changed countenance, and replied, ‘That your lordship should put this question is a good thing for the people. How should your servant dare but express his opinion on it?’ Accordingly he proceeded, and said, ‘According to the nature of men, government is the greatest thing for them.’

7. The duke said, ‘I venture to ask what is meant by the practice of government.’ Confucius replied, ‘Government is rectification. When the ruler is correct himself, all the people will follow his government. What the ruler does is what the people follow. How should they follow what he does not do?’

8. The duke said, ‘I venture to ask how this practice of government is to be effected?’ Confucius replied, ‘Husband and wife have their separate functions; between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister there should be a strict adherence to their several parts. If these three relations be correctly discharged, all other things will follow.’

9. The duke said, ‘Although I cannot, in my unworthiness, count myself as having attained, I should like to hear how these three things which you have mentioned can be rightly secured. May I hear it from you?’ Confucius replied, ‘With the ancients in their practice of government the love of men was the great point; in their regulation of this love of men, the rules of ceremony was the great point; in their regulation of those rules, reverence was the great point. For of the extreme manifestation of reverence we find the greatest illustration in the great (rite of) marriage. Yes, in the great (rite of) marriage there is the extreme manifestation of respect; and when one took place, the bridegroom in his square-topped cap went in person to meet the bride; — thus showing his affection for her. It was his doing this himself that was the demonstration of his affection. Thus it is that the superior man commences with respect as the basis of love. To neglect respect is to leave affection unprovided for. Without loving there can be

no (real) union; and without respect the love will not be correct. Yes, love and respect lie at the foundation of government.'

10. The duke said, 'I wish that I could say I agree with you, but for the bridegroom in his square-topped cap to go in person to meet the bride, — is it not making too much (of the ceremony)?' Confucius looked startled, changed countenance, and said, '(Such a marriage) is the union of (the representatives of) two different surnames in friendship and love, in order to continue the posterity of the former sages, and to furnish those who shall preside at the sacrifices to heaven and earth, at those in the ancestral temple, and at those at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain; — how can your lordship say that the ceremony is made too great?'

11. The duke said, 'I am stupid. But if I were not stupid, how should I have heard what you have just said? I wish to question you, but cannot find the proper words (to do so); I beg you to go on a little further.' Confucius said, 'If there were not the united action of heaven and earth, the world of things would not grow. By means of the grand rite of marriage, the generations of men are continued through myriads of ages. How can your lordship say that the ceremony in question is too great?' He immediately added, 'In their own peculiar sphere, (this marriage) serves for the regulation of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, and is sufficient to supply the correlates to the spiritual Intelligences of heaven and earth; in the (wider) sphere abroad, it serves for the regulation of the ceremonies of the court, and is sufficient to establish the respect of those below him to him who is above them all. If there be ground for shame on account of (a deficiency of) resources, this is sufficient to stimulate and secure them; if there be ground for shame on account of the condition of the states, this is sufficient to revive and renew them. Ceremonies are the first thing to be attended to in the practice of government. Yes, (this) ceremony (of marriage) lies at the foundation of government!'

12. Confucius continued, 'Anciently, under the government of the intelligent kings of the three dynasties, it was required of a man to show respect to his wife and son. When the path (of right government) was pursued, the wife was the hostess of the (deceased) parents; — could any husband dare not to show her respect? And the son was the descendant of those parents; — could any father dare not to show him respect? The superior man's respect is universal. Wherein it appears the greatest is in his respect for himself. He is in his person a branch from his parents; — can any son but have this self-respect? If he is not able to respect his own person, he is wounding his parents. If he wound his parents, he is wounding his own root; and when the root is wounded, the branches will follow it in its dying. These three things are an image of what is true with the

whole people (in the body politic). One's own person reaches to the persons of others; one's own son to the sons of others; one's own wife to the wives of others. If a ruler do these things, the spirit of his conduct will reach to all under the sky. If the course of the great king be thus, all the states and families will be docilely obedient.'

113. The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by "respecting one's self."' Confucius replied, 'When a man who is over others transgresses in his words, the people will fashion their speech accordingly; when he transgresses in his actions, the people will make him their model. If in his words he do not go beyond what should be said, nor in his actions what should be a model, then the people, without being commanded, will reverence and honour him. When this obtains, he can be said to have respected his person. Having succeeded in respecting his person, he will (at the same time) be able to do all that can be done for his parents.'

14. The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by doing all that can be done for one's parents?' Confucius replied, 'Kün-dze is the completest name for a man; when the people apply the name to him, they say (in effect) that he is the son of a kün-dze; and thus he makes his parents (?father) to be a kün-dze. This is what I intend by saying that he does all that can be done for his parents.'

Confucius forthwith added, 'In the practice of government in antiquity, the love of men was the great point. If (a ruler) be not able to love men he cannot possess his own person; unable to possess his own person, he cannot enjoy in quiet his land; unable to enjoy in quiet his land, he cannot rejoice in Heaven; unable to rejoice in Heaven, he cannot do all that can be done for his person.'

15. The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by "doing all that could be done for one's person."' Confucius replied, 'It is keeping from all transgression of what is due in all the sphere beyond one's self.'

16. The duke said, 'I venture to ask what it is that the superior man values in the way of Heaven.' Confucius replied, 'He values its unceasingness. There is, for instance, the succession and sequence of the sun and moon from the east and west: — that is the way of Heaven. There is the long continuance of its progress without interruption: — that is the way of Heaven. There is its making (all) things complete without doing anything: — that is the way of Heaven. There is their brilliancy when they have been completed: — that is the way of Heaven.'

17. The duke said, 'I am very stupid, unintelligent also, and occupied with many things; do you, Sir, help me that I may keep this lesson in my mind.'

18. Confucius looked grave, moved a little from his mat, and replied, 'A man of all-comprehensive virtue does not transgress what is due from him in all the sphere beyond himself, and it is the same with a filial son. Therefore a son of all-

comprehensive virtue serves his parents as he serves Heaven, and serves Heaven as he serves his parents. ‘Hence a filial son does all that can-be done for his person.’

19. The duke said, ‘I have heard your (excellent) words; — how is it that I shall hereafter not be able to keep from the guilt (of transgressing)?’ Confucius answered, ‘That your lordship gives expression to such words is a happiness to me.’

BOOK XXV. KUNG-NÎ YEN KÜ

or

Kung-NÎ At Home at Ease.

1. Kung-nî ‘being at home at ease,’ with Dze-kang, Dze-kung, and Yen Yû by him, their conversation went on from general matters to the subject of ceremonies.

2. The Master said, ‘Sit down, you three, and I will discourse to you about ceremonies, so that you may rightly employ them everywhere and in all circumstances.’

3. Dze-kung crossed over (Dze-kang’s) mat, and replied, ‘Allow me to ask what you mean.’ The Master said, ‘Respect shown without observing the rules of propriety is called vulgarity; courtesy without observing those rules is called forwardness; and boldness without observing them is called violence.’ The Master added, ‘Forwardness takes away from gentleness and benevolence.’

4. The Master said, ‘Sze, you err by excess, and Shang by defect.’ Dze-khan might be regarded as a mother of the people. He could feed them, but he could not teach them.

5. Dze-kung (again) crossed the mat, and replied, ‘Allow me to ask by what means it is possible to secure this due mean.’ The Master said, ‘By means of the ceremonial rules; by the rules. Yes, it is those rules which define and determine the due mean.’

6. Dze-kung having retired, Yen Yû advanced, and said, ‘May I be allowed to ask whether the rules of ceremony do not serve to control what is bad, and to complete what is good?’ The Master said, ‘They do.’ ‘Very well, and how do they do it?’ The Master said, ‘The idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth is that they should give expression to the loving feeling towards the spirits; the ceremonies of the autumnal and summer services in the ancestral temple give expression to the loving feeling towards all in the circle of the kindred; the ceremony of putting down food (by the deceased) serves to express the loving feeling towards those who are dead and for whom they are mourning; the ceremonies of the archery fêtes and the drinking at them express the loving feeling towards all in the district and neighbourhood; the ceremonies of festal entertainments express the loving feeling to)yards visitors and guests.’

7. The Master said, ‘An intelligent understanding of the idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and of the ceremonies of the autumnal and

summer services, would make the government of a state as easy as to point to one's palm. Therefore let the ceremonial rules be observed:-in the ordinary life at home, and there will be the (right) distinction between young and old; inside the door of the female apartments, and there will be harmony among the three branches of kin; at court, and there will be the right ordering of office and rank; in the different hunting expeditions, and skill in war will be acquired; in the army and its battalions, and military operations will be successful.

'In this way, houses and their apartments will be made of the proper dimensions; measures and tripods will have their proper figure; food will have the flavour proper to its season; music will be according to the rules for it; carriages will have their proper form; spirits will receive their proper offerings; the different periods of mourning will have their proper expression of sorrow; discussions will be conducted by those who from their position should take part in them; officers will have their proper business and functions; the business of government will be properly distributed and applied. (The duty) laid on (each) person being discharged in the matter before him (according to these rules), all his movements, and every movement will be what they ought to be.'

8. The Master said, 'What is (the object of) the ceremonial rules? It is just the ordering of affairs. The wise man who has affairs to attend to must have the right method of ordering them. (He who should attempt) to regulate a state without those rules would be like a blind man with no one to lead him; — groping about, how could he find his way? Or he would be like one searching all night in a dark room without a light; — how could he see anything?

'If one have not the ceremonial rules, he would not (know how to) dispose of his hands and feet, or how to apply his ears and eyes; and his advancing and retiring, his bowings and giving place would be without any definite rules. Hence, when the rules are thus neglected: — in the ordinary life at home, then the right distinction between old and young will be lost; in the female apartments, then the harmony among the three branches of kin will be lost; in the court, then the order of office and rank will be lost; in the different hunting expeditions, then the prescribed methods of military tactics will be lost; in the army and its battalions, then the arrangements that secure success in war will be lost. (Also), houses and apartments will want their proper dimensions; measures and tripods will want their proper figure; food will want its seasonal flavour; music will want its proper parts; Spirits will want their proper offerings; the different periods of mourning will want their proper expression of sorrow; discussions will not be conducted by the proper men for them; officers will not have their proper business; the affairs of government will fail to be properly distributed and applied; and (in the duties) laid on (each) person to be discharged

in the matters before him, all his movements, every movement, will fail to be what they ought to be. In this condition of things it will be impossible to put one's self at the head of the multitudes, and secure harmony among them.'

9. The Master said, 'Listen attentively, you three, while I discourse to you about the ceremonial rules., There are still nine things (to be described), and four of them belong to the Grand festive entertainments. When you know these, though your lot may lie among the channeled fields, if you carry them into practice, you will become wise as sages.

'When one ruler is visiting another, they bow to each other, each courteously declining to take the precedence, and then enter the gate. As soon as they have done so, the instruments of music, suspended from their frames, strike up. They then bow and give place to each other again, and ascend to the hall; and when they have gone up, the music stops. In the court below, the dances Hsiang and Wû are performed to the music of the flute, and that of Hsiâ proceeds in due order with (the brandishing of feathers and) fifes. (After this), the stands with their offerings are set out, the various ceremonies and musical performances go on in regular order, and the array of officers provided discharge their functions. In this way the superior man perceives the loving regard (which directs the entertainment). They move forward in perfect circles; they return and form again the squares. The bells of the equipages are tuned to the Khâi-khî; when the guest goes out they sing the Yung; when the things are being taken away, they sing the Khan-yü; and thus the superior man (sees that) there is not a single thing for which there is not its proper ceremonial usage. The striking up of the instruments of metal, when they enter the gate, serves to indicate their good feeling; the singing of the Khing Miâo, when they have gone up to the hall, shows the virtue (they should cultivate); the performance of the Hsiang to the flute in the court below, reminds them of the events (of history). Thus the superior men of antiquity did not need to set forth their views to one another in words; it was enough for them to show them in their music and ceremonies.

10. The Master said, 'Ceremonial usages are (the prescriptions of) reason; music is the definite limitation(of harmony). The superior man makes no movement without (a ground of) reason, and does nothing without its definite limitation. He who is not versed in the odes will err in his employment of the usages, and he who is not versed in music will be but an indifferent employer of them. He whose virtue is slender will vainly perform the usages.'

11. The Master said, 'The determinate measures are according to the rules; and the embellishments of them are also so; but the carrying them into practice depends on the men.'

12. Dze-kung crossed over the mat and replied, ‘Allow me to ask whether even Khwei was ignorant (of the ceremonial usages)?’

13. The Master said, ‘Was he not one of the ancients? Yes, he was one of them. To be versed in the ceremonial usages, and not versed in music, we call being poorly furnished. To be versed in the usages and not versed in music, we call being one-sided. Now Khwei was noted for his acquaintance with music, and not for his acquaintance with ceremonies, and therefore his name has been transmitted with that account of him (which your question implies). But he was one of the men of antiquity.

14. Dze-kang asked about government. The Master said, ‘Sze, did I not instruct you on that subject before? The superior man who is well acquainted with ceremonial usages and music has only to take and apply them (in order to practise government).’

15. Dze-kang again put the question, and the Master said, ‘Sze, do you think that the stools and mats must be set forth, the hall ascended and descended, the cups filled and offered, the pledge-cup presented and returned, before we can speak of ceremonial usages? Do you think that there must be the movements of the performers in taking up their positions, the brandishing of the plumes and fifes, the sounding of the bells and drums before we can speak of music? To speak and to carry into execution what you have spoken is ceremony; to act and to give and receive pleasure from what you do is music. The ruler who vigorously pursues these two things may well stand with his face to the south, for thus will great peace and order be secured all under heaven; the feudal lords will come to his court; all things will obtain their proper development and character; and no single officer will dare to shrink from the discharge of his functions. Where such ceremony prevails, all government is well ordered; where it is neglected, all falls into disorder and confusion. A house made by a good (though unassisted) eye will yet have the corner of honour, and the steps on the east for the host to ascend by; every mat have its upper and lower end; every chariot have its right side and left; walkers follow one another, and those who stand observe a certain order: — such were the right rules of antiquity. If an apartment were made without the corner of honour and the steps on the east, there would be confusion in the hall and apartment. If mats had not their upper and lower ends, there would be confusion among the occupants of them; if carriages were made without their left side and right, there would be confusion in their seats; if people did not follow one another in walking, there would be confusion on the roads; if people observed no order in standing, there would be disorder in the places they occupy. Anciently the sage Tîs and intelligent kings and the feudal lords, in making a distinction between noble and mean, old and

young, remote and near, male and female, outside and inside, did not presume to allow any to transgress the regular rule they had to observe, but all proceeded in the path which has been indicated.'

BOOK XXVI. KHUNG-DZE HSIEN KU

or

Confucius at Home at Leisure.

1. Confucius being at home at leisure, with Dze-hsiâ by his side, the latter said, ‘With reference to the lines in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 8, 1), “The happy and courteous sovereign

is the father and mother of the people;”

I beg to ask what the sovereign must be, who can be called “the parent of the people.”’ Confucius said, ‘Ah! the parent of the people! He must have penetrated to the fundamental principles of ceremonies and music, till he has reached the five extreme points to which they conduct, and the three that have no positive existence, and be able to exhibit these all under heaven; and when evil is impending in any part of the kingdom, he must have a foreknowledge of it: — such an one is he whom we denominate ‘the parent of the people.’

2. Dze-hsiâ said, ‘I have thus heard (your explanation) of the name “parent of the people;” allow me to ask what “ the five extreme points” (that you mention) mean.’ Confucius said, ‘The furthest aim of the mind has also its furthest expression in the Book of Poetry. The furthest expression of the Book of Poetry has also its furthest embodiment in the ceremonial usages. The furthest embodiment in the ceremonial usages has also its furthest indication in music. The furthest indication of music has also its furthest indication in the voice of sorrow. Sorrow and joy produce, each the other; and thus it is that when we look with the directest vision of the eyes at (these extreme points) we cannot see them, and when we have bent our ears with the utmost tension we cannot hear them. The mind and spirit must embrace all within heaven and earth: — these are what we denominate “the five extreme points.”’

3. Dze-hsiâ said, ‘I have heard your explanation of “the five extreme points;” allow me to ask what “the three points that have no positive existence” mean.’ Confucius said, ‘The music that has no sound; ceremonial usages that have no embodiment; the mourning that has no garb: — these are what we denominate “the three points that have no positive existence.” Dze-hsiâ said, ‘I have heard what you have said on those three negations; allow me to ask in which of the odes we find the nearest expression of them.’ Confucius said, ‘There is that (IV, ii, ode 1, 6), “Night and day he enlarged its foundations by his deep and silent

virtue:" — there is music without sound. And that (I, iii, ode 1, 3), "My deportment has been dignified and good,

Without anything wrong that can be pointed out:" — there is the ceremony that has no embodiment. And that (I, iii, ode 10, 4), "When among any of the people there was a death, I crawled on my knees to help them:" — there is the mourning that has no garb.'

4. Dze-hsiâ said, 'Your words are great, admirable, and complete. Do they exhaust all that can be said on the subject? Is there nothing more?' Confucius said, 'How should it be so? When a superior man practises these things, there still arise five other points.'

5. Dze-hsiâ said, 'How is that?' Confucius said, 'When there is that music without sound, there is no movement of the spirit or will in opposition to it. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, all the demeanour is calm and gentle. When there is that mourning without garb, there is an inward reciprocity, and great pitifulness.

'When there is that music without sound, the spirit and will are mastered. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, all the demeanour is marked by courtesy. When there is that mourning without garb, it reaches to all in all quarters.

'When there is that music without sound, the spirit and will are followed. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, high and low are harmonious and united. When there is that mourning without garb, it goes on to nourish all regions.

'When there is that music without sound, it is daily heard in all the four quarters of the kingdom. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, there is a daily progress and a monthly advance. When there is that mourning, without garb, the virtue (of him who shows it) becomes pure and very bright.

'When there is that music without sound, all spirits and wills are roused by it. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, its influence extends to all within the four seas. When there is that mourning without garb, it extends to future generations.'

6. Dze-hsiâ said, '(It is said that) the virtue of the kings (who founded the) three dynasties was equal to that of heaven and earth; allow me to ask of what nature that virtue was which could be said to put its possessors on an equality with heaven and earth.' Confucius said, 'They reverently displayed the Three Impartialities, while they comforted all beneath the sky under the toils which they imposed.' Dze-hsiâ said, 'Allow me to ask what you call the "Three Impartialities."' Confucius said, 'Heaven overspreads all without partiality; Earth sustains and contains all without partiality; the Sun and Moon shine on all

without partiality. Reverently displaying these three characteristics and thereby comforting all under heaven under the toils which they imposed, is what is called “the Three Impartialities.” It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, iii, ode 4, 3), “God in His favour Thang’s House would not leave, And then Thang rose that favour to receive.

Thang’s birth was not from Hsieh too far removed, His sagely reverence daily greater proved

For long to Heaven his brilliant influence rose, And while his acts the fear of God disclose) God Thang as model fit for the nine regions chose:” — such was the virtue of Thang.

7. ‘To Heaven belong the four seasons, spring, autumn, winter, summer, with wind, rain, hoar-frost, and dew; — (in the action) of all and each of these there is a lesson.

‘Earth contains the mysterious energy (of nature). That mysterious energy (produces) the wind and thunder-clap. By the wind and thunder-clap the (seeds of) forms are carried abroad, and the various thing’s show the appearance of life: — in all and each of these things there is a lesson.

8. ‘When the personal character is pure and bright, the spirit and mind are like those of a spiritual being. When what such an one desires is about to come, there are sure to be premonitions of it in advance, (as when) Heaven sends down the seasonable rains, and the hills produce the clouds. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 5, 1), How grand and high, with hugest bulk, arise

Those southern hills whose summits touch the skies!

Down from them came a Spirit to the earth,

And to the sires of Fû and Shan gave birth.

In those two states our Kâu a bulwark has,

O’er which the southern foemen dare not pass, And all its states they screen, and through them spread Lessons of virtue, by themselves displayed: — such was the virtue of (kings) Wan and Wû.

9. ‘As to the kings (who founded) the three dynasties, it was necessary that they should be preceded by the fame of their forefathers. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 8, 6), “Very intelligent were the sons of Heaven,

Their good fame was without end:” —

such was the virtue of (the founders) of the three dynasties.

‘(And again),

“He displayed his civil virtues,

And they permeated all parts of the kingdom:” — such was the virtue of king Thâi.’

BOOK XXVII. FANG KÎ

or

Record of the Dykes.

1. According to what the Masters said, the ways laid down by the superior men may be compared to dykes, the object of which is to conserve that in which the people may be deficient; and though they may be on a great scale, the people will yet pass over them. Therefore the superior men framed rules of ceremony for, the conservation of virtue; punishments to serve as a barrier against licentiousness; and declared the allotments (of Heaven), as a barrier against evil desires.

2. The Master said, 'The small man, when poor, feels the pinch of his straitened circumstances; and when rich, is liable to become proud. Under the pinch of that poverty he may proceed to steal; and when proud, he may proceed to deeds of disorder. The rules of propriety recognise these feelings of men, and lay down definite regulations for them, to serve as dykes for the people. Hence the sages dealt with riches and honours, so that riches should not have power to make men proud; that poverty should not induce that feeling of being pinched; and that men in positions of honour should not be intractable to those above them. In this way the causes of disorder would more and more disappear.'

3. The Master said, 'Under heaven the cases are few in which the poor yet find enjoyment, the rich yet love the rules of propriety, and a family that is numerous (and strong) yet remains quiet and at peace. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 3, 11),

"The people desire disorder,
And find enjoyment in bitter, poisonous ways."

Hence it was made the rule that no state should have more than 1000 chariots, no chief city's wall more than 100 embrasures, no family, however rich, more than 100 chariots. These regulations were intended for the protection of the people, and yet some of the lords of states rebelled against them.'

4. The Master said, 'It is by the rules of ceremony that what is doubtful is displayed, and what is minute is distinguished, that they may serve as dykes for the people. Thus it is that there are the grades of the noble and the mean, the distinctions of dress, the different places at court; and so the people (are taught to) give place to one another.'

5. The Master said, ‘There are not two suns in the sky, nor two kings in a territory, nor two masters in a family, nor two superiors of equal honour; and the people are shown how the distinction between ruler and subject should be maintained.

The Khun Khiû does not mention the funeral rites for the kings of Khû and Yüeh. According to the rules, the ruler of a state is not spoken of as “Heaven’s,” and a Great officer is not spoken of as “a ruler:” — lest the people should be led astray. It is said in the ode,

“Look at (that bird) which in the night calls out for the morning.”

Even this is still occasion for being dissatisfied with it.’

6. The Master said, ‘A ruler does not ride in the same carriage with those of the same surname with himself; and when riding with those of a different surname, he wears a different dress; — to show the people that they should avoid what may give rise to suspicion. This was intended to guard the people (from incurring suspicion), and yet they found that there were those of the same surname who murdered their ruler.’

7. The Master said, ‘The superior man will decline a position of high honour, but not one that is mean; and riches, but not poverty. In this way confusion and disorder will more and more disappear. ‘Hence the superior man, rather than have his emoluments superior to his worth, will have his worth superior to his emoluments.’

8. The Master said, ‘In the matter of a cup of liquor and a dish of meat, one may forego his claim and receive that which is less than his due; and yet the people will try to obtain more than is due to their years. When one’s mat has been spread for him in a high place, he may move and take his seat on a lower; and yet the people will try to occupy the place due to rank. From the high place due to him at court one may in his humility move to a meaner place; and yet the people shall be intrusive even in the presence of the ruler. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vii, ode 9, 4),

“When men in disputations fine
To hear their consciences refuse,
Then ‘gainst each other they repine,
And each maintains his special views.
If one a place of rank obtain,
And scorn humility to show,
The others view him with disdain,
And, wrangling, all to ruin go.”’

9. The Master said, ‘The superior man exalts others and abases himself; he gives the first place to others and takes the last himself; — and thus the people

are taught to be humble and yielding. Thus when he is speaking of the ruler of another state, he calls him “The Ruler;” but when mentioning his own ruler, he calls him “Our ruler of little virtue.”’

10. The Master said, ‘When advantages and rewards are given to the dead first, and to the living afterwards, the people will not act contrarily to the (character of) the dead. When (the ruler) places those who are exiles (from and for their state) first, and those who remain in it last, the people may be trusted with (the most arduous duties). It is said in the Book of Poetry (1, iii, ode 3, 4),

“In thinking of our deceased lord,
She stimulated worthless me.”

When this dyke is set up for the people, will they still act contrarily to the dead and have to bewail their lot, with none to whom to appeal?’

11. The Master said, ‘When the ruler of a state, with its clans, thinks much of the men and little of the emoluments (which he bestows on them), the people give place readily (to those men). When he thinks much of their ability, and little of the chariots (with which he rewards them), the people address themselves to elegant arts. Hence a superior man keeps his speech under control, while the small man is forward to speak.’

12. The Master said, ‘If superiors consider and are guided by the words of the people, the people receive their gifts or commands as if they were from Heaven. If superiors pay no regard to the words of the people, the people put themselves in opposition to them. When inferiors do not receive the gifts of their superiors as if they were from Heaven, there ensues violent disorder. Hence, when the superior exhibits his confidence and courtesy in the government of the people, then the usages of the people in response to him are very great. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 10, 3),

“Remember what in days of old they spake,
With grass and fuel-gatherers counsel take.”’

13. The Master said, ‘If (the ruler) ascribe what is good to others, and what is wrong to himself, the people will not contend (among themselves). If he ascribe what is good to others, and what is wrong to himself, dissatisfactions will more and more disappear. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, v, ode 4, 2),

“You had consulted the tortoise-shell; you had consulted the stalks;
In their responses there was nothing unfavourable.”’

14. The Master said, ‘If (the ruler) ascribe what is good to others and what is wrong to himself, the people will yield to others (the credit of) what is good in them. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 10, 7),

“He examined and divined, did the king,
About settling in the capital of Hâo.

The tortoise-shell decided the site,
And king Wû completed the city.”’

15. The Master said, ‘If (ministers) ascribe what is good to their ruler and what is wrong to themselves, the people will become loyal. It is said in the Book of History (V, xxi, 6), ‘“When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your ruler in the court; and thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, ‘This plan, or this view, is all due to the virtue of our ruler!’ Oh! in this way how good and distinguished will you be!”’

16. The Master said, ‘If (a ruler, being a son,) ascribe what is good to his father, and what is wrong to himself, the people will become filial. It is said in “The Great Declaration,” “If I subdue Kâu, it will not be my prowess, but the faultless virtue of my deceased father Wan. If Kâu subdues me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wan, but because I, who am as a little child, am not good”’ (Shû, V, i, sect. 3, 6).

17. The Master said “A superior man will forget and not make much of the errors of his father, and will show his reverence for his excellence. It is said in the Lun Yü (I, xi), “He who for three years does not change from the way of his father, may be pronounced filial;” and in the Kâo Zung (Shû, III, viii, i) it is said, “For three years he kept without speaking; when he did speak, they were delighted.”’

18. The Master said, ‘To obey (his parents’) commands without angry (complaint); to remonstrate with them gently without being weary; and not to murmur against them, though they punish him, may be pronounced filial piety. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 5),

“Your filial son was unceasing in his service.”’

19. The Master said, ‘To cultivate harmony with all the kindred of parents may be pronounced filial! It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vii, ode 9, 3),

“Brethren whose virtue stands the test,
By bad example still unchanged,
Their generous feelings manifest,
Nor grow among themselves estranged.
But if their virtue weakly fails
The evil influence to withstand,
Then selfishness o’er love prevails,
And troubles rise on every hand.”’

20. The Master said, ‘(A son) may ride in the chariot of an intimate friend of his father, but he should not wear his robes. By this (rule) the superior man widens (the sphere of) his filial duty.’

21. The Master said, ‘Small men are all able to support their parents. If the superior man do not also reverence them, how is his supporting to be distinguished (from theirs)?’

22. The Master said, ‘Father and son should not, be in the same (official) position; — to magnify the reverence (due to the father). It is said in the Book of History (Shû, III, v, sect. 1, 3), “If the sovereign do not show himself the sovereign, he disgraces his. ancestors.”’

23. The Master said, ‘Before his parents (a son) should not speak of himself as old; he may speak of the duty due to parents, but not of the gentle kindness due from them; inside the female apartments he may sport, but should not sigh. By these (rules) the superior man would protect the people (from evil), and still they are found slight in their acknowledgment of filial duty, and prompt in their appreciation of gentle kindness.’

24. The Master said, ‘When they who are over the people show at their courts their respect for the old, the people become filial.’

25. The Master said, ‘The (use of) the representatives of the deceased at sacrifices, and of one who presides (at the services) in the ancestral temple, was intended to show the people that they had still those whom they should serve. The repairing of the ancestral temple and the reverential performance of the sacrifices were intended to teach the people to follow their dead with their filial duty. These things should guard the people (from evil), and still they are prone to forget their parents.’

26. The Master said, ‘When (it is wished to) show respect (to guests), the vessels of sacrifice are used. Thus it is that the superior man will not in the poverty of his viands neglect the rules of ceremony, nor in their abundance and excellence make those rules disappear. Hence, according to the rules of feasting, when the host gives in person anything to a guest, the guest offers a portion in sacrifice, but he does not do so with what the host does not himself give him. Therefore, when there is no ceremony in the gift, however admirable it may be, the superior man does not partake of it. It is said in the Yî, “The ox slain in sacrifice by the neighbour on the east is not equal to the spare spring sacrifice of the neighbour on the west, (whose sincerity) receives the blessing.” It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 1),

“You have made us drink to the full of your spirits,
You have satiated us with your virtue.”

But though in this way the people are admonished, they will still keep striving after profit, and forget righteousness.’

27. The Master said, ‘There are the seven days of fasting, and the three days of vigil and adjustment of the thoughts; there is the appointment of the one man

to act as the personator of the dead, in passing whom it is required to adopt a hurried pace: — all to teach reverence (for the departed).'

The sweet liquor is in the apartment (where the personator is); the reddish in the hall; and the clear in the court below: — all to teach the people not to go to excess in being greedy.

The personator drinks three cups, and all the guests drink one: — teaching the people that there must be the distinction of high and low.

The ruler takes the opportunity of the spirits and flesh of his sacrifice to assemble all the members of his kindred: — teaching the people to cultivate harmony.

Thus it is that on the hall above they look at what is done in the apartment, and in the court below at what is done by those in the hall (for their pattern); as it is said in the Book of Poetry (II. vi, ode 5, 3),

'Every form is according to rule;
Every smile and word is as it should be.'

28. The Master said, 'The giving place to a visitor at every stage of his advancing (from the entrance gate), according to the rules for visitors; and the repetition of the ceremonies, according to the mourning rites, in an ever-increasing distance from the apartment of the corpse; the washing of the corpse over the pit in the centre of the open court; the putting the rice into the mouth under the window; the slighter dressing of the corpse inside the door of the apartment; the greater dressing at the top of the steps on the east; the coffining in the place for guests; the sacrifice on taking the road (with the coffin) in the courtyard; and the interment in the grave:-these were intended to teach the people how the element of distance enters into the usages. Under the Yin dynasty they condoled with the mourners at the grave; they do so under Kâu in the house: — showing the people that they should not neglect the custom.'

The Master said, '(These services in connexion with) death are the last duties which the people have to pay (to their departed). I follow Kâu in them. They were intended to serve as guards to the people (to keep them from error). Among the princes, however, there still were those who did not attend the burials of other princes, and take part in them.'

29. The Master said, 'The going up to the hall by the steps for the guests, and receiving the condolences sent to him in the guests' place, are designed to teach the filial to continue their filial duty even to the dead. 'Until the mourning rites are finished, a son is not styled "Ruler:" — showing the people that there ought to be no contention (between father and son). Hence in the Khun Khiû of Lû, recording deaths in Zin, it is said, "(Lî Kho) killed Hsî-khî, the son of his ruler,

and his ruler Kho:" — a barrier was thus raised to prevent the people (from doing such deeds). And yet there were sons who still murdered their fathers.'

30. The Master said, 'Filial duty may be transferred to the service of the ruler, and brotherly submission to the service of elders: — showing the people that they ought not to be double-minded. Hence a superior man, while his ruler is alive, should not take counsel about taking office (in another state). It is only on the day of his consulting the tortoise-shell (about such a thing) that he will mention two rulers.'

The mourning for a father lasts for three years, and that for a ruler the same time: — showing the people that they must not doubt (about the duty which they owe to their ruler). 'While his parents are alive, a son should not dare to consider his wealth as his own, nor to hold any of it as for his own private use: — showing the people how they should look on the relation between high and low. Hence the son of Heaven cannot be received with the ceremonies of a guest anywhere within the four seas, and no one can presume to be his host. Hence, also, when a ruler goes to a minister's (mansion) he goes up to the hall by the (host's) steps on the east and proceeds to the place (of honour) in the hall: showing the people that they should not dare to consider their houses their own.

'While his parents are alive, the gifts presented to a son should not extend to a carriage and its team: — showing the people that they should not dare to monopolise (any honours). 'All these usages were intended to keep the people from transgressing their proper bounds; and yet there are those who forget their parents, and are double-minded to their ruler.'

31. The Master said, 'The ceremony takes place before the silks (offered in connexion with it) are presented: — this is intended to teach the people to make the doing of their duties the first thing, and their salaries an after consideration. If money be sought first and the usages of propriety last, then the people will be set on gain: if the mere feeling be acted on, without any expressions (of courtesy and deference), there will be contentions among the people. Hence the superior man, when presents are brought to him, if he cannot see him who offers them, does not look at the presents. It is said in the Yî, "He reaps without having ploughed that he may reap; he gathers the produce of the third year's field without having cultivated them the first year; there will be evil." In this way it is sought to guard the people, and yet there are of them who value their emoluments and set little store by their practice.'

32. The Master said, 'The superior man does not take all the profit that he might do, but leaves some for the people. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vi, ode 8, 3),

"There shall be handfuls left on the ground,

And ears here and there left untouched;
For the benefit of the widow."

'Hence, when a superior man is in office (and enjoys its emoluments), he does not go in for farming; if he hunts, he does not (also) fish; he eats the (fruits of the) season, and is not eager for delicacies; if a Great officer, he does not sit on sheepskins; if a lower officer, he does not sit on dogskins. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, iii, ode 10, 1),

"When we gather the mustard-plant and earth-melons,
We do not reject them because of their roots.
While I do nothing contrary to my good name,
I should live with you till our death."

In this way it was intended to guard the people against loving wrong; and still some forget righteousness and struggle for gain, even to their own ruin.'

33. The Master said, 'The ceremonial usages serve as dykes to the people against bad excesses (to which they are prone). They display the separation which should be maintained (between the sexes), that there may be no occasion for suspicion, and the relations of the people be well defined. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, viii, ode vi, 3, 4),

How do we proceed in hewing an axe-handle?
Without another axe it cannot be done.
How do we proceed in taking a wife?
Without a go-between it cannot be done.
How do we proceed in planting hemp?
The acres must be dressed length-wise and crosswise.
How do we proceed in taking a wife?
Announcement must first be made to our parents."

In this way it was intended to guard the people (against doing wrong), and still there are some (women) among them, who offer themselves (to the male).'

34. The Master said, 'A man in taking a wife does not take one of the same surname with himself: — to show broadly the distinction (to be maintained between man and wife). Hence, when a man is buying a concubine, if he do not know her surname, he consults the tortoise-shell about it. In this way it was intended to preserve the people (from going wrong in the matter); and yet the Khun Khiû of Lû still suppresses the surname of duke Kâo's wife, simply saying "Wû," and the record of her death is "Mang (the elder) Dze died."'

35. The Master said, 'According to the rules, male and female do not give the cup to one another, excepting at sacrifice. This was intended to guard the people against (undue freedom of intercourse); and yet the marquis of Yang killed the

marquis of Mû, and stole away his wife. Therefore the presence of the wife at the grand entertainments was disallowed.'

36. The Master said, 'With the son of a widow one does not have interviews: — this would seem to be an obstacle to friendship, but a superior man will keep apart from intercourse in such a case, in order to avoid (suspicion). Hence, in the intercourse of friends, if the master of the house be not in, a visitor, unless there is some great cause, does not enter the door. This was intended to preserve the people (from all appearance of evil); and yet there are of them who pay more regard to beauty than to virtue.'

37. The Master said, 'The love of virtue should be like the love of beauty (from an inward constraint). Princes of states should not be like fishers for beauty (in the families) below them. Hence the superior man keeps aloof from beauty, in order to constitute a rule for the people. Thus male and female, in giving and receiving, do not allow their hands to touch; in driving his wife in a carriage, a husband advances his left hand; when a young aunt, a sister, or a daughter has been married, and returns (to her father's house), no male can sit on the same mat with her; a widow should not wail at night; when a wife is ill, in asking for her, the nature of her illness should not be mentioned:-in this way it was sought to keep the people (from irregular connexions); and yet there are those who become licentious, and introduce disorder and confusion among their kindred.'

38. The Master said, 'According to the rules of marriage, the son-in-law should go in person to meet the bride. When he is introduced to her father and mother, they bring her forward, and give her to him':-being afraid things should go contrary to what is right. In this way a dyke is raised in the interest of the people; and yet there are cases in which the wife will not go (to her husband's).'

BOOK XXVIII. KUNG YUNG

or

The State of Equilibrium and Harmony

Section I.

1. What Heaven has conferred is called the Nature. An accordance with this nature is called the Path of Duty; the regulation of this path is called the System of Instruction.

2. The path should not be left for an instant; if it could be left, it would not be the path.

3. On this account the superior man does not wait till he sees things to be cautious, nor till he hears things to be apprehensive.

4. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself when he is alone.

5. When there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, we call it the State of Equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred, and all in their due measure and degree, we call it the State of Harmony. This Equilibrium is the great root (from which grow all the human actings) in the world; and this Harmony is the universal path (in which they should all proceed).

6. Let the State of Equilibrium and Harmony exist in perfection, and heaven and earth would have their (right) places, (and do their proper work), and all things would be nourished (and flourish).

7. Kung-nî said, ‘The superior man (exhibits) the state of equilibrium and harmony; the small man presents the opposite of those states. The superior man exhibits them, because he is the superior man, and maintains himself in them; the small man presents the opposite of them, because he is the small man, and exercises no apprehensive caution.’

8. The Master said, ‘Perfect is the state of equilibrium and harmony! Rare have they long been among the people who could attain to it!’

9. The Master said, ‘I know how it is that the Path is not walked in. The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. The worthy go beyond it, and the unworthy do not come up to it. There is nobody but eats and drinks; but they are few who can distinguish the flavours (of what they eat and drink).’

10. The Master said, ‘Ah! how is the path untrodden!’

11. The Master said, ‘Was not Shun grandly wise? Shun loved to question others, and to study their words though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad (in them), and displayed what was good. He laid hold of their two extremes, determined the mean between them, and used it in (his government of) the people. It was this that made him Shun!’

12. The Master said, ‘Men all say, “We are wise;” but being driven forward and taken in a net, a trap, or a pitfall, not one of them knows how to escape. Men all say, “We are wise;” but when they have chosen the state of equilibrium and harmony, they are not able to keep in it for a round month.’

13. The Master said, ‘This was the character of Hui: — Having chosen the state of equilibrium and harmony, when he found any one thing that was good, he grasped it firmly, wore it on his breast, and did not let it go.’

14. The Master said, ‘The kingdom, its states, and clans may be perfectly ruled; dignities and emoluments may be declined; but the state of equilibrium and harmony cannot be attained to.’

15. Dze-lû asked about fortitude. 16. The Master said, ‘Do you mean the fortitude of the South, the fortitude of the North, or your fortitude?’ 17. To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others; and not to return conduct towards one’s self which is contrary to the right path:-this is the fortitude of the South, and the good man makes it his study. 18. To lie under arms, and to die without regret: — this is the bravery of the North, and the bold make it their study. 19. Therefore, the superior man cultivates a (friendly) harmony, and is not weak; how firm is he in his fortitude! He stands erect in the middle, and does not incline to either side; how firm is he in his fortitude! If right ways prevail in (the government of his state), he does not change from what he was in retirement; — how firm is he in his fortitude! If bad ways prevail, he will die sooner than change; — how firm is he in his fortitude!’

20. The Master said, ‘To search for what is mysterious, and practise marvellous (arts), in order to be mentioned with honour in future ages: — this is what I do not do. 21. The good man tries to proceed according to the (right) path, but when he has gone half-way, he abandons it; I am not able (so) to sto. The superior man, acting in accordance with the state of equilibrium and harmony, may be all unknown and unregarded by the world, but he feels no regret: — it is only the sage who is able for this.

23. ‘The way of the superior man reaches far and wide, and yet is secret. 24. Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it; but in its utmost reaches there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; but in its utmost reaches, there is

that which even the sage cannot attain to. 25. Great as heaven and earth are, men still find things in their action with which to be dissatisfied.

26. ‘Therefore, if the superior man were to speak (of this way) in its greatness, nothing in the world would be able to contain it; and if he were to speak of it in its smallness, nothing in the world would be found able to divide it. 27. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 5),

“Up to heaven flies the hawk;
Fishes spring in the deep,”

telling how (the way) is seen above and below. 28. The way of the superior man may be found in its simple elements among common men and women, but in its utmost reaches it is displayed in (the operations of) heaven and earth.’

29. The Master said, ‘The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a path which is far from what their nature suggests, it should not be considered the Path. 30. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xv, ode 5),

“In hewing an axe-shaft, in hewing an axe-shaft,
The pattern is not far off.”

We grasp one axe-handle to hew the other; but if we look askance at it, we still consider it far off. 31. Therefore the superior man governs men according to their humanity; and when they change (what is wrong), he stops. 32. Fidelity to one’s self and the corresponding reciprocity are not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others. 33. In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I, Khiû, as yet attained. — To serve my father as I would require my son to serve me, am not yet able; to serve my ruler as I would require my minister to serve me, I am not yet able; to serve my elder brother as I would require a younger brother to serve me, I am not yet able; to set the example in behaving to a friend as I would require him to behave to me, I am not yet able. 34. In the practice of the ordinary virtues, and attention to his ordinary words, if (the practice) be in anything defective, (the superior man) dares not but exert himself; if (his words) be in any way excessive, he dares not allow himself in such license. His words have respect to his practice, and his practice has respect to his words. 35. Is not the superior man characterised by a perfect sincerity?

36. ‘The superior man does what is proper to the position in which he is; he does not wish to go beyond it. In a position of wealth and honour, he does what is proper to a position of wealth and honour. In a position of poverty and meanness, he does what is proper to a position of poverty, and meanness. Situated among barbarous tribes, he does what is proper in such a situation. In a position of sorrow and difficulty, he does what is proper in such a position. The superior man can find himself in no position in which he is not himself 37. In a

high situation, he does not insult or oppress those who are below him; in a low situation, he does not cling to or depend on those who are above him.

38. ‘He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others; and thus none feel dissatisfied with him. Above, he does not murmur against Heaven; below, he does not find fault with men. 39. Therefore the superior man lives quietly and calmly, waiting for the appointments (of Heaven); while the mean man does what is full of risk, looking out for the turns of luck.’ 40. The Master said, ‘In archery we have something like (the way of) the superior man. When the archer misses the centre of the target, he turns round and seeks for the, cause of his failure in himself.

41. ‘The way of the superior man may be compared to what takes place in travelling, when to go far we must traverse the space that is near, and in ascending a height we must begin from the lower ground. 42. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, i, ode 4, 7, 8),

“Children and wife we love;
Union with them is sweet,
As lute’s soft strain, that soothes our pain.
How joyous do we meet!

But brothers more than they
Can satisfy the heart.
'Tis their accord does peace afford,
And lasting joy impart.
For ordering of your homes,
For joy with child and wife,
Consider well the truth I tell;
This is the charm of life!"'

43. The Master said, 'How complacent are parents (in such a state of things)!'

44. The Master said, 'How abundant and rich are the powers possessed and exercised by Spiritual Beings! We look for them, but do not see them; we listen for, but do not hear them; they enter into all things, and nothing is without them. 45 They cause all under Heaven to fast and purify themselves, and to array themselves in their richest dresses in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the left and right (of their worshippers). 46. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 7),

"The Spirits come, but when and where,
No one beforehand can declare.
The more should we not Spirits slight,
But ever feel as in their sight."

47. 'Such is the manifestness of what is minute. Such is the impossibility of repressing the outgoings of sincerity!'

48. The Master said, 'How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was that of the son of Heaven; his riches were all within the four seas; his ancestral temple enjoyed his offerings; his descendants preserved (those to) himself. 49. Thus it was that with his great virtue he could not but obtain his position, his riches, his fame, and his long life. 50. Therefore Heaven, in producing things, is sure to be bountiful to them according to their qualities. 51. Thus it nourishes the tree that stands flourishing, and that which is ready to fall it overthrows. 52. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 5, 1),

"What brilliant virtue does our king,
Whom all admire and love, display!

People and officers all sing
The praise of his impartial sway.
Heaven to his sires the kingdom gave,
And him with equal favour views,
Heaven's strength and aid will ever save
The throne whose grant it oft renews."

Hence (we may say that) he who is greatly virtuous is sure to receive the appointment (of Heaven).'

53. The Master said, 'It is only king Wan of whom it can be said that he had no cause for grief! His father was king Kî, and his son was king Wû. His father laid the foundations of his dignity, and his son transmitted it. 54. King Wû continued the line and enterprise of kings Thâi, Kî, and Wan. Once for all he buckled on his armour, and got possession of all under heaven; and all his life he did not lose the illustrious name of being that possessor. His dignity was that of the son of Heaven; his riches were all within the four seas; his ancestral temple enjoyed his offerings; and his descendants preserved those to himself 55. It was in his old age that king Wû received the appointment (to the throne), and the duke of Kâu completed the virtuous achievements of Wan and Wû.. He carried back the title of king to Thâi and Kî, sacrificing also to all the dukes before them with the ceremonies of the son of Heaven. And the practice was extended as a rule to all the feudal princes, the Great officers, all other officers, and the common people. If the father were a Great officer, and the son an inferior officer, the former was buried with the ceremonies due to a Great officer, and sacrificed to with those due by an inferior officer. If the father were an ordinary officer, and the son a Great officer, the burial was that of an ordinary officer, and the sacrifices those of a Great officer. The one year's mourning extended up to Great officers; the three years' mourning extended to the son of Heaven (himself). In the mourning, for a father or mother no difference was made between the noble and the mean; — it was one and the same for all.'

56. The Master said, 'How far-extending was the filial piety of king Wû and the duke of Kâu! Now filial piety is the skilful carrying out of the wishes of our forefathers, and the skilful carrying on of their undertakings. In spring and autumn they repaired and beautified the temple-halls of their ancestors, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their dresses, and presented the offerings of the several seasons. 57. By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they maintained the order of their ancestors sacrificed to, here on the left, there on the right, according as they were father or son; by arranging the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished between the more noble and the less; by the arrangement of the various services, they made a distinction of the talents

and virtue of those discharging them; in the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to the superiors, and thus something was given to the lowest to do; at the (concluding) feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus was made the distinction of years. 58. They occupied the places (of their forefathers); practised their ceremonies; performed their music; showed their respect for those whom they honoured; and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead as they served them when alive, and served the departed as they would have served them if they had been continued among them:-all this was the perfection of filial duty.

59. 'By the ceremonies of the border sacrifices (to Heaven and Earth), they served God, and by those of the ancestral temple they sacrificed to their forefathers. 60. If one understood the ceremonies of the border sacrifices and the meaning of the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, it would be as easy for him to rule a state as to look into his palms.'

See the introductory notice, vol. xxvii, p, 43.

These six short paragraphs may be considered a summary of the Confucian doctrine, and a sort of text to the sermon which follows in the rest of the Treatise;-the first chapter of it. The commencing term, Heaven, gives us, vaguely, the idea of a supreme, righteous, and benevolent Power; while 'heaven and earth,' in paragraph 6, bring before us the material heaven and earth with inherent powers and capabilities, by the interaction of which all the phenomena of production, growth, and decay are produced. Midway between these is Man; and nothing is wanting to make a perfectly happy world but his moral perfection, evidenced by his perfect conformity to the right path, the path of duty. 'The superior man,' in paragraph 3, has evidently the moral signification of the name in its highest degree. He is the man 'who embodies the path (###).' The description of him in paragraph 4, that 'he is watchful over himself when alone,' is, literally, that 'he is watchful over his solitariness, — his aloneness,' that 'solitariness' being, I conceive, the ideal of his own nature to which every man in his best and highest moments is capable of attaining.

See the introductory notice of Book XXV.

Formerly I translated this by 'The superior man (embodies) the course of the mean.' Zottoli gives for it, 'Sapiens vir tenet medium;' Rémusat, 'Le sage tient invariablement le milieu,' and 'Sapiens medio constat.' The two characters Kung yung (###), however, are evidently brought on from the preceding chapter, yung (###) being used instead of the ho (###) in paragraphs 5 and 6. In the Khang-hsî dictionary, we find that yung is defined by ho, among other terms, with a reference to a remark of Kang Hsüan, preserved by Lû Teh-ming, that 'the Book is named the Kung Yung, because it records the practice of the Kung Ho.' Kang

was obliged to express himself so, having defined the yung of the title by another yung (###), meaning ‘use’ or ‘practice.’ But both kung and yung are adjectival terms used substantively.

Men eat and drink without knowing why or what.

Here Kung has the signification of ‘the mean,’ the just medium between two extremes.

Dze-hui was Yen Yüan, Confucius’ favourite disciple.

Dze-lû was Kung Yû, another celebrated disciple, famous for his bravery. ‘Your fortitude,’ in paragraph 16, is probably the fortitude which you ought to cultivate, that described in paragraph 19.

This is translated from a reading of the text, as old as the second Han dynasty.

With this ends the second chapter of the Treatise, in which the words of Confucius are so often quoted; specially it would appear, to illustrate what is meant by ‘the state of equilibrium and harmony.’ Yet there is a great want of definiteness and practical guidance about the utterances.

Who does not grumble occasionally at the weather, and disturbances apparently of regular order in the seasons?

With this chapter commences, it is commonly and correctly held, the third part of the Treatise, intended to illustrate what is said in the second paragraph of it, that ‘the path cannot be left for an instant.’ The author proceeds to quote sayings of Confucius to make his meaning clear, but he does so ‘in a miscellaneous way,’ and so as to embrace some of the widest and most difficult exercises of Chinese thought.

The name first given to Confucius by his parents.

We hardly see the relevancy of pars. 44-47 as illustrating the statement that ‘the path cannot be left.’ They bear rather on the next statement of the first chapter, the manifestness of that which is most minute, and serve to introduce the subject of ‘sincerity,’ which is dwelt upon so much in the last part of the Treatise. But what are the Spirits or Spiritual Beings that are spoken of? In paragraphs 45, 46, they are evidently the spirits sacrificed to in the ancestral temple and spirits generally, according to our meaning of the term. The difficulty is with the name in paragraph 44, the Kwei Shan there. Rémusat renders the phrase simply by ‘les esprits,’ and in his Latin version by ‘spiritus geniique,’ as also does Zottoli. Wylie gives for it ‘the Spiritual Powers.’ Of course Kâu Hsî and all the Sung scholars take it, according to their philosophy, as meaning the phenomena of expansion and contraction, the displays of the Power or Powers, working under Heaven, in nature.

Two seasons, instead of the four, as in the title of the Khun Khiû.

The phraseology of this paragraph and the next is to be taken in accordance with the usage of terms in the chapters on Sacrifices.

With this ends, according to the old division of the Treatise, followed by the Khien-lung editors, the first section of it; and with it, we may say, ends also the special quotation by the author of the words of Confucius to illustrate what is said in the first chapter about the path being never to be left. The relevancy of much of what we read from paragraph 24 downwards to the purpose which it is said to serve, it is not easy for us to appreciate. All that the Master says from paragraph 48 seems rather to belong to a Treatise on Filial Piety than to one on the States of Equilibrium and Harmony.

Section ii.

1. Duke Âi asked about government. The Master said, ‘The government of Wan and Wû is exhibited in (the Records), — the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men, and their government would (again) flourish; but without the men, their government must cease. 2. With the (right) men the growth of government is rapid, Oust as) in the earth the growth of vegetation is rapid. 3. Government is (like) an easily-growing rush. 4. Therefore the exercise of government depends on (getting) the proper men. 5. (Such) men are to be got by (the ruler’s) own character. That character is to be cultivated by his pursuing the right course. That course is to be cultivated by benevolence. 6. Benevolence is (the chief element in) humanity, and the greatest exercise of it is in the love of relatives. Righteousness is (the accordance of actions with) what is right, and the greatest exercise of it is in the honour paid to the worthy. The decreasing measures in the love of relatives, and the steps in the honour paid to the worthy, are produced by (the principle of) propriety. 7. When those in inferior situations do not obtain (the confidence of) their superiors, the people cannot be governed successfully. 8. Therefore the wise ruler should not neglect the cultivation of his character. Desiring to cultivate his character, he should not, neglect to serve his parents. Desiring to serve his parents, he should not neglect to know men. Desiring to know men, he should not neglect to know Heaven. 9. The universal path for all under heaven is fivefold, and the (virtues) by means of which it is trodden are three. There are ruler and minister; father and son; husband and wife; elder brother and younger; and the intercourse of friend and friend: — (the duties belonging to) these five (relationships) constitute the universal path for all. Wisdom, benevolence, and fortitude: — these three are the universal virtues of all. That whereby these are carried into exercise is one thing. 10. Some are born with the knowledge of these (duties); some know them by study; and some

know them as the result of painful experience. But the knowledge being possessed, it comes to one and the same thing. 11. Some practise them with the ease of nature; some for the sake of their advantage; and some by dint of strong effort. But when the work of them is done, it comes to one and the same thing.'

12. The Master said, 'To be fond of learning is near to wisdom; to practise with vigour is near to benevolence; to know to be ashamed is near to fortitude. He who knows these three things, knows how to cultivate his own character. Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the kingdom with its states and families.

13. 'All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have nine standard rules to follow: — the cultivation of themselves; the honouring of the worthy; affection towards their relatives; respect towards their great ministers; kind and sympathetic treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as their children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the states.

14. 'By (the ruler's) cultivation of himself there is set up (the example of) the course (which all should pursue); by his honouring of the worthy, he will be preserved from errors of judgment; by his showing affection towards his relatives, there will be no dissatisfaction among his uncles and brethren; by respecting the great ministers he will. be kept from mistakes; by kindly treatment of the whole body of officers, they will be led to make the most grateful return for his courtesies; by dealing with the mass of the people as his children, they will be drawn to exhort one another (to what is good); by encouraging the resort of artisans, his wealth for expenditure will be rendered sufficient; by indulgent treatment of men from a distance, they will come to him from all quarters; by his kindly cherishing of the princes of the states, all under heaven will revere him. 15. 'The adjustment of all his thoughts, purification, arraying himself in his richest dresses, and the avoiding of every movement contrary to the rules of propriety; — this is the way in which (the ruler) must cultivate his own character. Discarding slanderers, keeping himself from (the seductions of) beauty, making light of riches and honouring virtue: — this is the way by which he will encourage the worthy. Giving his relatives places of honour, and large emolument, and entering into sympathy with them in their likes and dislikes:-this is the way by which he can stimulate affection towards relatives. Giving them numerous officers to discharge their functions and execute their orders: — this is the way by which he will stimulate his Great ministers. According to them a generous confidence, and making their emoluments large:-this is the way by

which he will stimulate (the body of) his officers. Employing them (only) at the regular times and making the imposts light:-this is the way by which he will stimulate the people. Daily examinations and monthly trials, and rations and allowances in proportion to the work done: — this is the way in which he will stimulate the artisans. Escorting them on their departure, and meeting them on their coming, commending the good among them and showing pity to the incompetent: — this is the way in which he will manifest his indulgent treatment of men from a distance. Continuing families whose line of succession has been broken, reviving states that have ceased to exist, reducing confusion to order, supporting where there is peril; having fixed times for receiving the princes themselves and their envoys; sending them away after liberal treatment and with liberal gifts, and requiring from them small offerings on their coming: this is the way in which he will cherish with kindness the princes of the states.

16. ‘All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have these nine standard rules to attend to. That whereby they are carried into exercise is one thing. In all things success depends on previous preparation; without such preparation there is failure. If what is to be spoken be determined beforehand, there will be no stumbling in the utterance. If the things to be done be determined beforehand, there will be no difficulty with them. If actions to be performed be determined beforehand, there will be no difficulty with them. If actions to be performed be determined beforehand, there will be no sorrow or distress in connexion with them. If the courses to be pursued be determined beforehand, the pursuit of them will be inexhaustible .

17. ‘When those in inferior situations do not obtain (the confidence of) their superiors, the people cannot be governed successfully.

18. ‘There is a way to obtain (the confidence of) the superior; — if one is not believed in by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his superior. There is a way to secure being believed in by his friends;-if he be not in submissive accord with his parents, he will not be believed in by his friends. There is a way to secure submissive accord with parents; — if one, on turning his thoughts in on himself, finds that he has not attained to the perfection of his nature, he will not be in submissive accord with his parents. There is a way to secure the perfection of the nature; — if a man have not a clear understanding of what is good, he will not attain to that perfection.

19. ‘Perfection of nature is characteristic of Heaven. To attain to that perfection belongs to man. He who possesses that perfection hits what is right without any effort, and apprehends without any exercise of thought; — he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to perfection is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast.

20. ‘He extensively studies what is good; inquires accurately about it; thinks carefully over it; clearly discriminates it; and vigorously practises it. While there is anything he has not studied, or in what he has studied there is anything he cannot (understand), he will not intermit his labour. While there is anything he has not asked about, or anything in what he has asked about that he does not know, he will not intermit his labour. While there is anything he has not thought over, or anything in what be has thought about that he does not know, he will not intermit his labour. While there is anything which he has not tried to discriminate, or anything in his discrimination that is not clear, he will not intermit his labour. While there is anything which he has not practised, or any want of vigour so far as he has practised, he will not intermit his labour. ‘If another man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts; if another succeed by ten, he will use a thousand. Let a man proceed in this way, and though stupid, he is sure to become intelligent; though weak, he is sure to become strong.’

21. The understanding (of what is good), springing from moral perfection, is to be ascribed to the nature; moral perfection springing from the understanding (of what is good) is to be ascribed to instruction. But giver, the perfection, and there shall be the understanding; given the understanding, and there shall be the perfection.

22. It is only he of all under heaven who is entirely perfect that can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can also give the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can also give the same to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to these, he can assist the transforming and nourishing operations of heaven and earth. Capable of assisting those transforming and nourishing operations, he can form a ternion with heaven and earth.

23. Next to the above is he who cultivates to the utmost the shoots (of goodness in his nature), till he becomes morally perfect. This perfection will then obtain embodiment; embodied, it will be manifested; manifested, it will become brilliant; brilliant, it will go forth in action; going forth in action, it will produce changes; producing changes, it will effect transformations. It is only he of all under heaven who is entirely perfect that can transform.

24. It is characteristic of him who is entirely perfect that he can foreknow. When a state or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be lucky omens, and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. They will be seen in the tortoise-shell and stalks; they will affect the movements of the four limbs.

When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good is sure to be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Hence, he who is entirely perfect is like a Spirit.

25. Perfection is seen in (its possessor's) self-completion; and the path (which is its embodiment), In its self-direction.

26. Perfection is (seen in) the beginning and end of (all) creatures and things. Without this perfection there would be no creature or thing.

27. Therefore the superior man considers perfection as the noblest of all attainments.

28. He who is perfect does not only complete himself; his perfection enables him to complete all other beings also. The completion of himself shows the complete virtue of his nature; the completion of other beings shows his Wisdom. (The two) show his nature in good operation, and the way in which the union of the external and internal is effected.

29. Hence, whenever he exercises it, (the operation) is right.

30. Thus it is that entire perfection is unresting; unresting, it continues long; continuing long, it evidences itself; evidencing itself, it reaches far; reaching far, it becomes large and substantial; large and substantial, it becomes high and brilliant.

31. By being large and substantial it contains (all) things. By being high and brilliant, it overspreads (all) things. By reaching far and continuing long, it completes (all) things. By its being so large and substantial, it makes (its possessor) the coequal of earth; by its height and brilliancy, it makes him the coequal of heaven; by its reaching far and continuing long, it makes him infinite.

32. Such being his characteristics, without any manifestation he becomes displayed; without any movement he effects changes; without any exertion he completes. The way of heaven and earth may be completely described in one sentence: —

33. They are without any second thought, and so their production of things is inexhaustible.

34. The characteristics of heaven and earth are to be large; to be substantial; to be high; to be brilliant; to be far-reaching; to be long-continuing.

35. There now is this heaven; it is only this bright shining spot, but when viewed in its inexhaustible extent, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations of the zodiac are suspended in it, and all things are overspread by it. There is this earth; it is only a handful of soil, but when regarded in its breadth and thickness, it sustains mountains like the Hwâ and the Yo, without feeling the weight, and contains the rivers and seas without their leaking away. There is this mountain; it looks only the size of a stone, but when contemplated in all its altitude the grass and trees are produced on it, birds and beasts dwell on it, and the precious things

which men treasure up are found in it. There is this water; it appears only a ladleful, but, when we think of its unfathomable depths, the largest tortoises, iguanas, iguanadons, dragons, fishes, and turtles are produced in them, and articles of value and sources of wealth abound in them.

36. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i, sect. i, ode 2),

'The ordinances of Heaven,

How profound are they and unceasing!'

intimating that it is thus that Heaven is Heaven (And again):— 'Oh! how illustrious

Was the singleness of the virtue of king Wan!' intimating that it was thus that king Wan was the accomplished (king), by his singleness unceasing.

37. How great is the course of the sage! Like an overflowing flood it sends forth and nourishes all things! It rises up to the height of heaven.

38. How complete is its greatness! It embraces the three hundred usages of ceremony, and the three thousand modes of demeanour. It waits for the right man, and then it is trodden. Hence it is said, 'If there be not perfect virtue, the perfect path cannot be exemplified.'

39. Therefore the superior man honours, the virtuous nature, and pursues the path of inquiry and study (regarding it); seeking to carry it out in its breadth and greatness, so as to omit none of the exquisite and minute points (which it embraces); raising it to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to be found in the way of equilibrium and harmony. He cherishes his old knowledge so as (continually) to be acquiring new, and thus manifests an honest, generous, earnestness in the esteem and practice of all propriety

40. Therefore, when occupying a high situation he is not proud, and in a low situation he is not insubordinate. If the state is well-governed, his words are able to promote its prosperity; and if it be ill-governed, his silence is sufficient to secure forbearance (for himself).

41. Is not this what is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 6, 4),

'Intelligent is he and wise,

Protecting his. own person?'

42. The Master said, 'Let a man who is ignorant be fond of using his own judgment: let one who is in a low situation be fond of arrogating a directing power; let one who is living in the present age go back to the ways of antiquity; — on all who act thus calamity is sure to come.'

43. To no one but the son of Heaven does it belong to discuss the subject of ceremonial usages; to fix the measures; and to determine (the names of) the written characters

44. Now, throughout the whole kingdom, carriages have all wheels of the same breadth of rim, all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules.

45. One may occupy the throne, but if he have not the proper virtue, he should not presume to make ceremonies or music. One may have the virtue, but if he have not the throne, he in the same way should not presume to make ceremonies or music.

46. The Master said, ‘I might speak of the ceremonies of Hsiâ, but Khî could not sufficiently attest (my words). I have learned the ceremonies of Yin, and they are preserved in Sung. I have learned the ceremonies of Kâu, and they are now used. I follow Kâu.’

47. If he who attains to the sovereignty of all the kingdom attach the due importance to (those) three points, there are likely to be few errors (among the people).

48. However excellent may have been (the regulations of) those of former times, they cannot be attested. Not being attested, they cannot command credence. Not commanding credence, the people would not follow them. However excellent might be those of one in an inferior station, they would not be honoured. Not honoured, they would not command credence. Not commanding credence, the people would not follow them.

49. Therefore the course of the superior man is rooted in his own character and conduct, and attested by the multitudes of the people. He examines (his institutions) by comparison with those of the founders of the three dynasties, and finds them without mistake. He sets them up before heaven and earth, and there is nothing in them contrary to (their mode of operation). He presents himself with them before Spiritual Beings, and no doubts about them arise. He is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages hence, and has no misgivings. That he can present himself with them before Spiritual Beings, without any doubts about them arising, shows that he knows Heaven; that he is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages hence, without any misgivings, shows that he knows men.

50. Therefore the movements of the superior man mark out for ages the path for all under heaven; his actions are the law for ages for all under heaven; and his words are for ages the pattern for all under heaven. Those who are far from him look longingly for him, and those who are near are never weary of him.

51. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i, sect. 2, ode 3),

‘There in their own states are they loved,
Nor tired of are they here;
Their fame through lapse of time shall grow,

Both day and night, more clear.'

Never has a superior man obtained an early renown throughout the kingdom who did not correspond to this description.

52. Kung-nî handed down (the views of) Yâo and Shun as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed (the ways) of Wan and Wû, taking them as his model. Above, he adopted as his law the seasons of heaven; and below, he conformed to the water and land.

53. He may be compared to heaven and earth in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining. All things are nourished together without their injuring one another; the courses (of the seasons and of the sun and moon) proceed without any collision among them. The smaller energies are like river-currents; the greater energies are seen in might transformations. It is this which makes heaven and earth so great.

54. It is only he possessed of all sagely qualities that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence and all-embracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a strong hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the mean, and correct, fitted to command respect; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination.

55. All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due seasons these (qualities).

56. All-embracing is he and vast, like heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like an abyss. He shows himself, and the people all revere him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him. In this way his fame overspreads the Middle kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and moon shine; wherever frosts and dews fall; all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honour and love him. Hence it is said, 'He is the equal of Heaven.'

57. It is only he among all under heaven who is entirely perfect that can adjust and blend together the great standard duties of all under heaven, establish the great fundamental principles of all, and know the transforming and nourishing operations of heaven and earth.

58. How shall this individual have any one beyond himself on whom he depends? Call him man in his ideal, how earnest is he! Call him an abyss, how

deep is he! Call him Heaven, how vast is he!

59. Who can know him but he who is indeed quick in apprehension and clear in discernment, of sagely wisdom, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing heavenly virtue?

60. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, v, ode 3, 1),

'Over her embroidered robe she wears a (plain) garment;'

expressing how the wearer disliked the display of the beauty (of the robe). just so, it is the way of the superior man to prefer che concealment (of his virtue), while it daily becomes more illustrious, and it is the way of the small man to seek notoriety, while he daily goes more and more to ruin.

61. It is characteristic of the superior man, appearing insipid, yet not to produce satiety; preferring a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognised; seeming mild and simple, yet to be discriminating. He knows how what is distant lies in what is near. He knows where the wind proceeds from. he knows how what is minute becomes manifested. He, we may be assured, will enter (the innermost recesses of) virtue.

62. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, iv, ode 8, 11),

'Though they dive to the bottom, and lie there,
They are very clearly seen.'

Therefore the superior man internally examines his heart, that there may be nothing wrong there, and no occasion for dissatisfaction with himself.

63. That wherein the superior man cannot be equalled is simply this, — his (work) which other men do not see. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 7),

'When in your chamber, 'neath its light,
Maintain your conscience pure and bright.'

64. Therefore the superior man, even when he is not acting, has the feeling of reverence; and when he does not speak, he has the feeling of truthfulness. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, iii, ode 2),

'These offerings we set forth without a word,
Without contention, and with one accord,
To beg the presence of the honoured lord.'

65. Therefore the superior man does not use rewards, and the people are stimulated (to virtue); he does not show anger, and the people are awed more than by hatchets and battle-axes. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i, sect. i, ode 4),

'What is most distinguished is the being virtuous;
It will secure the imitation of all the princes.'

66. Therefore the superior man being sincerely reverential, the whole kingdom is made tranquil. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 7, 7),

‘I am pleased with your intelligent virtue,
Not loudly proclaimed, nor pourtrayed.’

67. The Master said, ‘Among the appliances to transform the people, sounds and appearances (may seem to) have a trivial effect. But it is said in another ode (III, iii, ode 6, 6),

“Virtue is light as a hair.”

68. ‘But a hair will still admit of comparison (as to its size). in what is said in another ode (III, i, ode 17),

“The doings of high Heaven
Have neither sound nor odour,”

BOOK XXIX. PIÂO KÎ

or

The Record on Example

1. These were the words of the Master:— ‘Let us return.’ The superior man, in obscurity, yet makes himself manifest; without giving himself any airs, his gravity is acknowledged; without the exercise of severity, he inspires awe; without using words, he is believed.

2. The Master said, ‘The superior man takes no erroneous step before men, nor errs in the expression of his countenance, nor in the language of his speech. Therefore his demeanour induces awe, his countenance induces fear, and his words produce confidence. It is said in The Punishments of Fû (The Shû, V, xxvii, ii): “They were all reverence and caution. They had no occasion to make choice of words in reference to their conduct.”’

3. The Master said, ‘The dress and the one worn over it do not take the place, the one of the other, it being intimated to the people thereby that they should not trouble or interfere with one another.’

4. The Master said, ‘When a sacrifice has come to the point of greatest reverence, it should not be immediately followed by music. When the discussion of affairs at court has reached its utmost nicety, it should not be immediately followed by an idle indifference.’

5. The Master said, ‘The superior man is careful (in small things), and thereby escapes calamity. His generous largeness cannot be kept in obscurity. His courtesy keeps shame at a distance.’

6. The Master said, ‘The superior man, by his gravity and reverence, becomes every day stronger (for good); while indifference and want of restraint lead to a daily deterioration. The superior man does not allow any irregularity in his person, even for a single day;-how should he be like (a small man) who will not end his days (in honour)?’

7. The Master said, ‘Vigil and fasting are required (as a preparation) for serving the spirits (in sacrifice); the day and month in which to appear before the ruler are chosen beforehand: — these observances were appointed lest the people should look on these things without reverence.’

8. The Master said, ‘(The small man) is familiar and insolent. He may bring death on himself (by being so), and yet he stands in no fear’.

9. The Master said, ‘Without the interchange of the formal messages, there can be no reception of one party by another; without the presenting of the ceremonial (gifts), there can be no interview (with a superior):-these rules were made that the people might not take troublesome liberties with one another! It is said in the Yî, “When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him. If he apply a second and third time, that is troublesome, and I do not instruct the troublesome.”’

10. These were the words of the Master:’(Humanity, of which the characteristic is) Benevolence, is the Pattern for all under Heaven; Righteousness is the Law for all under Heaven; and the Reciprocations (of ceremony) are for the Profit of all under Heaven.’

11. The Master said, ‘When kindness is returned for kindness, the people are stimulated (to be kind). When injury is returned for injury, the people are warned (to refrain from wrong-doing). It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 26): — “Answers to every word will leap,

Good deeds their recompense shall reap.”

‘It is said in the Thâi Kiâ (Shû, V, v, sect. 2, 2), “Without the sovereign, the people cannot enjoy repose with one another; without the people, the sovereign would have none to rule over in the four quarters (of the kingdom).”’

12. The Master said, ‘They who return kindness for injury are such as have a regard for their own persons. They who return injury for kindness are men to be punished and put to death.’

13. The Master said, ‘Under heaven there is, only a man (here and there) who loves what is proper to humanity without some personal object in the matter, or who hates what is contrary to humanity without being apprehensive (of some evil). Therefore the superior man reasons about the path to be trodden from the standpoint of himself, and lays down his laws from the (capabilities of the) people.’

14. The Master said, ‘(The virtues of) humanity appear in three ways. (In some cases) the work of humanity is done, but under the influence of different feelings. In these, the (true character of the) humanity cannot be known; but where there is some abnormal manifestation of it, in those the true character can be known. Those to whom it really belongs practise it easily and naturally; the wise practise it for the sake of the advantage which it brings; and those who fear the guilt of transgression practise it by constraint.

15. Humanity is the right hand; pursuing the right path is the left. Humanity comprehends the (whole) man; the path pursued is the exhibition of righteousness. Those whose humanity is large, while their exhibition of

righteousness is slight, are loved and not honoured. Those whose righteousness is large and their humanity slight are honoured and not loved.

16. There is the perfect path, the righteous path, and the calculated path. The perfect path conducts to sovereignty; the righteous path, to chieftaincy; and the calculated path, to freedom from error and failure.

17. These were the words of the Master:— 'Of humanity there are various degrees; righteousness is now long, now short, now great, now small. Where there is a deep and compassionate sympathy in the heart, we have humanity evidenced in the love of others; where there is the following of (old) examples, and vigorous endeavour, we have the employment of humanity for the occasion. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 10, 6), "Where the Fang-water flows,

Is the white millet grown.
So his men Wû employed,
And his merit was shown!
To his sons he would leave
His wise plans and his throne
And our Wû was a sovereign true."

'That was a humanity extending to many generations. In the Lessons from the States it is said (I, iii, ode 10, 3),

"Person slighted, life all blighted,
What can the future prove?"

'That was a humanity extending (only) to the end of the speaker's life.'

18. The Master said, 'Humanity is like a heavy vessel, and like a long road. He who tries to lift the vessel cannot sustain its weight; he who travels t e road cannot accomplish all its distance. There is nothing that has so many different degrees as (the course of) humanity; and thus he who tries to nerve himself to it finds it a difficult task. Therefore when the superior man measures men with the scale of righteousness, he finds it difficult to discover the men (whom he seeks); when he looks at men and compares them with one another, he knows who among them are the more worthy.'

19. The Master said, 'It is only one man (here and there) under heaven, who with his heart of hearts naturally rests in humanity. It is said in the Tâ Yâ, or Major Odes of the Kingdom (III, iii, ode 6, 6), "Virtue is very light, — Light as a hair, yet few can bear

The burden of its weight. 'Tis so; but Kung Shan, as I think,
Needs not from virtue's weight to shrink
That other men defies.
Aid from my love his strength rejects. (if the king's measures have defects,
What's needed he supplies)."

‘In the Hsiâo Yâ, or Minor Odes of the Kingdom, it is said (II, vii, ode 4, 5),

“To the high hills I looked;

The great way I pursued.”’

The Master said, ‘So did the poets love (the exhibition of) humanity. (They teach us how) one should pursue the path of it, not giving over in the way, forgetting his age, taking no thought that the years before him will not be sufficient (for his task), urging on his course with earnestness from day to day, and only giving up when he sinks in death.’

20. The Master said, ‘Long has the attainment of a perfect humanity been difficult among men! all men err in what they love; — and hence it is easy to apologise for the errors of those who are seeking this humanity.’

21. The Master said, ‘Courtesy is near to propriety; economy is near to humanity; good faith is near to the truth of things. When one with respect and humility practises these (virtues), though he may fall into errors, they will not be very great. Where there is courtesy, the errors are few; where there is truth, there can be good faith; where there is economy, the exercise of forbearance is easy: — will not failure be rare in the case of those who practise these things? It is said in the Book of Poetry (III. iii, ode 2, 9), “Mildness and reverence base supply

For virtue’s structure, broad and high.”

22. The Master said, ‘Long has the attainment of perfect humanity been difficult among men; it is only the superior man who is able to reach it. Therefore the superior man does not distress men by requiring from them that which (only) he himself can do, nor put them to shame because of what they cannot do. Hence the sage, in laying down rules for conduct, does not make himself the rule, but gives them his instructions so that they shall be able to stimulate themselves to endeavour, and have the feeling of shame if they do not put them in practice. (He enjoins) the rules of ceremony to regulate the conduct; good faith to bind it on them; right demeanour to set it off; costume to distinguish it; and friendship to perfect it: — he desires in this way to produce a uniformity of the people. It is said in the Hsiâo Yâ (V, ode 5, 3), “Shall they unblushing break man’s law?

Shall they not stand of Heaven in awe?”

23. ‘Therefore, when a superior man puts on the dress (of his rank), he sets it off by the demeanour of a superior man. That demeanour he sets off with the language of a superior man; and that language he makes good by the virtues of a superior man. Hence the superior man is ashamed to wear the robes, and not have the demeanour; ashamed to have the demeanour, and not the style of speech; ashamed to have the style of speech, and not the virtues; ashamed to

have the virtues, and not the conduct proper to them. Thus it is that when the superior man has on his sackcloth and other mourning, his countenance wears an air of sorrow; when he wears the square-cut dress and square-topped cap, his countenance wears an air of respect; and when he wears his mail-coat and helmet, his countenance says that he is not to be meddled with. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 2, 2), Like pelicans, upon the dam

Which stand, and there their pouches cram,
Unwet the while their wings,
Are those who their rich dress display.
But no befitting service pay,
Intent on meanest things."'

24. These were the words of the Master:— 'What the superior man calls righteousness is, that noble and mean all have the services which they discharge throughout the kingdom. The son of Heaven himself ploughs the ground for the rice with which to fill the vessels, and the black millet from which to distil the spirit to be mixed with fragrant herbs, for the services of God, and in the same way the feudal lords are diligent in discharging their services to the son of Heaven.'

25. The Master said, 'In serving (the ruler) his superior, (an officer) from his position has great opportunity to protect the people; but when he does not allow himself to have any thought of acting as the ruler of them, this shows a high degree of humanity. Therefore, the superior man is courteous and economical, seeking to exercise his benevolence, and sincere and humble in order to practise his sense of propriety. He does not himself seta high value on his services; he does not himself assert the honour due to his person. He is not ambitious of (high) position, and is very moderate in his desires. He gives place willingly to men of ability and virtue. He abases himself and gives honour to others. He is careful and in fear of doing what is not eight. His desire in all this is to serve his ruler. If he succeed in doing so (and obtaining his ruler's approbation), he feels that he has done right; if he do not so succeed, he still feels that he has done right: — prepared to accept the will of Heaven concerning himself. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 5, 6), "How the creepers close twine

Round the branches and stems!
Self-possession and ease
Robed our prince as with gems.
Happiness increased unsought,
Nor by crooked ways was bought."

Might not this have been said of Shun, Yü, king Wan, or the duke of Kâu, who had the great virtues (necessary) to govern the people, and yet were (only)

careful to serve their rulers? It is said again in the same Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 2, 3), “This our king Wan in all his way

Did watchful reverence display,
With clearest wisdom serving God,
Who, pleased to see the course he trod,
Him with great favour crowned.
His virtue no deflection knew,
But always to the right was true.
The states beheld, and all approved.
With loyal ardour stirred and moved,
Wan as their head they owned.”’

26. The Master said, ‘The practice of the ancient kings in conferring honorary posthumous names was to do honour to the fame (of the individuals); but they limited themselves to one excellence (in the character); — they would have been ashamed if the name had been beyond the actions (of the life). An accordance with this the superior man does not himself magnify his doings, nor himself exalt his merit, seeking to be within the truth; actions of an extraordinary character he does not aim at, but seeks to occupy himself only with what is substantial and good. He displays prominently the good qualities of others, and celebrates their merits, seeking to place himself below them in the scale of worth. There fore, although the superior man abases himself, yet the people respect and honour him.’

27. The Master said, ‘The meritorious services of Hâu Kî were the greatest of all under Heaven.; could his hands and feet be described as those of an ordinary man? But all which he desired was that his doings should be superior to his name, and therefore he said of himself that he was simply “a man useful to others.”

28. These were the words of the Master:— ‘Difficult is it to attain to what is called the perfect humanity of the superior man! It is said in the Book of Poetry,

“The happy and courteous prince
Is the father and mother of his people.”

Happy, he (yet) vigorously teaches them; courteous, he makes them pleased and restful. With all their happiness, there is no wild extravagance; with all their observance of ceremonial usages, there is the feeling of affection. Notwithstanding his awing gravity, they are restful; notwithstanding his son-like gentleness, they are respectful. Thus he causes them to honour him as their father, and love him as their mother. There must be all this before he is the father and mother of his people. Could any one who was not possessed of perfect virtue be able to accomplish this?

29. ‘Here now is the affection of a father for his sons; — he loves the worthy among them, and places on a lower level those who do not show ability; but that of a mother for them is such, that while she loves the worthy, she pities those who do not show ability: — the mother deals with them on the ground of affection and not of showing them honour; the father, on the ground of showing them honour and not of affection. (So we may say of) water and the people, that it manifests affection to them, but does not give them honour; of fire, that it gives them honour, but does not manifest affection; of the ground, that it manifests affection, but does not give honour; of Heaven, that it gives them honour, but does not manifest affection; of the nature conferred on them, that it manifests affection, but does not give them honour; and of the manes of their departed, that they give honour, but do not manifest affection.’

30. ‘Under the Hsiâ dynasty it was the way to give honour to the nature conferred on men; they served the manes of the departed, and respected Spiritual Beings, keeping them at a distance, while they brought the people near, and made them loyal; they put first the (attraction) of emolument, and last the terrors of power; first rewards, and then punishments; showing their affection (for the people), but not giving them honour. The bad effect on the people was, that they became stupid and ignorant, proud and clownish, and uncultivated, without any accomplishments.

‘Under the Yin dynasty, they honoured Spiritual Beings, and led the people on to serve them; they put first the service of their manes, and last the usages of ceremony; first punishments, and then rewards; giving honour (to the people), but not showing affection for them. The bad effect on the people was, that they became turbulent and were restless, striving to surpass one another without any sense of shame. ‘Under the Kâu dynasty, they honoured the ceremonial usages, and set a high value on bestowing (favours); they served the manes and respected Spiritual Beings, yet keeping them at a distance; they brought the people near, and made them loyal; in rewarding and punishing they used the various distinctions and arrangements of rank; showing affection (for the people), but not giving them honour. The bad effects on the people were, that they became fond of gain and crafty; were all for accomplishments, and shameless; injured one another, and had their moral sense obscured.’

31. The Master said, ‘It was the method of the Hsiâ dynasty not to trouble (the people) with many notices; it did not require everything from the people, nor (indeed) look to them for great things; and they did not weary of the affection (between them and their rulers). ‘Under the Yin dynasty, they did not trouble (the people) with ceremonies, and yet they required everything from them.

‘Under the Kâu dynasty, they were rigorous with the people, and not troublesome in the services to the spirits; but they did all that could be done in the way of awards, conferring rank, punishments, and penalties.’

32. The Master said, ‘Under the methods of (the dynasties of the line of) Yü and Hsiâ, there were few dissatisfactions among the people. The methods of Yin and Kâu were not equal to the correction of their errors.’

33. The Master said, ‘The plain and simple ways of (the dynasties of the line of) Yü and Hsiâ, and the multiplied forms of Yin and Kâu were both extreme. The forms of Yü and Hsiâ did not neutralise their simplicity, nor was there sufficient simplicity under Yin and Kâu to neutralise their forms.’

34. These were the words of the Master:— ‘Although in subsequent ages there arose (distinguished sovereigns), yet none of them succeeded in equalling the Tî of (the line of) Yü. He ruled over all under heaven, but, while he lived, he had not a selfish thought, and when he died, he did not make his son great (with the inheritance). He treated the people as his sons, as if he had been their father and mother. He had a deep and compassionate sympathy for them (like their mother); he instructed them in loyalty and what was profitable (like their father). While he showed his affection for them, he also gave them honour; in his natural restfulness, he was reverent; in the terrors of his majesty, he yet was loving; with all his riches, he was yet observant of the rules of propriety; and his kindness was yet (rightly) distributed. The superior men who stood in connexion with him gave honour to benevolence, and stood in awe of righteousness; were ashamed of lavish expenditure, and set little store by their accumulation of substance; loyal, but not coming into collision with their sovereign; righteous, and yet deferential to him; accomplished, and yet restful; generous, and yet discriminating. It is said in Fû on Punishments, “He sought to awe the people by his virtue, and all were filled with dread; he proceeded to enlighten them by his virtue, and all were enlightened.” Who but the Tî of (the line of) Yü could have been able to do this?’ (Shû, V, xxvii, 7.) 35. These were the words of the Master: —’(A minister) in the service of his ruler will first offer his words of counsel, and (when they are accepted), he will bow and voluntarily offer his person to make good his sincerity. Hence, whatever service a ruler requires from his minister, the minister will die in support of his words. In this way the salary which he receives is not obtained on false pretences, and the things for which he can be blamed will be more and more few.’

36. The Master said, ‘In the service of a ruler, when great words are spoken to (and accepted by) him, great advantages (to the state) may be expected from them; and when words of small importance are presented to him, only small advantages are to be looked for. Therefore a superior man will not for words of

small importance receive great emolument, nor for words of great importance small emolument. It is said in the Yî, “He does not enjoy his revenues in his own family, (but at court); there will be good fortune.”’

37. The Master said, ‘In the service of a ruler, (a minister) should not descend to subjects beneath him, nor set a high value on speeches, nor accept an introduction from improper individuals. It is said in the Hsiâo Yâ (II, vi, ode 3, 4), “Your duties quietly fulfil,

And hold the upright in esteem,

With friendship fast;

So shall the Spirits hear your cry,

You virtuous make, and good supply In measure vast.”’

38. The Master said, ‘In the service of a ruler, for (a minister) whose place is remote from (the court), to remonstrate is an act of sycophancy; for one whose place is near the ruler, not to remonstrate is to hold his office idly for the sake of gain.’

39. The Master said, ‘Ministers near (the ruler) should (seek to) preserve the harmony (of his virtues). The chief minister should maintain correctness in all the departments. Great ministers should be concerned about all parts (of the kingdom).’

40. The Master said, ‘In the service of a ruler there should be the wish to remonstrate, but no wish to set forth (his faults). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode 4, 4), “I cherish those men in my heart; — Might not my words my love impart?

No; — if the words were once but spoken,

The charm of love might then be broken.

The men shall dwell within my heart,

Nor thence with lapse of time depart.”’

41. The Master said, ‘In the service of a ruler, when it is difficult to advance and easy to retire, there is a proper order maintained in the occupancy of places (according to the character of their holders). If it were easy to advance and difficult to retire, there would be confusion. Hence a superior (visitor) advances (only) after he has been thrice bowed to, while he retires after one salutation on taking leave; and thus confusion is prevented.,’

42. The Master said, ‘In the service of a ruler, if (an officer), after thrice leaving the court (on his advice being rejected), do not cross the borders (of the state), he is remaining for the sake of the profit and emolument. Although men say that he is not trying to force (his ruler), I will not believe them.’

43. The Master said, ‘In the service of a ruler, (an officer) should be careful at the beginning, and respectful to the end.’

44. The Master said, ‘In the service of a ruler, one may be in a high position or a low, rich or poor, to live or to die (according to the will of the ruler), but he should not allow himself to be led to do anything contrary to order or right.’

45. The Master said, ‘In the service of a ruler, if it be in the army, (an officer) should not (try to) avoid labour and danger; if it be at court he should not refuse a mean office. To occupy a post and not perform its business is contrary to order and right. Hence, when a ruler employs him on any duty, if it suit his own mind, he thinks carefully of what it requires, and does it; if it do not suit his own mind, he thinks the more carefully of what it requires, and does it. When his work is done, he retires from Office: — such is an officer who well discharges his duty. It is said in the Yî (vol. xvi,), “He does not serve either king or feudal lord, but in a lofty spirit prefers (to attend to) his own affairs.”’

46. The Master said, ‘It is only the son of Heaven who receives his appointment from Heaven; officers receive their appointments from the ruler. Therefore if the ruler’s orders be conformed (to the mind of Heaven), his orders to his ministers are also conformed to it; but if his orders be contrary (to that mind), his orders to them are also contrary to it. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, iv, ode 5, 2), “How strong the magpies, battling fierce,

Each one to keep his mate!
How bold the quails together rush,
Upon the same debate!
This woman, with no trait that’s good,
Is stained by vicious crime,
Yet her I hail as marchioness; —
Alas! woe worth the time!”’

47. The Master said, ‘The superior man does not consider that his words (alone) show fully what a man is. Hence when right ways prevail in the kingdom, the branches and leaves (from the stem) of right conduct appear; but when there are not right ways in the kingdom, the branches and leaves of (mere) words appear. ‘In accordance with this, when a superior man is by the side of one occupied with the mourning rites, and cannot contribute to assist him in his expenditure, he does not ask him what it is; when he is by the side of one who is ill, and cannot supply him with food, he does not ask what he would like; when he has a visitor for whom he cannot provide a lodging, he does not ask where he is staying. Hence the intercourse of a superior man may be compared to water, and that of a small man, to sweet wine. The superior man seems insipid, but he helps to perfection; the small man seems sweet, but he leads to ruin. It is said in the Hsiâo Yâ (II, v, ode 4, 3), “He trusts the rogues that lie and sneak,

And make things worse;

Their duties shirked, their words so meek
Prove but a curse.”’

48. The Master said, ‘The superior man does not confine himself to praising men with his words; and so the people prove loyal to him. Thus, when he asks about men who are suffering from cold, he clothes them; or men who are suffering from want, he feeds them; and when he praises a man’s good qualities, he (goes on to) confer rank on him. It is said in the Lessons from the States (I, xiv, ode 1, 3), “I grieve; would they but lodge with me!”’

49. The Master said, ‘Dissatisfaction and calamity will come to him whose lip-kindness is not followed by the corresponding deeds. Therefore the superior man will rather incur the resentment arising from his refusal than the charge of promising (and then not fulfilling). It is said in the Lessons from the States (V, ode 4, 6), “I wildly go; I’ll never know
Its smiles and chat again,
To me you clearly swore the faith,
Which now to break you’re fain.
Could I foresee so false you’d be?
And now regrets are vain.”’

50. The Master said, ‘The superior man is not affectionate to others with his countenance (merely) as if, while cold in feeling, he could assume the appearance of affection. That belongs to the small man, and stamps him as no better than the thief who makes a hole in the wall.’

51. The Master said, ‘What is required in feeling is sincerity; in words, that they be susceptible of proof.’

52. These were the words of the Master:— ‘The ancient and intelligent kings of the three dynasties all served the Spiritual Intelligences of heaven and earth, but invariably used the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. They did. not presume to employ their own private judgment in the service of God.

In this way they did not transgress in the matter of the day or month, for they did not act contrary to the result of the divination. The tortoise and the shell were not consulted in succession on the same point.

53. ‘For the great (sacrificial) services there were (fixed) seasons and days; for the smaller services these were not fixed. They fixed them by divination (near the time). (In divining) about external affairs they used the odd days; and for internal affairs, the even. They did not go against the (intimations of the) tortoise-shell and stalks.’

54. The Master said, ‘With the victims perfect, the proper ceremonies and music, and the vessels of grain, (they sacrificed); and thus no injury was

received from the Spiritual Powers, and the people had no occasion for dissatisfaction.'

55. The Master said, 'The sacrifices of Hâu Kî were easily provided. His language was reverential; his desires were restricted; and the blessings received extended down to his descendants. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 1, 8), "Hâu Kî founded the sacrifice;

No one has failed in it,

Down to the present day."'

56. The Master said, 'The shell and stalks employed by the great men must be held in awe and reverence. But the son of Heaven does not divine by the stalks. While the princes are keeping guard in their states, they divine by the stalks. When the son of Heaven is on the road (travelling), he (also) divines by the stalks. In any other state but their own they do not divine by the stalks. They consult the tortoise-shell about the chambers and apartments of the houses (where they lodge). The son of Heaven does not so consult the tortoise-shell he stays always in the grand ancestral temples.'

57. The Master said, 'The men of rank, on occasions of special respect, use their sacrificial vessels. On this account they do not fail to observe the set seasons and days, and do not act contrary to the intimations of the shell and stalks; thus seeking to serve with reverence the ruler and their superiors. In this way superiors are not troublesome to the people, and the people do not take liberties with their superiors.'

BOOK XXX. SZE Î

or

The Black Robes.

1. These were the words of the Master: ‘When the superior is easily served, his inferiors are easily known, and in this case punishments are not numerous (in the state).’

2. The Master said, ‘When (the superior) loves the worthy as (the people of old loved him of) the black robes (Shih, I, vii, ode 1), and hates the bad as Hsiang-po (hated them; — II, v, ode 6), then without the frequent conferring of rank the people are stimulated to be good, and without the use of punishments they are all obedient to his orders. It is said in the Tâ Yâ (III, i, ode 1, 7), “From Wan your pattern you must draw,

And all the states will own your law.”’

3. The Master said, ‘If the people be taught by lessons of virtue, and uniformity sought to be given to them by the rules of ceremony, their minds will go on to be good. If they be taught by the laws, and uniformity be sought to be given to them by punishments, their minds will be thinking of how they can escape (the punishment; — Analects, II, iii). Hence, when the ruler of the people loves them as his sons, they feel to him as a parent; when he binds them to himself by his good faith, they do not turn away from him; when he presides over them with courtesy, their hearts are docile to him. It is said in the Punishments of Fû (Shû, V, xxvii, 3), “Among the people of Miâo they did not use orders simply, but the restraints of punishment. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws.” In this way their people became bad, and (their rulers) were cut off for ever (from the land).’

4. The Master said, ‘Inferiors, in serving their superiors, do not follow what they command, but what they do. When a ruler loves anything, those below him are sure to do so much more. Therefore the superior should by all means be careful in what he likes and dislikes. This will make him an example to the people.’

5. The Master said, ‘When Yü had been on the throne three years, the humanity of the common people was in accordance with his; — was it necessary that all (at court) should be perfectly virtuous? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, v, ode 7, 1), “Awe-inspiring are you, O (Grand-)Master Yin, And the people all look up to you.”

It is said in the Punishments of Fû (V, xxvii, 13), “I, the One man, will have felicity, and the millions of the people will look to you as their sure dependence.” It is said in the Tâ Yâ (III, i, ode 9, 3), “King Wû secured the people’s faith,

And gave to all the law.”’

6. The Master said, ‘When superiors are fond of showing their humanity, inferiors strive to outstrip one another in their practice of it. Therefore those who preside over the people should cherish the clearest aims and give the most correct lessons, honouring the requirement of their humanity by loving the people as their sons; then the people will use their utmost efforts with themselves to please their superiors. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 2), “Where from true virtue actions spring,

All their obedient homage bring.”’

7. The Master said, ‘The kings words are (at first) as, threads of silk; but when given forth, they become as cords. Or they are (at first) as cords; but when given forth, they become as ropes. Therefore the great man does not take the lead in idle speaking. The superior does not speak words which may be spoken indeed but should not be embodied in deeds; nor does he do actions which may be done in deed but should not be expressed in words. When this is the case, the words of the people can be carried into action without risk, and their actions can be spoken of without risk. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 8), “Keep on your acts a watchful eye,

That you may scrutiny defy.”’

8. The Master said, ‘The superior man leads men on (to good) by his words, and keeps them (from evil) by (the example of) his conduct. Hence, in speaking, he must reflect on what may be the end of his words, and examine whether there may not be some error in his conduct; and then the people will be attentive to their words, and circumspect in their conduct. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 5), “Be circumspect in all you say,

And reverent bearing still display.”

It is said in the Tâ Yâ (III, i, ode 1, 4), “Deep were Wan’s thoughts, unstained his ways; His reverence lit its trembling rays.”’

9. The Master said, ‘When the heads of the people use no (improper) variations in their dress, and their manners are always easy and unconstrained, and they seek thus to give uniformity to the people, the virtue of the people does become uniform. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode i, i), “In the old capital they stood,

With yellow fox-furs plain;

Their manners all correct and good,

Speech free from vulgar stain.
Could we go back to Kâu's old days,
All would look up to them with praise."'

10. The Master said, 'When (the ruler) above can be known by men {???} looking at him, and (his ministers) below can have their doings related and remembered, then the ruler has no occasion to doubt his ministers, and the ministers are not led astray by their ruler. The Announcement of Yin says (Shû, IV, vi, 3), "There were I, Yin, and Thang; both possessed the same pure virtue." It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 3, 3), "In soul so steadfast is that princely man, Whose course for fault or flaw we vainly scan."'

11. The Master said, 'When the holders of states and clans give distinction to the righteous and make it painful for the bad, thus showing the people the excellence (they should cultivate), then the feelings of the people do not swerve (to what is evil). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vi, ode 3, 5), "Your duties quietly fulfil,
And hold the upright in esteem,
With earnest love."'

12. The Master said, "when the highest among men has doubts and perplexities, the common people go astray. When (the ministers) below him are difficult to be understood, the toil of the ruler is prolonged. Therefore when the ruler exhibits clearly what he loves, and thus shows the people the style of manners (they should aim at), and is watchful against what he dislikes, and thereby guards the people against the excesses (of which they are in danger), then they do not go astray.

'When the ministers are exemplary in their conduct, and do not set a value on (fine) speeches; when they do not try to lead (the ruler) to what is unattainable, and do not trouble him with what cannot be (fully) known, then he is not toiled. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 10, i), "Reversed is now the providence of God;
The lower people groan beneath their load."
It is said in the Hsiâo Yâ (II, v, ode 4, 4), "They do not discharge their duties,
But only cause distress to the king."'

13. The Master said, 'When (the measures of) government do not take effect, and the lessons of the ruler do not accomplish their object, (it is because) the giving of rank and emoluments is unfit to stimulate the people to good, and (the infliction of) punishments and penalties is unfit to make them ashamed (of evil). Therefore (the ruler) above must not be careless in punishing, nor lightly confer rank. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Khang (Shû, V, ix, 8), "Deal reverently and understandingly in your infliction of punishments;" and in

the Punishments of Fû (Shû, V, xxvii, 12), “He spreads abroad his lessons to avert punishments.”’

14. The Master said, ‘When the great ministers are not on terms of friendly intimacy (with the ruler), and the common people consequently are not restful, this is because the loyalty (of the ministers) and the respect (of the ruler) are not sufficient, and the riches and rank conferred (on the former) are excessive. (The consequence is, that) the great ministers do not discharge their functions of government, and the ministers closer (to the ruler) form parties against them. Therefore the great ministers should by all means be treated with respect; they are examples to the people; and ministers nearer (to the ruler) should by all means be careful; — they direct the way of the people. Let not the ruler consult with inferior officers about greater, nor with those who are from a distance about those who are near to him, nor with those who are beyond the court about those who belong to it. If he act thus, the great ministers will not be dissatisfied; the ministers closer to him will not be indignant; and those who are more remote will not be kept in obscurity. The duke of Sheh in his dying charge said, “Do not by little counsels ruin great enterprises; do not for the sake of a favourite concubine provoke queen Kwang; do not for the sake of a favourite officer provoke your grave officers, — the Great officers or high ministers.”’

15. The Master said, ‘If the great man be not in affectionate sympathy with (his officers) whom he considers worthy, but give his confidence to others whom he despises, the people in consequence will not feel attached to him, and the lessons which he gives them will be troublesome (and ineffective). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, ii, ode 8), “As if I were hidden they sought me at first, At court for a pattern to shine;

’Tis with hatred intense they now bend their scowls, And my services curtly decline.”

It is said in the Kün-khan (Shû, V, xxiv, 4), “While they have not seen a sage, (they are full of desire) as if they could not get a sight of him; but after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him.”’

16. The Master said, ‘A small man is drowned in the water; a superior man is drowned or ruined by his mouth; the great man suffers his ruin from the people; — all suffer from what they have played and taken liberties with. Water is near to men, and yet it drowns them. Its nature makes it easy to play with, but dangerous to approach; — men are easily drowned in it. The mouth is loquacious and troublesome; for words once uttered there is hardly a place of repentance; — men are easily ruined by it. The people, restricted in their humanity, have vulgar and rude minds; they should be respected, and should not be treated with contempt; — men are easily ruined by them. Therefore the

superior man should by all means be careful in his dealings with them. It is said in the Thâi Kiâ (Shû, III, v, sect. 1, 5, 7), “Do not frustrate the charge to me, and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the string, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go.” It is said in the Charge to Yüeh (III, viii, Sect. 2, 4), “It is the mouth which gives occasion to shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet which give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward) should not be taken (lightly from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself.” It is said in the Thâi Kiâ (Shû, III, v, sect. 2, 3), “Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided; but from those brought on by one’s self there is no escape.” It is said in the Announcement of Yin (Shû, III, v, sect. 1, 3), “I have seen it myself in Hsiâ with its western capital, that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same.”’

17. The Master said, ‘To the people the ruler is as their heart; to the ruler the people are as his body. When the heart is composed, the body is at ease; when the heart is reverent, the body is respectful; when the heart loves anything, the body is sure to rest in it. (So), when the ruler loves anything, the people are sure to desire it. The body is the complement of the heart, and a wound in it makes the heart also suffer. So the ruler is preserved by the people, and perishes also through the people. It is said in an ode, “Once we had that former premier,

His words were wise and pure;

The states and clans by him were at rest,

The chief cities and towns by him were well regulated, All the people by him enjoyed their life.

Who (now) holds the ordering of the kingdom?

Not himself attending to the government,

The issue is toil and pain to the people.”

It is said in, the Kün-yâ (Shû, V, xxv, 5), “In the heat and rain of summer days the inferior people may be described as murmuring and sighing. And so it may be said of them in the great cold of winter.”’

18. The Master said, ‘In the service by an inferior of his superior, if his personal character be not correct, his words will not be believed; and in this case their views will not be the same, and the conduct (of the superior) will not correspond (to the advice given to him).’

19. The Master said, ‘Words should be capable of proof by instances, and conduct should be conformed to rule; when the case is so, a man’s aim cannot be taken from him while he is alive, nor can his good name be taken away when he is dead. Therefore the superior man, having heard much, verifies it by inquiry,

and firmly holds fast (what is proved); he remembers much, verifies it by inquiry, and makes it his own; when he knows it exactly, he carries the substance of it into practice. It is said in the kün-khan (Shû, V, xxi, 5), "Going out and coming in, seek the judgment of the people about things, till you find a general agreement upon them." It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 3, i), "The virtuous man, the princely one,

Is uniformly correct in his deportment."'

20. The Master said, 'It is only the superior man who can love what is correct, while to the small man what is correct is as poison. Therefore the friends of the superior man have the definite aims which they pursue, and the definite courses which they hate. In consequence, those who are near at hand have no perplexities of thought about him, and those who are far off, no doubts. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, i, ode 1, 1), "For our prince a good mate."'

21. The Master said, 'When a man on light grounds breaks off his friendship with the poor and mean, and only on great grounds with the rich and noble, his love of worth cannot be great, nor does his hatred of evil clearly appear. Though men may say that he is not influenced by (the love of) gain, I do not believe them. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 4), "And all the friends assisting you

Behave with reverent mien."'

21). The Master said, 'The superior man will not voluntarily remain to share in private acts of kindness not offered on grounds of virtue. In the Book of Poetry it is said (II, i, ode 1, 1), "They love me, and my mind will teach

How duty's highest aim to reach."'

23. The Master said, 'If there be a carriage (before you), you are sure (by-and-by) to see the cross-board (in front); if there be a garment, you are sure (in the same way) to see (the traces of) its being worn; if one speaks, you are sure to hear his voice; if one does anything, you are sure to see the result. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, i, ode 2, 2), "I will wear them without being weary of them."'

24. The Master said, 'When one says anything, and immediately proceeds to act it out, his words cannot embellish it; and when one does anything, and immediately proceeds to describe it, the action cannot be embellished. Hence the superior man saying little, and acting to prove the sincerity of his words, the people cannot make the excellence of their deeds greater than it is, nor diminish the amount of their badness. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 5), "A flaw in mace of white jade may

By patient toil be ground away;

But for a flaw we make in speech,

What can be done? 'Tis past our reach."

It is said in the Hsiâo Yâ (II, iii, ode 5, 8), “Well does our lord become his place,

And high the deeds his reign have crowned.”

It is said to the Prince Shih (Shû, V, xvi, 11), “Aforetime, when God beheld the virtue of king Wan in the fields of Kâu, he made the great decree light on his person.”’

25. The Master said, ‘The people of the south have a saying that “A man without constancy cannot be a diviner either with the tortoise-shell or the stalks.” This was probably a saying handed down from antiquity. If such a man cannot know the tortoise-shell and stalks, how much less can he know other men? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, v, ode 1, 3), “Our tortoise-shells are wearied out,

And will not tell us anything about the plans.”

The Charge to Yüeh says (Shû, IV, Viii, sect. 2, 5, 11), “Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices. (If they be), how can the people set themselves to correct their ways? If this be sought merely by sacrifices, it will be disrespectful (to the spirits). When affairs come to be troublesome, there ensues disorder; when the spirits are served so, difficulties ensue.”

It is said in the Yî, “When one does not continuously maintain his virtue, some will impute it to him as a disgrace; — (in the position indicated in the Hexagram.) When one does maintain his virtue continuously (in the other position indicated), this will be fortunate in a wife, but in a husband evil.”’

BOOK XXXI. PAN SANG

or

Rules on Hurrying to Mourning Rites.

1. According to the rules for hurrying to attend the mourning rites, when one first heard that the mourning rites for a relative were going on, he wailed as he answered the messenger, and gave full vent to his sorrow. Having asked all the particulars, he wailed again, — with a similar burst of grief, and immediately arranged to go (to the place). He went 100 lî a day, not travelling in the night.

2. Only when the rites were those for a father or a mother did he travel while he could yet see the stars, and rested when he (again) saw them. If it was impossible for him to go (at once), he assumed the mourning dress, and then went (as soon as he could). When he had passed through be state (where he was), and reached its frontier, he stopped and wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. He avoided wailing in the market-place and when near the court. He looked towards the frontier of his own state when he wailed.

3. When he came to the house, he entered the gate at the left side of it, (passed through the court), and ascended to the hall by the steps on the west. He knelt on the east of the coffin, with his face to the west, and wailed, giving full vent to his grief. He (then) tied up his hair in a knot, bared his arms, and went down from the hall, proceeding to his place on the cast, where he wailed towards the west. Having completed the leaping, he covered his arms and put on his sash of sackcloth in the corridor on the east; and after tucking up the ends of his sash, he returned to his place. He bowed to the visitors, leaping with them, and escorted them (to the gate), returning (afterwards) to his place. When other visitors arrived, he bowed to them, leaped with them, and escorted them; — all in the same way.

4. (After this), all the principal mourners, with their cousins, went out at the gate, stopping there while they wailed. The gate was then closed, and the director told them to go to the mourning shed.

5. At the next wailing, the day after, they tied up their hair, bared their arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing next day, they again tied up their hair, bared their arms, and went through the leaping. On these three days, the finishing the mourning dress, bowing to and escorting the visitors, took place as in the first case.

6. If he who has hurried to be present at the rites were not the presiding mourner on the occasion, then that presiding mourner, instead of him, bowed to the visitors and escorted them.

7. When one hurried to the rites, even where they were less than those for a mother or father, which required the wearing of sackcloth, with even edge or frayed, he entered the gate at the left side of it, and stood in the middle of the court-yard with his face to the north, wailing and giving full vent to his sorrow. He put on the cincture for the head and the sackcloth girdle in the corridor on the east, and repaired to his place, where he bared his arms. Then he wailed along with the presiding mourner, and went through the leaping. For the wailing on the second day and the third, they wore the cincture and bared the arms. If there were visitors, the presiding mourner bowed to them on their arrival, and escorted them.

The husbands and wives (of the family) waited for him at the wailing-places for every morning and evening, without making any change.

8. When one hurries to the mourning rites for a mother, he wails with his face to the west, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then ties up his hair, bares his arms, descends from the hall, and goes to his station on the east, where, with his face to the west, he wails and goes through the leaping. After that, he covers his arms and puts on the cincture and sash in the corridor on the east. He bows to the visitors, and escorts them (to the gate) in the same way as if he had hurried to the rites for his father. At the wailing on the day after, he does not tie up his hair.

9. When a wife hurried to the mourning rites, she went up to the hall by the (side) steps on the east, and knelt on the east of the coffin with, her face to the west. There she wailed, giving full vent to her grief. Having put on the lower cincture on the east, she went to the station (for wailing), and there leaped alternately with the presiding mourner.

10. When one, hurrying to the mourning rites, did not arrive while the coffin with the body was still in the house, he first went to the grave; and there kneeling with his face to the north, he wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. The principal mourners have been waiting for him (at the grave), and have taken their stations, — the men on the left of it, and the wives on the right. Having gone through the leaping, and given full expression to his sorrow, he tied up his hair, and went to the station of the principal mourners on the east. In his headband of sackcloth, and sash with the ends tucked up, he wailed and went through the leaping. He then bowed to the visitors, and returned to his station, going (again) through the leaping, after which the director announced that the business was over.

11. He then put on the cap, and returned to the house. There he entered at the left side of the door, and, with his face to the north, wailed and gave full vent to his sorrow. He then tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Going to his station on the east, he bowed to the visitors, and went through the leaping. When the visitors went out, the presiding mourner bowed to them, and escorted them. When other visitors afterwards arrived, he bowed to them, went through the leaping, and escorted them in the same way. All the principal mourners and their cousins went out at the gate, wailed there and stopped, when the directors instructed them to go to the shed. At the wailing next day, he bound up his hair and went through the leaping. At the third wailing, he did the same. On the third day he completed his mourning dress (as was required). After the fifth wailing, the director announced that the business was over.

12. Wherein the usages at the rites for a mother differed from those at the rites for a father, was that there was but one tying up of the hair. After that the cincture was worn to the end of the business. In other respects the usages were the same as at the rites for a father.

13. At the rites for other relations, after those for the mother or father, the mourner who did not arrive while the coffin was in the house, first went to the grave, and there wailed with his face to the west, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then put on the cincture and hempen sash, and went to his station on the east, where he wailed with the presiding mourner, and went through the leaping. After this he covered his arms; and if there were visitors, the presiding mourner bowed to them and escorted them away.

If any other visitors afterwards came, he bowed to them, as in the former case, and the director announced that the business was over.

Immediately after he put on the cap, and returned to the house. Entering at the left side of the door, he wailed with his face to the north, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then put on the cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Going then to the station on the east, he bowed to the visitors, and went through the leaping again. When the visitors went out, the presiding mourner bowed to them and escorted them.

At the wailing next day, he wore the cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing he did the same. On the third day, he put on his mourning-garb; and at the fifth wailing, the director announced that the business was over.

14. When one heard of the mourning rites, and it was impossible (in his circumstances) to hurry to be present at them, he wailed and gave full vent to his grief. He then asked the particulars, and (on hearing them) wailed again, and

gave full vent to his grief. He then made a place (for his mourning) .where he was, tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Having covered his arms, and put on the higher cincture and his sash with the ends tucked up, he went (back) to his place. After bowing to (any visitors that arrived), he returned to the place, and went through the leaping. When the visitors went out, he, as the presiding mourner, bowed to them, and escorted them outside the gate, returning then to his station. If any other visitors came afterwards, he bowed to them and went through the leaping, then escorting them as before.

At the wailing next day, he tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing he did the same. On the third day, he put on his mourning-garb, wailed, bowed to his visitors, and escorted them as before.

15. If one returned home after the mourning rites had been completed, he went to the grave, and there wailed and went through the leaping. On the east of it, he tied up his hair, bared his arms, put on the cincture for the head, bowed to the visitors, and went (again) through the leaping. Having escorted the visitors, he returned to his place, and again wailed, giving full vent to his grief With this he put off his mourning. In the house he did not wail. The principal mourner, in his treatment of him, made no change in his dress; and though he wailed with him (at the grave), he did not leap.

16. Wherein at other observances than those for the death of a mother or father, the usages (of such a mourner) differed from the above, were in the cincture for the head and the hempen sash.

17. In all cases where one made a place for his mourning (away from home), if it were not on occasion of the death of a parent, but for some relative of the classes not so nearly related, he went to the station, and wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. Having put on the cincture for the head and the girdle on the east, he came back to the station, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. He then covered his arms, bowed to the visitors, went back to the station, wailed, and went through the leaping. (After this), he escorted the guests away, and came back to the station, when the director told him to go to the shed. When the fifth wailing was ended, on the third day, the presiding mourner came forth and escorted the visitors away. All the principal mourners and their cousins went out at the gate, wailed, and stopped there. The director announced to them that the business was ended. He put on his full mourning-garb, and bowed to the visitors.

18. If the home were far distant from the place which an absent mourner has selected (for his wailing), they completed all their arrangements about dress before they went to it.

19. One hurrying to mourning rites, if they were for a parent, wailed when he looked towards the district (where they had lived); if they were for a relation for whom nine months' mourning was due, he wailed when he could see the gate of his house; if for one to whom five months' mourning was due, he wailed when he got to the door; if for one to whom but three months' mourning was due, he wailed when he took his station.

20. For one of his father's relations (for whom he did not need to go into mourning) a man wailed in the ancestral temple; for one of his mother or wife's relatives, in the back chamber of the temple; for his teacher, outside the gate of the temple; for a friend, outside the door of the back-chamber; for an acquaintance, in the open country, having pitched a tent for the occasion. Some say the wailing for a mother's relation was in the temple.

21. In all cases where a station was selected, away from the house of mourning, for paying funeral rites, no offerings were put down (for the departed).

22. For the son of Heaven they wailed nine days; for a feudal prince, seven; for a high minister and Great officer, five; for another officer, three.

23. A Great officer, in wailing for the ruler of his state, did not presume to bow to the visitors.

24. Ministers in other states, when they selected a station (for their wailing), did not presume to bow to the visitors.

25. Officers, of the same surname with a feudal prince, (but who were serving in other states), also made a place at which to wail for him (on his death).

26. In all cases where one made a place (at a distance) at which to wail, he bared his arms (only) once.

27. In condoling with (the relations of) an acquaintance (after he has been buried), one first wailed in his house, and afterwards went to the grave, in both cases accompanying the wailing with the leaping. He alternated his leaping with that of the presiding mourner, keeping his face towards the north.

28. At all mourning rites (in a household), if the father were alive, he acted as presiding mourner; if he were dead, and brothers lived together in the house, each presided at the mourning for one of his own family-circle. If two brothers were equally related to the deceased for whom rites were necessary, the eldest presided at those rites; if they were not equally related, the one most nearly so presided.

29. When one heard of the death of a brother or cousin at a distance, but the news did not arrive till the time which his own mourning for him would have taken had expired, he (notwithstanding) put on the mourning cincture, bared his

arms, and went through the leaping. He bowed to his visitors, however, with the left hand uppermost.

30. The only case in which a place was chosen in which to wail for one for whom mourning was not worn, was the death of a sister-in-law, the wife of an elder brother. For a female member of the family who had married, and for whom therefore mourning was not worn, the hempen sash was assumed.

31. When one had hurried to the mourning rites, and a Great officer came (to condole with him), he bared his arms, and bowed to him. When he had gone through the leaping, he covered his arms. In the case of a similar visit from an ordinary officer, he covered his arms, and then bowed to him.

BOOK XXXII. WAN SANG

or

Questions about Mourning Rites

1. Immediately after his father's death, (the son put off his cap, and) kept his hair, with the pin in it, in the bag (of silk); went barefoot, with the skirt of his dress tucked up under his girdle; and wailed with his hands across his breast. In the bitterness of his grief, and the distress and pain of his, thoughts, his kidneys were injured, his liver dried up, and his lungs scorched, while water or other liquid did not enter his mouth, and for three days fire was not kindled (to cook anything for him). On this account the neighbours prepared for him gruel and rice-water, which were his (only) meat and drink. The internal grief and sorrow produced a change in his outward appearance; and with the severe pain in his heart, his mouth could not relish any savoury food, nor his body find ease in anything pleasant.

2. On the third day there was the (slighter) dressing (of the corpse). While the body was on the couch it was called the corpse; when it was put into the coffin, it was called kiû. At the moving of the corpse, and lifting up of the coffin, (the son) wailed and leaped, times without number. Such was the bitterness of his heart, and the pain of his thoughts, so did his grief and sorrow fill his mind and agitate his spirit, that he bared his arms and leaped, seeking by the movement of his limbs to obtain some comfort to his heart and relief to his spirit.

The women could not bare their arms, and therefore they (merely) pushed out the breast, and smote upon their hearts, moving their feet with a sliding, hopping motion, and with a constant, heavy sound, like the crumbling away of a wall. The expression of grief, sorrow, and deep-seated pain was extreme; hence it is said, 'With beating of the breast and movement of the feet, did they sorrowfully accompany the body; so they escorted it away, and so did they come back to meet its essential part.'

When (the mourners) went, accompanying the coffin (to the grave), they looked forward, with an expression of eagerness, as if they were following some one, and unable to get up to him. When returning to wail, they looked disconcerted, as if they were seeking some one whom they could not find. Hence, when escorting (the coffin), they appeared full of affectionate desire; when returning, they appeared full of perplexity. They had sought the (deceased), and could not find him; they entered the gate, and did not see him;

they went up to the hall, and still did not see him; they entered his chamber, and still did not see him; he was gone; he was dead; they should see him again nevermore. Therefore they wailed, wept, beat their breasts, and leaped, giving full vent to their sorrow, before they ceased. Their minds were disappointed, pained, fluttered, and indignant. They could do nothing more with their wills; they could do nothing but continue sad.

3. In presenting the sacrifice (of repose) in the (to his parent) ancestral temple, (the son) offered it in his disembodied state, hoping that his shade would peradventure return (and enjoy it). When he came back to the house from completing the grave, he did not venture to occupy his chamber, but dwelt in the mourning shed, lamenting that his parent was now outside. He slept on the rushes, with a clod for his pillow, lamenting that his parent was in the ground. Therefore he wailed and wept, without regard to time; he endured the toil and grief for three years. His heart of loving thoughts showed the mind of the filial son, and was the real expression of his human feelings.

4. Some one may ask, 'Why does the dressing not commence till three days after death?' and the answer is: — When his parent is dead, the filial son is sad and sorrowful, and his mind is full of trouble. He crawls about and bewails his loss, as if the dead might come back to life; — how can he hurriedly take (the corpse) and proceed to dress it? Therefore, when it is said that the dressing does not begin till after three days, the meaning is, that (the son) is waiting that time to see if (his father) will come to life. When after three days there is no such return, the father is not alive, and the heart of the filial son is still more downcast. (During this space, moreover), the means of the family can be calculated, and the clothes that are necessary can be provided and made accordingly; the relations and connexions who live at a distance can also arrive. Therefore the sages decided in the case that three days should be allowed, and the rule was made accordingly.

5. Some one may ask, 'How is it that one with the cap on does not bare his arms, and show the naked body?' and the answer is: — The cap is the most honourable article of dress, and cannot be worn where the body is bared, and the flesh exposed. Therefore the cincture for the head is worn instead of the cap, (when the arms are bared).

6. And so, when a bald man does not wear the cincture, and a hunchback does not bare his arms, and a lame man does not leap, it is not that they do not feel sad, but they have an infirmity which prevents them from fully discharging the usages. Hence it is said that in the rites of mourning it is the sorrow that is the principal thing. When a daughter wails, weeps, and is sad, beats her breast, and wounds her heart; and when a son wails, weeps, is sad, and bows down till his

forehead touches the ground, without regard to elegance of demeanour, this may be accepted as the highest expression of sorrow.

7. Some one may ask, ‘What is the idea in the cincture?’ and the reply is: — The cincture is what is worn while uncapped. The Rule says, ‘Boys do not wear (even) the three months’ mourning; it is only when the family has devolved on one that he does so.’ The cincture, we may suppose, was what was worn in the three months’ mourning (by a boy). If he had come to be the representative of the family, he wore the cincture, and carried the staff.

8. Some one may ask, ‘What is meant by (using) the staff?’ and the answer is: — The staff of bamboo and that of elaeococcus wood have the same meaning. Hence, for a father they used the black staff of bamboo; and for a mother, the square-cut staff, an elaeococcus branch.

9. Some one may say, (What is meant by (using) the staff?’ and the answer is: — When a filial son mourns for a parent, he wails and weeps without regard to the number of times; his endurances are hard for three years; his body becomes ill and his limbs emaciated; and so he uses a staff to support his infirmity.

10. Thus, while his father is alive he does not dare to use a staff, because his honoured father is still living. Walking in the hall, he does not I use the staff; — refraining from doing so in the place where his honoured father is. Nor does he walk hastily in the hall, — to show that he is not hurried. Such is the mind of the filial son, the real expression of human feeling, the proper method of propriety and righteousness. It does not come down from heaven, it does not come forth from the earth; it is simply the expression of the human feelings.

BOOK XXXIII. FÛ WAN

or

Subjects for Questioning about the Mourning Dress.

1. The Directory for Mourning says, ‘There are cases in which parties wear deep mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear only light.’ Such is the mourning for her husband’s mother by the wife of the son of a ruler (by a concubine).

2. ‘There are cases in which parties wear light mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear deep mourning.’ Such is the mourning of a husband for the father or mother of his wife.

3. ‘There are cases in which parties wear mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, wear none.’ Such is the case of the wife of a ruler’s son with the cousins of her husband on the female side.

4. There are cases in which parties wear no mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, do wear mourning.’ Such is the case of a ruler’s son with regard to the father and mother of his wife.

5. The Directory of Mourning says, ‘When his mother has been divorced, the son wears mourning for the relatives of the wife whom his father has taken in his mother’s place.’ When his mother has died (without being divorced), a son wears mourning for her relatives. Wearing mourning for his own mother’s relatives, he does not do so for those of the step-mother, whom his father may have taken in her place.

6. After the sacrifice at the end of the first year, during the three years’ rites, and after the interment has taken place, during those of one year (occurring at the same time), the mourner puts on the old sash of dolychos cloth, and the headband of the one year’s mourning, wearing (at the same time) the sackcloth of the mourning for nine months.

7. The same thing is done (after the interment) during the nine months’ mourning.

8. No change is made (after the interment) during the five months’ mourning.

9. Where they wore the sash with the roots of hemp wrought into the cloth, they changed it for the dolychos cloth of the three years’ mourning.

10. After the sacrifice at the end of a year, if there occurred an occasion for using the hempen sash with the roots cut off, (the mourner) put on the proper band along with the higher cincture. When the cincture was no longer worn, he put off the band. When it was proper to use the band, the rule was to wear it; and when the occasion for it was over, it was put off.

11. In the mourning for five months they did not change the cap worn for the sacrifice at the end of a year. If there were occasion to wear the cincture, then they employed the band proper for the mourning of three months or five months; still keeping on the first dolychos sash. The linen of the three months' mourning did not make it necessary to change the dolychos cloth of the five months; nor the linen of the five months to change the dolychos cloth of the nine months. Where the roots were woven with the cloth, they made a change.

12. On occasion of mourning for a minor, if he were of the highest grade or the middle, they changed the dolychos cloth of the three years' mourning, assuming it when they had completed the months of these intervening rites. This was done not because of the value set on the linen, but because no change was made at the conclusion of the wailing. They did not observe this rule on the death of a minor of the third or lowest grade.

13. The ruler of a state mourned for the son of Heaven for the three years. His wife observed the rule of a lady of her husband's house who had gone to her own married home in mourning for the ruler.

14. The heir-son of a ruler did not wear mourning for the son of Heaven.

15. A ruler acted as presiding mourner at the mourning rites for his wife, his eldest son, and that son's wife.

16. The eldest son of a Great officer, by his proper wife, wore the mourning of an ordinary officer for the ruler, and for the ruler's wife and eldest son.

17. When the mother of a ruler had not been the wife (of the former ruler), the body of the ministers did not wear mourning (on her death). Only the officers of the harem, the charioteer and the man-at-arms who sat on the left, followed the example of the ruler, wearing the same mourning as he did.

18. For a high minister or Great officer, (during the mourning rites for him), the ruler wore in his place the coarse glazed linen, and also when he went out (on business not connected with the rites). If it were on business connected with them, he wore also the skin-cap and the band round it. Great officers dressed in the same way for one another. At the mourning rites for their wives, they wore the same dress, when they were going to be present at those rites; if they went out (on other business), they did not wear it.

19. In all cases of going to see others, the visitor (being in mourning for his parents) did not put off his headband. Even when he was going to the ruler's

court, he did not put it off; it was only at the ruler's gate that (in certain circumstances) he put off his sackcloth. The Directory of Mourning says, 'A superior man will not take away from others their mourning rites;' and so it was deemed wrong to put off this mourning.

BOOK XXXIV. KIEN KWAN

or

Treatise on Subsidiary Points in Mourning Usages.

1. What is the reason that the headband worn with the frayed sackcloth, for a father, must be made of the fibres of the female plant?

Those fibres have an unpleasant appearance, and serve to show outwardly the internal distress. The appearance of (the mourners), wearing the sackcloth for a father with its jagged edges, corresponds to those fibres. That of one wearing the sackcloth for a mother with its even edges, corresponds to the fibres of the male plant. That of one wearing the mourning of nine months looks as if (the ebullitions of sorrow) had ceased. For one wearing the mourning of five months or of three, his (ordinary) appearance is suitable.

These are the manifestations of sorrow in the bodily appearance.

2. The wailing of one wearing the sackcloth for his father seems to go forth in one unbroken strain; that of one wearing the sackcloth for a mother is now and then broken; in the mourning of nine months, after the first burst there are three quavers in it, and then it seems to die away; in the mourning of five and three months, an ordinary wailing is sufficient.

These are the manifestations of sorrow in the modulations of the voice.

3. When wearing the sackcloth for a father, one indicates that he hears what is said to him, but does not reply in words; when wearing that for a mother, he replies, but does not speak of anything else. During the nine months' mourning, he may speak of other things, but not discuss them; during that for five months or three months, he may discuss other things, but does not show pleasure in doing so.

These are the manifestations of sorrow in speech.

4. When a mourner has assumed the sackcloth for a father, for three days he abstains from food; for a mother, for two days. When he has commenced the nine months' mourning, he abstains from three meals; in that of five months or of three, for two. When an ordinary officer takes part in the dressing (of a friend's corpse), he abstains from one meal. Hence at the mourning rites for a father or mother, when the coffining takes place, (the children) take gruel made of a handful of rice in the morning, and the same quantity in the evening. During all the rites for a mother, they eat coarse rice, and drink only water, not touching vegetables or fruits. During the nine months' mourning (the mourners) do not eat

pickles of sauces; during that of five months or three, they do not drink prepared liquor, either new or old.

These are the manifestations of sorrow in drinking and eating.

5. In the mourning rites for a parent, when the sacrifice of repose has been presented, and the wailing is at an end, (the mourners) eat coarse rice and drink water, but do not take vegetables or fruits. At the end of a year, when the smaller felicitous sacrifice has been offered, they eat vegetables and fruits. After another year, when the greater sacrifice has been offered, they take pickles and sauces. In the month after, the final mourning sacrifice is offered, after which they drink the must and spirits. When they begin to drink these, they first use the must; when they begin to eat flesh, they first take that which has been dried.

6. During the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) occupied the mourning shed, and slept on straw with a clod for his pillow, without taking off the headband or girdle. If they were for a mother (only, and the father were still alive), be occupied the unplastered chamber, (sleeping on) typha rushes with their tops cutoff, but not woven together. During the mourning for nine months, there was a mat to sleep on. In that for five months or for three, it was allowed to use a bedstead.

These were the manifestations of sorrow given in the dwelling-places.

7. At the mourning rites for a parent, after the sacrifice of repose, and when the wailing was concluded, the (inclined) posts of the shed were set up on lintels, and the screen (of grass) was clipped, while typha rushes, with the tops cut off, but not woven together, (were laid down for a mat). At the end of a year, and when the smaller felicitous sacrifice had been offered, (the son) occupied the unplastered chamber, and had a mat to sleep on. After another year, and when the greater felicitous sacrifice had been offered, he returned to his old sleeping apartment. Then, when the final mourning sacrifice was offered, he used a bedstead.

8. The mourning with jagged edges was made with 3 shang of hempen threads, each shang containing 81 threads; that with even edge, with 4, 5, or 6 shang; that for the nine months' mourning with 7, 8, or 9 shang; that for the five months, with 10, 11, or 12 shang; that for the three months, with 15 shang less the half. When the thread was manipulated and boiled, no such operation was performed on the woven cloth, and it was called sze (or the material for the mourning of three months).

These were the manifestations of sorrow shown in the fabrics of the different mournings.

9. The sackcloth with jagged edges (worn at first) was made with 3 shang, but after the sacrifice of repose when the wailing was over, this was exchanged for a

different fabric made with 6 shang, while the material for the cap was made with 7 shang. The coarse sackcloth for a mother was made with 4 shang, exchanged for a material made with 7 shang, while the cap was made with one of 8 shang.

When the hempen dress is put away (after the burial), grasscloth is worn, the sash of it being made of triple twist. At the end of the year, and when the first felicitous sacrifice has been offered, (the son) pas on the cap of dyed silk proper to that sacrifice, and the red collar, still retaining the sash and headband. A son begins at the head, and a woman with the girdle, in. putting off their mourning. What is the reason? Because a man considers the head the most important to him, and a woman the waist. In laying aside the mourning, they began with the most important; in changing it, with what was least.

At the end of the second year, and when the greater felicitous sacrifice had been offered, the cap and dress of plain hempen cloth was assumed. After the concluding sacrifice of mourning, in the next month, the black cap and silk of black and white were put on, and all the appendages of the girdle were assumed.

10. Why is it that in changing the mourning they (first) changed what was the lightest? During the wearing of the sackcloth with jagged edges for a father, if when, after the sacrifice of repose and the end of the wailing, there came occasion to wear the even-edged sackcloth for a mother, that, as lighter, was considered to be embraced in the other, and that which was most important was retained.

After the sacrifice at the end of the year, when there occurred. occasion for the mourning rites of nine months, both the sackcloth and grasscloth bands were worn.

During the wearing of the sackcloth for a mother, when, after the sacrifice of repose and the end of the wailing, there came occasion to wear the mourning for nine months, the sackcloth and grasscloth bands were worn together.

BOOK XXXV. SAN NIEN WAN

or

Questions about the Mourning for Three Years.

1. What purposes do the mourning rites for three years serve?

The different rules for the mourning rites were established in harmony with (men's) feelings. By means of them the differences in the social relations are set forth, and the distinctions shown of kindred as nearer or more distant, and of ranks as more noble or less. They do not admit of being diminished or added to; and are therefore called 'The unchanging rules.'

2. The greater a wound is, the longer it remains; and the more. pain it gives, the more slowly is it healed. The mourning of three years, being appointed with its various forms in harmony with the feelings (produced by the occasion of it), was intended to mark the greatest degree of grief. The sackcloth with jagged edges., the dark colour of the sackcloth and the staff, the shed reared against the wall, the gruel, the sleeping on straw, and the clod of earth for a pillow: — these all were intended to set forth the extremity of the grief.

3. The mourning of the three years came really to an end with (the close of) the twenty-fifth month. The sorrow and pain were not yet ended, and the longing loving thoughts were not yet forgotten; but in the termination of the mourning dress in this way, was it not shown that there should be an end to the duties rendered to the dead, and that the time was come for the resumption of their duties to the living?

4. All living creatures between heaven and earth, being endowed with blood and breath, have a certain amount of knowledge. Possessing that amount of knowledge, there is not one of them but knows to love its species. Take the larger birds and beasts: — when one of them has lost its mate, after a month or a season, it is sure to return and go about their old haunts. It turns round and round, utters its cries, now moves, now stops, and looks quite embarrassed and uncertain in its movements, before it can leave the place. Even the smaller birds, such as swallows and sparrows, chatter and cry for a little before they can leave the place. But among all creatures that have blood and breath, there is none which has intelligence equal to man; and hence the feeling of man on the death of his kindred remains unexhausted even till death.

5. Will any one follow the example of those men who are under the influence of their depraved lusts? In that case, when a kinsman dies in the morning, he will

forget him by the evening. But if we follow the course of such men, we shall find that they are not equal to the birds and beasts. How can they live with their kindred, and not fall into all disorders?

6. Will he rather follow the example of the superior man who attends to all the methods by which the feeling of grief is set forth? In that case, the twenty-five months, after which the mourning of three years comes to an end, will seem to pass as quickly as a carriage drawn by four horses is whirled past a crevice. And if we continue to indulge the feeling, it will prove to be inexhaustible.

7. Therefore the ancient kings determined the proper medium for mourning, and appointed its definite terms. As soon as it was sufficient for the elegant expression of the varied feeling, it was to be laid aside.

8. This being the case, how is it that (in certain cases the mourning lasts) only for a year? The answer is, that in the case of the nearest kindred, there is a break in it at the end of a year.

9. How is that? The answer is: — The interaction of heaven and earth has run its round; and the four seasons have gone through their changes. All things between heaven and earth begin their processes anew. The rules of mourning are intended to resemble this.

10. Then how is it that there are three years' mourning (for a parent)? The answer is: — From the wish to make it greater and more impressive, the time is doubled, and so embraces two round years.

11. What about the mourning for nine months' and the shorter periods? The answer is: — It is to prevent such mourning from reaching (the longer periods).

12. Therefore the three years should be considered as the highest expression of grief in mourning; the three months, and five months, as the lowest; while the year and the nine months are between them. Heaven above gives an example; earth beneath, a law; and man between, a pattern. The harmony and unity that should characterise men living in their kinships are hereby completely shown.

13. Thus it is that in the mourning of three years the highest forms that vary and adorn the ways of men are displayed. Yes, this is what is called the richest exhibition (of human feelings).

14. In this the hundred kings (of all the dynasties) agree, and ancient and modern customs are one and the same. But whence it came is not known.

BOOK XXXVI. SHAN Î

or

The Long Dress in One Piece.

1. Anciently the long dress had definite measurements, so as to satisfy the requirements of the compass and square, the line, the balance, and the steelyard. It was not made so short as to show any of the skin, nor so long as to touch the ground. The outside pieces of the skirt joined, and were hooked together at the side; (the width of) the seam at the waist was half that at the bottom (of the skirt).

2. The sleeve was joined to the body of the dress at the arm-pit, so as to allow the freest movement of the elbow-joint; the length of the lower part admitted of the cuffs being turned back to the elbow. The sash was put on where there were no bones, so as not to interfere with the action of the thighs below or of the ribs above.

3. In the making (of the garment) twelve strips (of the cloth) were used, to correspond to the twelve months. The sleeve was made round, as if fashioned by a disk. The opening at the neck was square, as if made by means of that instrument so named. The cord-like (seam) at the back descended to the ankles, as if it had been a straight line. The edge at the bottom was like the steelyard of a balance, made perfectly even.

4. In this way through the rounded sleeves the arms could be lifted up in walking (for the purpose of salutation) in the most elegant form. The cord-like seam of the back and the square-shaped collar about the neck in front, served to admonish (the wearer) how his government should be correct and his righteousness on the square. It is said in the Yî, ‘The movement indicated by the second line in Khwan, divided, is “from the straight (line) to the square.”’ The even edge at the bottom, like the steelyard and balance, admonished him to keep his will at rest, and his heart even and calm.

5. These five rules being observed in the making (of the dress), the sages wore it. In its squareness and roundness they saw its warning against selfishness; in its line-like straightness they saw its admonition to be correct, and in its balance-like evenness they saw its lesson of impartiality. Therefore the ancient kings attached a high value to it; it could be worn in the discharge of both their civil and military duties; in it they could receive visitors and regulate the cohorts

of their armies. It was complete, but not extravagant; it ranked in the second class of good dresses.

6. For ornament, while his parents and grandparents were alive, (a son) wore the dress with its border embroidered. If (only) his parents were alive, the ornamental border was blue. In the case of an orphan son, the border was white. The border round the mouth of the sleeves and all the edges of the dress was an inch and a half wide.

BOOK XXXVII. THÂU HÛ

or

The Game of Pitch-pot.

1. According to the rules for Pitch-pot, the host carries the arrows in both his hands put together; the superintendent of the archery carries in the same way the stand on which the tallies were placed; and an attendant holds in his hand the pot.

2. The host entreats (one of the guests), saying, ‘I have here these crooked arrows, and this pot with its wry mouth; but we beg you to amuse yourself with them.’ The guest says, ‘I have partaken, Sir, of your excellent drink and admirable viands; allow me to decline this further proposal for my pleasure.’ The host rejoins, ‘It is not worth the while for you to decline these poor arrows and pot; let me earnestly beg you to try them.’ The guest repeats his refusal, saying, ‘I have partaken (of your entertainment), and you would still further have me enjoy myself; — I venture firmly to decline.’ The host again addresses his request in the same words, and then the guest says, ‘I have firmly declined what you request, but you will not allow me to refuse; — I venture respectfully to obey you.’

The guest then bows twice, and signifies that he will receive (the arrows). The host wheels round, saying, ‘Let me get out of the way;’ and then at the top of the steps on the east, he bows to the guest and gives him the arrows. The guest wheels round, and says, ‘Let me get out of the way.’

3. (The host) having bowed, and received the arrows (for himself), advances to the space between the two pillars. He then retires, and returns to his station, motioning also to the guest to go to his mat (for pitching from).

4. The superintendent of the archery comes forward, and measures the distance of the pot (from the mats), which should be a space of the length of two and a half arrows. He then returns to his station, sets forth the stand for the tallies, and with his face to the east, takes eight counters and stands up. He asks the guest to pitch, saying, ‘When the arrow goes straight in, it is reckoned an entry. If you throw a second (without waiting for your opponent to pitch), it is not reckoned.’ The victor gives the vanquished a cup to drink; and when the cups of decision have been dispatched, the superintendent begs to set up what he calls ‘a horse’ for the victor. If he set up one horse, then a second, and finally a

third, he begs to congratulate the thrower on the number of his horses. He asks the host to pitch in the same way, and with the same words.

5. He orders the cithern-players to strike up ‘The Fox’s Head,’ with the same interval between (each repetition of the tune), and the director of the music answers, ‘Yes.’

6. When the superintendent announces to them on the left and right that the arrows are all used up, he requests them to pitch again. When an arrow enters, he kneels, and puts down a counter. The partners of the guest are on the right, and those of the host on the left.

7. When they have done pitching, he takes up the counters, and says, ‘They have done pitching, both on the left and right; allow me to take the numbers.’ He then takes the numbers two by two, and leaves the single counters. After this he takes the single counters, and gives the announcement, saying, “Such and such a side has the better by so many doubles, or naming the number of the singles.’ If they are equal, he says, ‘Left and right are equal.’

8. He then orders the cups to be filled, saying, ‘Let the cup go round,’ and the cup-bearer (of the successful side) replies, ‘Yes.’ Those who have to drink all kneel, and raising their cups with both hands, say, ‘We ‘receive what you give us to drink.’ The victors (also) kneel and say, ‘We beg respectfully to refresh you.’

9. When this cup has gone round, according to rule, (the superintendent) asks leave to exhibit the ‘horses’ (of the victorious side). Each ‘horse’ stands for so many counters. (He who has only) one ‘horse’ gives it to him who has two, to congratulate him (on his superiority). The usage in congratulating (the most successful) is to say, ‘Your three “horses” are all here; allow me to congratulate you on their number.’ The guests and host all express their assent. The customary cup goes round, and the superintendent asks leave to remove the ‘horses.’

10. The number of the counters varies according to the place in which they kneel (when playing the game). (Each round is with 4 arrows.) (If the game be in) the chamber, there are 5 sets of these; if in the hall, 7; if in the courtyard, 9. The counters are 1 cubit 2 inches long. The neck of the pot is 7 inches long; its belly, 5; and its mouth is 2½ inches in diameter. It contains a peck and 5 pints. It is filled with small beans, to prevent the arrows from leaping out. It is distant from the mats of the players, the length of 2½ arrows. The arrows are made of mulberry wood, or from the zizyphus, without the bark being removed.

11. In Lû, the young people (taking part in the game) were admonished in these words, ‘Do not be rude; do not be haughty; do not stand awry; do not talk about irrelevant matters; for those who stand awry, or speak about irrelevant matters, there is the regular (penal) cap.’ A similar admonition in Hsieh was to

this effect:— ‘Do not be rude; do not be haughty; do not stand awry; do not speak about irrelevant matters. Those who do any of these things must pay the penalty.’

12. The superintendent of the archery, the overseer of the courtyard, and the capped officers who stood by, all belonged to the party of the guest. The musicians and the boys who acted as attendants, all belonged to the party of the host.

13. There follows after this what appears to be a representation of the progress of a game by means of small circles and squares. The circles {here represented by O} indicating blows on a small drum called phî, and the squares {here represented by X}, blows on the larger drum (kû); — according, we may suppose, to certain events in the game. The ‘drum’ marks are followed by what are called ‘halves’ or semis. The representation is: —

Then follows the representation of a game in Lû:-

There is then a remark that in the Hsieh drums the semi marks were used for the game of pitch-pot, and all the marks for the archery game; and then we have: —

BOOK XXXVIII. ZÛ HSING

or

The Conduct of the Scholar.

1. Duke Âi of Lift asked Confucius, saying, ‘Is not the dress, Master, which you wear that of the scholar?’ Confucius replied, ‘When I was little, I lived in Lû, and wore the garment with large sleeves; when I was grown up, I lived in Sung, and was then capped with the kang-fû cap. I have heard that the studies of the scholar are extensive, but his dress is that of the state from which he sprang. I do not know any dress of the scholar.’

2. The duke said, ‘Allow me to ask what is the conduct of the scholar.’ Confucius replied, ‘If I were to enumerate the points in it summarily, I could not touch upon them all; if I were to go into details on each, it would take a long time. You would have changed all your attendants-in-waiting before I had concluded.’ The duke-ordered a mat to be placed for him, and Confucius took his place by his side.

3. He then said, ‘The scholar has a precious gem placed upon its mat, with which he is waiting to receive an invitation (from some ruler); early and late he studies with energy, waiting to be questioned. He carries in his bosom leal-heartedness and good faith, waiting to be raised (to office); he is vigorous in all his doings, waiting to be chosen (to employment): so does he establish his character and prepare himself (for the future).

4. ‘The scholar’s garments and cap are all fitting and becoming; he is careful in his undertakings and doings: in declining great compliments he might seem to be rude, and in regard to small compliments, hypocritical; in great matters he has an air of dignity, and in small matters, of modesty; he seems to have a difficulty in advancing, but retires with ease and readiness; and he has a shrinking appearance, as if wanting in power: — such is he in his external appearance.

5. ‘The scholar, wherever he resides, ordinarily or only for a time, is grave as if he were apprehensive of difficulties; when seated or on foot, he is courteous and respectful; in speaking, his object is, first of all, to be sincere; in acting, he wishes to be exact and correct; on the road, he does not strive about the most difficult or easiest places; in winter and summer, he does not strive about the temperature, the light and shade; he guards against death that he may be in waiting (for whatever he may be called to); he attends well to his person that he

maybe ready for action: — such are his preparations and precautions for the future.

6. ‘The scholar does not consider gold and jade to be precious treasures, but leal-heartedness and good faith; he does not desire lands and territory, but considers the establishment of righteousness as his domain; he does not desire a great accumulation of wealth, but looks on many accomplishments as his riches; it is difficult to win him, but easy to pay him; it is easy to pay him, but difficult to retain him. As he will not show himself when the time is not proper for him to do so, is it not difficult to win him? As he will have no fellowship with what is not righteous, is it not difficult to retain him? As he must first do the work, and then take the pay, is it not easy to pay him? — such are the conditions of his close association with others.

7. ‘Though there may be offered to the scholar valuable articles and wealth, and though it be tried to enervate him with delights and pleasures, he sees those advantages without doing anything contrary to his sense of righteousness; though a multitude may attempt to force him (from his standpoint), and his way be stopped by force of arms, he will look death in the face without changing the principles (which) be maintains; (he would face) birds and beasts of prey with their talons and wings, without regard to their fierceness; he would undertake to raise the heaviest tripod, without regard to his strength; he has no occasion to regret what he has done in the past, nor to make preparations for what may come to him in the future; he does not repeat any error of speech; any rumours against him he does not pursue up to their source; he does not allow his dignity to be interrupted; he does not dread to practise (beforehand) the counsels (which he gives): — such are the things in which he stands out and apart from other men.

8. ‘With the scholar friendly relations may be cultivated, but no attempt must be made to constrain him; near association with him can be sought, but cannot be forced on him; he may be killed, but he cannot be disgraced; in his dwelling he will not be extravagant; in his eating and drinking he will not be luxurious; he may be gently admonished of his errors and failings, but he should not have them enumerated to him to his face: — such is his boldness and determination.

9. ‘The scholar considers leal-heartedness and good faith to be his coat-of-mail and helmet; propriety and righteousness to be his shield and buckler; he walks along, bearing aloft over his head benevolence; he dwells, holding righteousness in his arms before him; the government may be violently oppressive, but he does not change his course: — such is the way in which he maintains himself.

10. ‘The scholar may have a house in (only) a mâu of ground, — a (poor) dwelling each of whose (surrounding) walls is (only) ten paces long, with an

outer door of thorns and bamboos, and openings in the wall, long and pointed; within, the inner door stopped up by brushwood, and little round windows like the mouth of a jar; the inmates may have to exchange garments when they go out; they may have to make one day's food serve for two days; if the ruler respond to him, he does not dare to have any hesitation (in accepting office); if he do not respond, he does not have recourse to flattery: — such is he in the matter of taking office, (however small).

11. 'The scholar lives and has his associations with men of the present day, but the men of antiquity are the subjects of his study. Following their (principles and example) in the present age, he will become a pattern in future ages. If it should be that his own age does not understand and encourage him, that those above him do not bring him, and those below him do not push him, forward, or even that calumniators and flatterers band together to put him in danger, his person may be placed in peril, but his aim cannot be taken from him. Though danger may threaten him in his undertakings and wherever he is, he will still pursue his aim, and never forget the afflictions of the people, (which he would relieve): — such is the anxiety which he cherishes.

12. 'The scholar learns extensively, but never allows his researches to come to an end; he does what he does with all his might, but is never weary; he may be living unnoticed, but does not give way to licentiousness; he may be having free course in his acknowledged position, but is not hampered (by it); in his practice of ceremonial usages he shows the value which he sets on a natural ease; in the excellence of his leal-heartedness and good faith, he acts under the law of a benignant playfulness; he shows his fond regard for men of virtue and ability, and yet is forbearing and kind to all; he (is like a potter who) breaks his square (mould), and his tiles are found to fit together: — such is the largeness and generosity of his spirit.

13. 'The scholar recommends members of his own family (to public employment), without shrinking from doing so, because of their kinship, and proposes others beyond it, without regard to their being at enmity with him; he estimates men's merits, and takes into consideration all their services, selecting those of virtue and ability, and putting them forward, without expecting any recompense from them; the ruler thus gets what he wishes, and if benefit results to the state, the scholar does not seek riches or honours for himself: — such is he in promoting the employment of the worthy and bringing forward the able.

14. 'The scholar when he hears what is good, tells it to (his friends), and when he sees what is good, shows it to them; in the view of rank and position, he gives the precedence to them over himself; if they encounter calamities and hardships, he is prepared to die with them; if they are long (in getting

advancement), he waits for them; if they are far off, he brings them together with himself: — such is he in the employment and promotion of his friends.

15. ‘The scholar keeps his person free from stain, and continually bathes (and refreshes) his virtue; he sets forth what he has to say (to his superior by way of admonition), but remains himself in the back-ground, trying thus quietly to correct him; if his superior do not acknowledge (his advice), he more proudly and clearly makes his views known, but still does not press them urgently; he does not go among those who are low to make himself out to be high, nor place himself among those who have little (wisdom) to make himself out to have much; in a time of good government, he does not think little (of what he himself can do); in a time of disorder, he does not allow his course to be obstructed; he does not (hastily) agree with those who think like himself, nor condemn those who think differently: — so does he stand out alone among others and take his own solitary course.

16. ‘The scholar sometimes will not take the high office of being a minister of the son of Heaven, nor the lower office of serving the prince of a state; he is watchful over himself in his retirement, and values a generous enlargement of mind, while at the same time he is bold and resolute in his intercourse with others; he learns extensively that he may know whatever should be done; he makes himself acquainted with elegant accomplishments, and thus smoothes and polishes all his corners and angles; although the offer were made to share a state with him, it would be no more to him than the small weights of a balance; he will not take a ministry, he will not take an office: — such are the rules and conduct he prescribes to himself.

17. ‘The scholar has those with whom he agrees in aim, and pursues the same objects, with whom he cultivates the same course, and that by the same methods; when they stand on the same level with him, he rejoices in them; if their standing be below his, he does not tire of them; if for long he has not seen them, and hears rumours to their prejudice, he does not believe them; his actions are rooted in correctness, and his standing in what is right; if they proceed in the same direction with him, he goes forward with them, if not in the same direction, he withdraws from them: — so is he in his intercourse with his friends.

18. ‘Gentleness and goodness are the roots of humanity; respect and attention are the ground on which it stands; generosity and large-mindedness are the manifestation of it; humility and courtesy are the ability of it; the rules of ceremony are the demonstration of it; speech is the ornament of it; singing and music are the harmony of it; sharing and distribution are the giving of it. The scholar possesses all these qualities in union and has them, and still he will not

venture to claim a perfect humanity on account of them: — such is the honour (he feels for its ideal), and the humility (with which) he declines it (for himself).

19. ‘The scholar is not cast down, or cut from his root, by poverty and mean condition; he is not elated or exhausted by riches and noble condition; he feels no disgrace that rulers and kings (may try to inflict); he is above the bonds that elders and superiors (may try to impose); and superior officers cannot distress him. Hence he is styled a scholar. Those to whom the multitude now-a-days give that name have no title to it, and they constantly employ it to one another as a term of reproach.’

When Confucius came (from his wanderings to Lû) to his own house, duke Âi gave him a (public) lodging. When the duke heard these words, he became more sincere in his speech, and more righteous in his conduct. He said, ‘To the end of my days I will not presume to make a jest of the name of scholar.’

BOOK XXXIX. TÂ HSIO

or

The Great Learning.

1. What the Great Learning teaches, is to illustrate illustrious virtue; to love the people; and to rest in the highest excellence.

The point where to rest being known, the object of pursuit is then determined; and, that being determined, a calm unperturbedness may be attained to. To that calmness there will succeed a tranquil repose. In that repose there will be careful deliberation, and that deliberation will be followed by the attainment (of the desired end).

Things have their root and their branches; affairs have their end and their beginning. To know what is first and what is last will lead near to what is taught (in the Great Learning).

2. The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. 'Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge.

3. The extension of knowledge is by the investigation of things.

4. Things being investigated, their knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy.

From the son of Heaven down to the multitudes of the people, all considered the cultivation of the person to be the root (of everything besides). It cannot be, when the root is neglected, that what should spring from it will be well ordered. It never has been the case that what was of great importance has been slightly cared for, and at the same time what was of slight importance has been greatly cared for.

This is called 'knowing the root,' this is called 'the perfection of knowledge.'

5. What is called ‘making the thoughts sincere’ is the allowing no self-deception; — as when we hate a bad smell and love what is beautiful, naturally and without constraint. Therefore the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone. There is no evil to which the small man, dwelling retired, will not proceed; but when he sees a superior man, he tries to disguise himself, concealing his evil, and displaying what is good. The other beholds him as if he saw his heart and reins; — of what use (is his disguise)? This is an instance of the saying, ‘What truly is within will be manifested without.’ Therefore the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

6. Zang-dze said, ‘What ten eyes behold, what ten hands point to, is to be regarded with reverence. (As) riches adorn a house, so virtue adorns the person. When the mind becomes enlarged, the body appears at ease. Therefore the superior man is sure to make his thoughts sincere.

7. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, v, ode 1, 1), ‘How rich the clumps of green bamboo,

Around each cove of Khî!

They lead my thoughts to our duke Wû; —

Of winning grace is he!

As knife and file make smooth the bone,

As jade by chisel wrought and stone,

Is stamp upon him set.

Grave and of dignity serene;

With force of will as plainly seen;

Accomplished, elegant in mien;

Him we can ne’er forget.’

(That expression), ‘as knife and file make smooth the bone,’ indicates the effect of learning. ‘Like jade by chisel wrought and stone’ indicates that of self-culture. ‘Grave and of dignity serene’ indicates the feeling of cautious reverence. ‘With force of will as plainly seen’ indicates an awe-inspiring deportment. (The lines), ‘Accomplished, elegant in mien,

Him can we ne’er forget,’

indicate how when virtue is complete, and excellence extreme, the people cannot forget them.

8. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i, ode 4), ‘The former kings in mind still bear,

What glory can with theirs compare?’

Superior men deem worthy whom they deemed worthy, and love whom they loved. The inferior people delight in what they delighted in, and are benefited by

their beneficial arrangements. It is on this account that the former kings, after they have quitted the world, are not forgotten.

9. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Khang (Shû, V, ix, 3), ‘He was able to make his virtue illustrious.’

It is said in the Thâi Kiâ, ‘He kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven’ (Shû, III, v, sect. 1, 2).

It is said in the Canon of the Tî (Yâo), ‘He was able to make illustrious his lofty virtue’ (Shû, I, 2).

These (passages) all show how (those sovereigns) made themselves illustrious.

10. On the bathing-tub of Thang, the following words were engraved, ‘If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day. Yea, daily renovate yourself.’

In the Announcement to the Prince of Khang it is said, ‘Stir up the new people’ (Shû, V, ix, 7).

In the Book of Poetry it is said (III, i, 1, 1),

‘The state of Kâu had long been known;
Heaven’s will as new at last was shown.’

Therefore the superior man in everything uses his utmost endeavours.

11. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, iii, 3),

‘A thousand lî extends the king’s domain,
And there the people to repose are fain.’

And in another place (II, viii, i),

‘Twitters fast the oriole
Where yonder bends the mound,
The happy little creature
Its resting-place has found.’

The Master said, ‘Yes, it rests; it knows where to rest. Can one be a man, and yet not equal (in this respect) to this bird?’

12. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, 1, 4), ‘Deep were Wan’s thoughts, sustained his ways;
And reverent in each resting-place.’

As a ruler, he rested in benevolence; as a minister, he rested in respect; as a son, he rested in filial piety; as a father, he rested in kindness; in intercourse with his subjects, he rested in good faith.

13. The Master said, ‘In hearing litigations, I am like any other body.’ What is necessary is to cause the people to have no litigations, so that those who are devoid of truth shall find it impossible to carry out their speeches, and a great awe be struck into the minds of the people.

14. This is called ‘knowing the root.’

15. What is meant by ‘The cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind’ (may be thus illustrated): — If a man be under the influence of anger, his conduct will not be correct. The same will be the case, if he be under the influence of terror, or of fond regard, or of sorrow and distress. When the mind is not present, we look and do not see; we hear and do not understand; we eat and do not know the taste of what we eat. This is what is meant by saying that ‘the cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind.’

16. What is meant by ‘The regulation of the family depends on the cultivation of the person’ is this: — Men are partial where they feel affection and love; partial where they despise and dislike; partial where they stand in awe and with a feeling of respect; partial where they feel sorrow and compassion; partial where they are arrogant and rude. Thus it is that there are few men in the world who love and at the same time know the bad qualities (of the object of their love), or who hate and yet know the good qualities (of the object of their hatred). Hence it is said, in the common adage, ‘A man does not know the badness of his son; he does not know the richness of his growing corn.’ This is what is meant by saying, that ‘if his person be not cultivated, a man cannot regulate his family.’

17. What is meant by ‘In order to govern well his state, it is necessary first to regulate his family’ is this: — It is not possible for one to teach others while he cannot teach his own family. Therefore the superior man (who governs a state), without going beyond his family, completes the lessons for his state. There is filial piety; — it has its application in the service of the ruler. There is brotherly obedience; — it has its application in the service of elders. There is kindly gentleness; — it has its application in the employment of the multitudes. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Khang (Shû, V, ix, 9), ‘(Deal with the people), as if you were watching over an infant.’ If (a mother) be really anxious about it, though she may not hit (exactly the wants of her infant), she will not be far from doing so. There never has been (a girl) who learned (first) to bring up an infant that she might afterwards be married.

18. From the loving (example) of one family, a whole state may become loving, and from its courtesies, courteous, while from the ambition and perverseness of the One man, the whole state may be thrown into rebellious disorder; — such is the nature of the influence. This is in accordance with the saying, ‘Affairs may be ruined by a single sentence; a state may be settled by its One man.’

19. Yâo and Shun presided over the kingdom with benevolence, and the people followed them. Kieh and Kâu did so with violence, and the people

followed them. When the orders of a ruler are contrary to what he himself loves to practise the people do not follow him.

20. Therefore the ruler must have in himself the (good) qualities, and then he may require them in others; if they are not in himself, he cannot require them in others. Never has there been a man who, not having reference to his own character and wishes in dealing with others, was able effectually to instruct them. Thus we see how ‘the government of the state depends on the regulation of the family.’

21. In the Book of Poetry it is said (I, i, 6, 3),

‘Graceful and young the peach-tree stands,
Its foliage clustering green and full.
This bride to her new home repairs;
Her household will attest her rule.’

Let the household be rightly ordered, and then the people of the state may be taught.

In another ode it is said (II, ii, 9, 3),

‘In concord with their brothers may they dwell!’

Let rulers dwell in concord with all their brethren, and then they may teach the people of their states.

In a third ode it is said (I, xiv, 3, 3),

‘His movements without fault or flaw beget
Good order for his rule throughout the state.’

When the ruler as a father, a son, an elder brother or a younger, is a model for imitation, then the people imitate him. These (passages) show how ‘the government of a state depends on the regulation of the family.’

22. What is meant by ‘The making the whole kingdom peaceful and happy depends on the government of its states’ is this: — When the superiors behave to their aged as the aged should be behaved to, the people become filial; when they behave to their elders as elders should be behaved to, the people learn brotherly submission; when they treat compassionately the young and helpless, the people do the same. Thus the superior man has a principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate his course.

23. What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in his treatment of his inferiors; and what he dislikes in his inferiors, let him not display in his service of his superiors: what he dislikes in those who are before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind him; and what he dislikes in those who are behind him, let him not therewith follow those who are before him: what he dislikes to receive on the right, let him not bestow on the left; and what he dislikes to receive on the left, let him not bestow on the right: — this is what is

called ‘The Principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate one’s course.’

24. In the Book of Poetry it is said (II, ii, 7, 3), ‘To be rejoiced in are these noble men,

The parents of the people!’

When (a ruler) loves what the people love, and hates what the people hate, then is he what is called ‘The Parent of the People.’

25, In the Book of Poetry it is said (II, iv, 7, 1), ‘That southern hill, sublime, uprears its craggy height; Such thou, Grand-master Yin, before the nation’s sight!’

Rulers of states should not neglect to be careful. If they deviate (to a selfish regard only for themselves), they will be counted a disgrace throughout the kingdom.

26. In the Book of Poetry it is said (III, i, 1, 6), ‘Ere Shang had lost the nation’s heart,

Its monarchs all with God had part

In sacrifice. From them we see

’Tis hard to keep High Heaven’s decree.’

This shows that by gaining the people, the state is gained; and by losing the people, the state is lost.

Therefore the ruler should first be careful about his (own) virtue. Possessing virtue will give him the people. Possessing the people will give him the territory. Possessing the territory will give him its wealth. Possessing the wealth, he will have resources for expenditure.

Virtue is the root; wealth is the branches. If he make the root his secondary object, and the branches his primary object, he will only quarrel with the people, and teach them rapine. Hence the accumulation of wealth is the way to scatter the people, and the distribution of his wealth is the way to collect the people. Hence (also), when his words go forth contrary to right, they will come back to him in the same way, and wealth got by improper ways will take its departure by the same.

27. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Khang (Shû, V, ix, 2, 3), ‘The decree (of Heaven) is not necessarily perpetual.’ That is, goodness obtains the decree, and the want of goodness loses it.

28. In a Book of Khû it is said, ‘The state of Khû does not consider (such a toy) to be precious. Its good men are what it considers to be precious.’

29. Fan, the maternal uncle (of duke Wan of Zin), said, ‘A fugitive (like you) should not account (that) to be precious. What he should consider precious is the affection due (even) to his (deceased) parent.’

30. It is said in the Speech of (duke Mû of) Khin (Shû, V, xxx, 6, 7), Let me have but one minister, plain and sincere, not possessed of other abilities, but with a simple, upright, and at the same time a generous, mind, regarding the talents of others as if they were his own; and when he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, and really showing himself able to bear them (and employ them), — such a minister will be able to preserve my sons and grandsons, and other benefits (to the state) may well be expected from him. But if (it be his character), when he finds men of ability, to be jealous of them and hate them; and, when he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, to oppose them, and not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them, — such a man will not be able to protect my sons and grandsons, and black-haired people; and may he not also be pronounced dangerous (to the state)?'

31. It is only the truly virtuous man that can send away such a man and banish him, driving him out among the barbarous tribes around, determined not to dwell with him in the Middle states. This is in accordance with the saying, 'It is only the truly virtuous man who can love others or can bate others.'

32. To see men of worth, and not be able to raise them to office; to raise them to office, but not to do so quickly: — this is treating them with disrespect. To see bad men, and not to be able to remove them; to remove them, but not to do so to a distance: — this is weakness.

33. To love those whom men hate, and to hate those whom men love: — this is to outrage the natural feeling of men. Calamities are sure to come on him who does so.

34. Thus we see that the ruler has a great course to pursue. He must show entire self-devotion and sincerity to succeed, and by pride and extravagance he will fail.

35. There is a great course (also) for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many, and the consumers few. Let there be activity in the production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will always be sufficient.

36. The virtuous (ruler) uses his wealth so as to make himself more distinguished. The vicious ruler will accumulate wealth, even though it cost him his life.

37. Never has there been a case of the superior loving benevolence, and his inferiors not loving righteousness. Never has there been a case where (his inferiors) loved righteousness, and the business (of the superior) has not reached a happy issue. Never has there been a case where the wealth accumulated in the treasuries and arsenals (of such a ruler and people) did not continue to be his.

38. Mang Hsien-dze said, ‘He who keeps his team of horses does not look after fowls and pigs. The family which has its stores of ices does not keep cattle or sheep. The house which possesses a hundred chariots should not keep a grasping minister to gather up all the taxes for it. Than have such a minister, it would be better to have one who would rob it of its revenues. This is in accordance with the saying, ‘In a state gain should not be considered prosperity; its prosperity lies in righteousness.’

39. When he who presides over a state or a family makes his revenues his chief business, he must be under the influence of some small man. He may consider him to be good; but when such a person is employed in the administration of a state

BOOK XL. KWAN Î

or

The Meaning of the Ceremony of Capping.

1. Generally speaking, that which makes man man is the meaning of his ceremonial usages. The first indications of that meaning appear in the correct arrangement of the bodily carriage, the harmonious adjustment of the countenance, and in the natural ordering of the speech. When the bodily carriage is well arranged, the countenance harmoniously adjusted, and speech naturally ordered, the meaning of the ceremonial usages becomes complete, and serves to render correct the relation between ruler and subject, to give expression to the affection between father and son, and to establish harmony between seniors and juniors. When the relation between ruler and subject is made correct, affection secured between father and son, and harmony shown between seniors and juniors, then the meaning of those usages is established. Hence after the capping has taken place, provision is made for every other article of dress. With the complete provision of the dress, the bodily carriage becomes (fully) correct, the harmonious expression of the countenance is made perfect, and the speech is all conformed to its purposes. Hence it is said that in capping we have the first indications of (the meaning of the) ceremonial usages. It was on this account that the sage kings of antiquity made so much as they did of the capping.

2. Anciently, when about to proceed to the ceremony of capping, they divined for the day by the stalks, and also for the guests (who should be present). In this way did they manifest the value which they attached to capping. Attaching such a value to it, they made the ceremony very important. They made the ceremony so important, showing how they considered it to lie at the foundation of the state's (prosperity).

Hence (also) the capping took place at the top of the eastern steps, (appropriate to the use of the Master); — to show that the son would (in due time) take his place. (The father) handed him a (special) cup in the guests' place. Three caps were used in the ceremony, each successive one more honourable, and giving the more importance to his coming of age. When the capping was over, he received the name of his maturity. So was it shown that he was now a full-grown man.

4. He presented himself before his mother, and his mother bowed to him; he did the same before his brothers and cousins, and they bowed to him: — he was

a man grown, and so they exchanged courtesies with him. In the dark-coloured cap, and the dark-coloured square-cut robes, he put down his gift of introduction before the ruler, and then proceeded with the proper gifts to present himself to the high ministers and Great officers, and to the old gentlemen of the country: — appearing before them as a man grown.

5. Treating him (now) as a grown-up man, they would require from him all the observances of a full-grown man. Doing so, they would require from him the performance of all the duties of a son, a younger brother, a subject, and a junior. But when these four duties or services were required from him, was it not right that the ceremony by which he was placed in such a position should be considered important?

6. Thus when the discharge of filial and fraternal duties, of loyal service, and of deferential submission was established, he could indeed be regarded as a (full-grown) man. When he could be regarded as such, he could be employed to govern other men. It was on this account that the sage kings attached such an importance to the ceremony, and therefore it was said, that in capping we have the introduction to all the ceremonial usages, and that it is the most important of the festive services.

BOOK XLI. HWAN Î

or

The Meaning of the Marriage Ceremony.

1. The ceremony of marriage was intended to be a bond of love between two (families of different) surnames, with a view, in its retrospective character, to secure the services in the ancestral temple, and in its prospective character, to secure the continuance of the family line. Therefore the superior men, (the ancient rulers), set a great value upon it. Hence, in regard to the various (introductory) ceremonies, — the proposal with its accompanying gift; the inquiries about the (lady's) name; the intimation of the approving divination; the receiving the special offerings; and the request to fix the day: — these all were received by the principal party (on the lady's side), as he rested on his mat or leaning-stool in the ancestral temple, (When they arrived), he met the messenger, and greeted him outside the gate, giving place to him as he entered, after which they ascended to the hall. Thus were the instructions received in the ancestral temple, and in this way was the ceremony respected, and watched over, while its importance was exhibited and care taken that all its details should be correct.

2. The father gave himself the special cup to his son, and ordered him to go and meet the bride; it being proper that the male should take the first step (in all the arrangements). The son, having received the order, proceeded to meet his bride. Her father, who had been resting on his mat and leaning-stool in the temple, met him outside the gate and received him with a bow, and then the son-in-law entered, carrying a wild goose. After the (customary) bows and yieldings of precedence, they went up to the hall, when the bridegroom bowed twice and put down the wild goose. Then and in this way he received the bride from her parents.

After this they went down, and he went out and took the reins of the horses of her carriage, which he drove for three revolutions of the wheels, having handed the strap to assist her in mounting. He then went before, and waited outside his gate, When she arrived, he bowed to her as she entered. They ate together of the same animal, and joined in sipping from the cups made of the same melon; thus showing that they now formed one body, were of equal rank, and pledged to mutual affection.

3. The respect, the caution, the importance, the attention to secure correctness in all the details, and then (the pledge of) mutual affection, — these were the

great points in the ceremony, and served to establish the distinction to be observed between man and woman, and the righteousness to be maintained between husband and wife. From the distinction between man and woman came the righteousness between husband and wife. From that righteousness came the affection between father and son; and from that affection, the rectitude between ruler and minister. Whence it is said, ‘The ceremony of marriage is the root of the other ceremonial observances.’

4. Ceremonies (might be said to) commence with the capping; to have their root in marriage; to be most important in the rites of mourning and sacrifice; to confer the greatest honour in audiences at the royal court and in the interchange of visits at the feudal courts; and to be most promotive of harmony in the country festivals and celebrations of archery. These were the greatest occasions of ceremony, and the principal points in them.

5. Rising early (the morning after marriage), the young wife washed her head and bathed her person, and waited to be presented (to her husband’s parents), which was done by the directrix, as soon as it was bright day. She appeared before them, bearing a basket with dates, chestnuts, and slices of dried spiced meat. The directrix set before her a cup of sweet liquor, and she offered in sacrifice some of the dried meat and also of the liquor, thus performing the ceremony which declared her their son’s wife.

6. The father and mother-in-law then entered their apartment, where she set before them a single dressed pig, — thus showing the obedient duty of (their son’s) wife.

7. Next day, the parents united in entertaining the young wife, and when the ceremonies of their severally pledging her in a single cup, and her pledging them in return, had been performed, they descended by the steps on the west, and she by those on the east, — thus showing that she would take the mother’s place in the family.

8. Thus the ceremony establishing the young wife in her position; (followed by) that showing her obedient service (of her husband’s parents); and both succeeded by that showing how she now occupied the position of continuing the family line: — all served to impress her with a sense of the deferential duty proper to her. When she was thus deferential, she was obedient to her parents-in-law, and harmonious with all the occupants of the women’s apartments; she was the fitting partner of her husband, and could carry on all the work in silk and linen, making cloth and silken fabrics, and maintaining a watchful care over the various stores and depositories (of the household).

9. In this way when the deferential obedience of the wife was complete, the internal harmony was secured; and when the internal harmony was secured, the

long continuance of the family could be calculated on. Therefore the ancient kings attached such importance (to the marriage ceremonies).

10. Therefore, anciently, for three months before the marriage of a young lady, if the temple of the high ancestor (of her surname) were still standing (and she had admission to it), she was taught in it, as the public hall (of the members of her surname); if it were no longer standing (for her), she was taught in the public hall of the Head of that branch of the surname to which she belonged; — she was taught there the virtue, the speech, the carriage, and the work of a wife. When the teaching was accomplished, she offered a sacrifice (to the ancestor), using fish for the victim, and soups made of duckweed and pondweed. So was she trained to the obedience of a wife.

11. Anciently, the queen of the son of Heaven divided the harem into six palace-halls, (occupied) by the 3 ladies called fû-zan, the 9 pin, the 27 shih-fû, and the 81 yü-khî. These were instructed in the domestic and private rule which should prevail throughout the kingdom, and how the deferential obedience of the wife should be illustrated; and thus internal harmony was everywhere secured, and families were regulated. (In the same way) the son of Heaven established six official departments, in which were distributed the 3 kung, the 9 khing, the 27 tâ fû, and the 81 sze of the highest grade. These were instructed in all that concerned the public and external government of the kingdom, and how the lessons for the man should be illustrated; and thus harmony was secured in all external affairs, and the states were properly governed.

It is therefore said, ‘From the son of Heaven there were learned the lessons for men; and from the queen, the obedience proper to women.’ The son of Heaven directed the course to be pursued by the masculine energies, and the queen regulated the virtues to be cultivated by the feminine receptivities. The son of Heaven guided in all that affected the external administration (of affairs); and the queen, in all that concerned the internal regulation (of the family). The teachings (of the one) and the obedience (inculcated by the other) perfected the manners and ways (of the people); abroad and at home harmony and natural order prevailed; the states and the families were ruled according to their requirements: — this was what is called ‘the condition of complete virtue.’

12. Therefore when the lessons for men are not cultivated, the masculine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly;-as seen in the heavens, we have the sun eclipsed. When the obedience proper to women is not cultivated, the feminine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly;-as seen in the heavens, we have the moon eclipsed. Hence on an eclipse of the sun, the son of Heaven put on plain white robes, and proceeded to repair what was wrong in the duties of the six official departments, purifying everything that belonged to the

masculine sphere throughout the kingdom; and on an eclipse of the moon, the queen dressed herself in plain white robes, and proceeded to repair what was wrong in the duties of the six palace-halls, purifying everything that belonged to the feminine sphere throughout the kingdom. The son of Heaven is to the queen what the sun is to the moon, or the masculine energy of nature to the feminine. They are necessary to each other, and by their interdependence they fulfil their functions.

BOOK XLII. HSIANG YIN KIÛ Î

or

The Meaning of the Drinking Festivity in the Districts.

1. The meaning of the drinking in the country districts may be thus described: — The president on the occasion bows to the (coming) guest as he receives him outside the college gate. They enter and thrice salute each other till they come to the steps. There each thrice yields the precedence to the other, and then they ascend. In this way they carry to the utmost their mutual demonstrations of honour and humility. (The host) washes his hands, rinses the cup, and raises it, — to give the highest idea of purity. They bow on the guest's arrival; they bow as (the cup) is washed; they bow when the cup is received, and when it is presented (in return); they bow when the drinking it is over: — in this way carrying to the utmost their mutual respect.

2. Such giving of honour, such humility, such purity, and such respect belonged to the intercourse of superior men with others. When they gave honour and showed humility, no contentions arose. When they maintained purity and respect, no indifference or rudeness arose. When there was no rudeness or contention, quarrels and disputations were kept at a distance. When men did not quarrel nor dispute, there came no evils of violence or disorder. It was thus that superior men escaped suffering calamity from other men; and therefore the sages instituted the observances in this ceremony to secure such a result.

3. The chief of the district with the accomplished and virtuous men belonging to it had the vessel of liquor placed between the room (on the cast), and the door (leading to the apartments on the west), host and guests sharing it between them. The vessel contained the dark-coloured liquor (of pure water); — showing the value, they attached to its simplicity. The viands came forth from the room on the east; — being supplied by the host. All washing, took place (in the courtyard) opposite the eastern wing; — showing how the host purified himself and made himself ready to serve the guests.

4. The (principal) guest and the host represented heaven and earth; the attendants of the guest and host respectively represented the forces inherent in nature in their contracting and expanding operations; the three (heads of the) guests (in their threefold division) represented the three (great) luminaries; the precedence thrice yielded (to the guest) represented the three days when the

moon is invisible till it begins to reappear; the seating of the parties present (all round or) on the four sides represented the four seasons.

5. The snell and icy wind (that blows between) heaven and earth begins in the south-west and is strongest in the north-west. This is the wind that represents the most commanding severity of heaven and earth; — the wind of their righteous justice. The warm and genial wind (that blows between) heaven and earth begins in the north-east and is strongest in the southeast. This is the wind that represents the abundant virtue of heaven and earth; — the wind of their benevolence. The host, wishing to do honour to his guest, assigns him his seat on the north-west, and that of his attendant on the south-west, that he may there (most conveniently) assist him. The guest (represents) the treatment of others according to justice, and therefore his seat is on the north-west; the host (represents) the treatment of others according to benevolence and a genial kindness, and therefore his seat is on the southeast, and his attendant is seated on the north-east, that he may there (most conveniently) assist him.

6. That intercourse according to benevolence and righteousness being established, so as to show the respective duties of host and guest, and the number of stands and dishes being properly fixed; — all this must be the result of sage intelligence. That intelligence established the arrangements, and each one being carried through with respect, it became a ceremonial usage. That usage proceeding to mark and embody the distinction between old and young, it became a virtue. Virtue is that which is the characteristic of the person. Therefore we have the saying, ‘In the learning of antiquity, the methods by which they pursued the course adopted were intended to put men in possession of their proper virtue.’ On this account the sages employed their powers (on its lessons).

7. When (the guest) offers in sacrifice some of the things that have been set before him, and some of the liquor, he showed how he respected (the host) for his courtesy; when he proceeded to take some of the lungs in his teeth, he thereby tasted (the host’s) courtesy; when he then sipped some of the liquor, that was his last step in acknowledgment thereof. This last act was done at the end of his mat, showing that the mat was spread straight before him, not only for the purpose of eating and drinking, but also for the performance of the (proper) rites. In this was shown how it was the ceremony that was valued, while the wealth was made little account of. Finally, when the host filled their cups from the horn, they drained them at the top of the western steps; — showing how the mat was set not (merely) for the purpose of eating and drinking, and how the idea was that of giving to the ceremony the first place, and to wealth the last. But when

the ceremony has the first place, and wealth the last, the people become respectful and yielding, and are not contentious with one another.

8. At the ceremony of drinking in the country districts, those who were sixty years old sat, and those who were (only fifty) stood, and were in waiting to receive any orders and perform any services; — thus illustrating the honour which should be paid to elders.

Before those who were sixty, three dishes were placed; before those of seventy, four; before those of eighty, five; before those of ninety, six: — thus illustrating how the aged should be cherished and nourished.

When the people knew to honour their elders and nourish their aged, then at home they could practise filial piety and fraternal duty. Filial and fraternal at home and abroad, honouring elders and nourishing the aged, then their education was complete, and this led to the peace and tranquillity of the state. What the superior man calls filial piety, does not require that (every) family should be visited and as members daily taught; if (the people) be assembled at the archery meetings in the districts, and taught the usages at the district-drinkings, their conduct is brought to be filial and fraternal.

9. Confucius said, ‘When I look on at the festivity in the country districts, I know how easily the Royal way may obtain free course.

10. ‘The host in person invites the principal guest and his attendant, and all the other guests follow them of themselves. When they arrive outside the gate, he bows (and welcomes) the chief guest and his attendant, and all the others enter of themselves. In this way the distinction between the noble and the mean is exhibited.

11. ‘With the interchange of three bows (the host and guest) arrive at the steps; and after precedence has been thrice yielded to him, the guest ascends. In bowing to him (on the hall), (the host) presents to him the cup, and receives the cup from him in return. The usages between them, now declining, now yielding, the one to the other, are numerous; but the attention paid to the assistant is less. As to the crowd of guests, they ascend, and receive the cup. Kneeling down they offer some of it in sacrifice; they rise and drink it; and without pledging the host in the return-cup, they descend. In this way the proper distinction is made between the different parties by the multitude or paucity of the observances paid to them.

12. ‘The musicians enter, ascend the hall, and sing the three pieces which complete their performance, after which the host offers to them the cup. The organists enter, and (below the hall) play three tunes, which complete their part of the performance, after which the host offers to them (also) the cup. Then they sing and play alternately other three pieces and tunes; and also thrice again they

sing and play in concert. When this is finished, the musicians announce that the music is over, and go out.

‘At the same time a person (as instructed by the host) takes up the horn, and one is appointed to superintend the drinking, and see that it proceeds correctly. From this we know how they could be harmonious and joyful, without being disorderly.

13. ‘The (principal) guest pledges the host, the host pledges the attendants, the attendants pledge all the guests. Young and old pledge one another according to their age, and the cup circulates on to the keepers of the vases and the cup-washers. From this we know how they could practise brotherly deference to their elders without omitting any one.

14. ‘Descending (after this), they take off their shoes; ascending again, and taking their seats, they take their cups without any limit as to number. But the regulations of the drinking do not allow them to neglect the duties either of the morning or evening. When the guests go out, the host bows to each as he escorts him away. The regulations and forms are observed to the end; and from this we know how they could enjoy the feast without turbulence or confusion.

15. ‘The distinction between the noble and mean thus exhibited; the discrimination in the multitude or paucity of the observances to different parties; the harmony and joy without disorder; the brotherly deference to elders without omitting any; the happy feasting without turbulence or confusion; — the observance of these five things is sufficient to secure the rectification of the person, and the tranquillity of the state. When that one state is tranquil, all under heaven will be the same. Therefore I say that when I look on at the festivity in the country districts, I know how easily the Royal Way may obtain free course.’

16. According to the meaning attached to the festivity of drinking in the country districts, the principal guest was made to represent heaven; the host, to represent earth; their attendants respectively to represent the sun and moon; and the three head guests (according to the threefold division of them) to represent the three (great) luminaries. This was the form which the festivity received on its institution in antiquity: the presiding idea was found in heaven and earth; the regulation of that was found in the sun and moon; and the three luminaries were introduced as a third feature. (The whole represented) the fundamental principles in the conduct of government and instruction.

17. The dogs were boiled on the eastern side (of the courtyard); — in reverential acknowledgment of the fact that the vivifying and expanding power in nature issues from the east.

The washings took place at the eastern steps, and the water was kept on the east of the washing-place; — in reverential acknowledgment of the fact that

heaven and earth have placed the sea on the left.

The vessel contained the dark-coloured liquid; — teaching the people not to forget the original practice (at ceremonies).

18. The rule was that the (principal) guest should face the south. The quarter of the east suggests the idea of the spring, the name of which (also) denotes the appearance of insects beginning to move: — (there is then at work that mysterious) intelligence which gives birth to all things. The quarter of the south suggests the idea of the summer, the name of which (also) denotes what is great: — what nourishes things, encourages their growth, and makes them great is benevolence. The quarter of the west suggests the idea of the autumn, the name of which also denotes gathering or collecting: — the fruits of the earth are gathered at this season, suggesting the idea of justice in discriminating and guarding. The quarter of the north suggests the idea of winter, the name of which denotes also what is kept within: — and the being within leads us to think of being stored up. On this account, when the son of Heaven stands up, he keeps (the quarter of the life-giving) intelligence on his left hand, faces (the quarter of) benevolence, has that of justice on his right hand, and that of depositing behind him.

19. It was the rule that his attendants should face the east; thus (making) the principal guest to be the chief (party) at the festivity.

It was the rule that the host should be in the eastern quarter. The eastern quarter suggests the idea of spring, the name of which (also) denotes the appearance of insects beginning to move, and (it is spring) which produces all things. The host makes the festivity; that is, he produces all things.

BOOK XLIII. SHÊ Î

or

The Meaning of the Ceremony of Archery.

1. Anciently it was the rule for the feudal lords, when they would practise archery, first to celebrate the ceremony of the Banquet, and for the Great officers and ordinary officers, when they would shoot, first to celebrate the ceremony of the Drinking in the country districts. The ceremony of the Banquet served to illustrate the relation between ruler and subject; that of the District-drinking, to illustrate the distinction between seniors and juniors.

2. The archers, in advancing, retiring, and all their movements, were required to observe the rules. With minds correct, and straight carriage of the body, they were to hold their bows and arrows skilfully and firmly; and when they did so, the), might be expected to hit the mark. In this way (from their archery) their characters could be seen.

3. To regulate (the discharging of the arrows), there was, — in the case of the son of Heaven, the playing of the Zâu-yü; in the case of the feudal lords, that of the Lî-shâu; in the case of the dignitaries, the Great officers, that of the Zhâi-pin; and in the case of officers, that of the Zhâi-fân.

The Zâu-yü is expressive of joy that every office is (rightly) filled; the Lî-shâu is expressive of the joy at audiences of the court; the Zhâi-pin is expressive of the joy in observing the laws (which have been learned); and the Zhâi-fân is expressive of the joy in being free from all failures in duty. Therefore the son of Heaven regulated his shooting by keeping in his mind the right feeling of all officers; a feudal prince, by keeping in his mind the times of his appearing before the son of Heaven; a dignitary, being a Great officer, by keeping in his mind the observing of the laws (which he had learned); and an officer, by keeping in his mind that he must not fail in the duties of his office.

In this way, when they clearly understood the meaning of those regulating measures, and were thus able to avoid all failure in their services, they were successful in their undertakings, and their character and conduct were established. When their characters were established, no such evils as oppression and disorder occurred; and when their undertakings were successful, the states were tranquil and happy. Hence it is said that ‘the archery served to show the completeness of (the archer’s) virtue.’

4. Therefore, anciently, the son of Heaven chose the feudal lords, the dignitaries who were Great officers, and the officers, from their skill in archery. Archery is specially the business of males, and there were added to it the embellishments of ceremonies and music. Hence among the things which may afford the most complete illustration of ceremonies and music, and the frequent performance of which may serve to establish virtue and good conduct, there is nothing equal to archery: and therefore the ancient kings paid much attention to it.

5. Therefore, anciently, according to the royal institutes, the feudal princes annually presented the officers who had charge of their tribute to the son of Heaven, who made trial of them in the archery-hall. Those of them whose bodily carriage was in conformity with the rules, and whose shooting was in agreement with the music, and who hit the mark most frequently, were allowed to take part at the sacrifices. When his officers had frequently that privilege, their ruler was congratulated; if they frequently failed to obtain it, he was reprimanded. If a prince were frequently so congratulated, he received an increase to his territory; if he were frequently so reprimanded, part of his territory was taken from him. Hence came the saying, 'The archers shoot in the interest of their princes.' Thus, in the states, the rulers and their officers devoted themselves to archery, and the practice in connexion with it of the ceremonies and music. But when, rulers and officers practise ceremonies and music, never has it been known that such practice led to their banishment or ruin.

6. Hence it is said in the ode (now lost),

'The long-descended lord
Presents your cups of grace.
His chiefs and noble men
Appear, all in their place;
Small officers and Great,
Not one will keep away.
See them before their prince,
All in their full array.
They feast, and then they shoot,
Happy and praised to boot.'

The lines show how when rulers and their officers earnestly devoted themselves together to archery, and the practice in connexion with it of ceremonies and music, they were happy and got renown. It was on this account that the son of Heaven instituted the custom, and the feudal lords diligently attended to it. This was the way in which the son of Heaven cherished the princes, and had no need of weapons of war (in dealing with them); it furnished

(also) to the princes an instrument with which they trained themselves to rectitude.

7. (Once), when Confucius was conducting an archery meeting in a vegetable garden at Kio-hsiang, the lookers-on surrounded it like a wall. When the proceedings reached the point when a Master of the Horse should be appointed, he directed Dze-lû to take his bow and arrows, and go out to introduce those who wished to shoot, and to say, 'The general of a defeated army, the Great officer of a ruler-less state, and any one who (has schemed to be) the successor and heir of another, will not be allowed to enter, but the rest may all enter.' On this, one half went away, and the other half entered.

After this, (wishing to send the cup round among all the company), he further directed Kung-wang Khiû and Hsü Tien to raise the horns of liquor, and make proclamation. Then Kung-wang Khiû raised his horn, and said, 'Are the young and strong (here) observant of their filial and fraternal duties? Are the old and men of eighty (here) such as love propriety, not following licentious customs, and resolved to maintain their characters to death? (If so), they may occupy the position of guests.' On this, one half (of those who had entered) went away, and the other half remained.

Hsü Tien next raised his horn, and proclaimed, 'Are you fond of learning without being tired? are you fond of the rules of propriety, and unswerving in your adherence to them? Do those of you who are eighty, ninety, or one hundred, expound the way (of virtue) Without confusion or error? If so, you can occupy the position of visitors.' Thereupon hardly any remained.

8. To shoot means to draw out to the end, and some say to lodge in the exact point. That drawing out to the end means every one unfolding his own idea; hence, with the mind even-balanced and the body correctly poised, (the archer) holds his bow and arrow skilfully and firmly. When he so holds them, he will hit the mark. Hence it is said, 'The father (shoots) at the father-mark; the son, at the son-mark; the ruler, at the ruler-mark; the subject, at the subject-mark.' Thus the archer shoots at the mark of his (ideal) self; and so the Great archery of the son of Heaven is called shooting at (the mark of) the feudal prince. 'Shooting at the mark of the feudal prince' was shooting to prove himself a prince. He who hit the mark was permitted to be, that is, retain his rank as) a prince; he who did not hit the mark was not permitted to retain his rank as a prince.

9. When the son of Heaven was about to sacrifice, the rule was that he should celebrate the archery at the pool, which name suggested the idea of selecting the officers (by their shooting). After the archery at the pool came that in the archery hall. Those who hit the mark were permitted to take part in the sacrifice; and those who failed were not permitted to do so. (The ruler of those) who did not

receive the permission was reprimanded, and had part of his territory taken from him. The ruler of those who were permitted was congratulated, and received an addition to his territory. The advancement appeared in the rank; the disapprobation, in the (loss of) territory.

10. Hence, when a son is born, a bow of mulberry wood, and six arrows of the wild raspberry plant (are placed on the left of the door) for the purpose of shooting at heaven, earth, and the four cardinal points. Heaven, earth, and the four points denote the spheres wherein the business of a man lies. The young man must first give his mind to what is to be his business, and then he may venture to receive emolument, that is, the provision for his food.

11. Archery suggests to us the way of benevolence. (The archer) seeks to be correct in himself, and then discharges his arrow. If it miss the mark, he is not angry with the one who has surpassed himself, but turns round and seeks (for the cause of failure) in himself. Confucius said, 'The student of virtue has no contentions. If it be said that he cannot avoid them, shall this be in archery? (But) he bows complaisantly to his competitor, ascends (the hall), descends (again), and exacts the forfeit of drinking. In his contention, he is still the superior man.'

12. Confucius said, 'How difficult it is to shoot! How difficult it is to listen (to the music)! To shoot exactly in harmony with the note (given) by the music, and to shoot without missing the bull's-eye on the target: — it is only the archer of superior virtue who can do this! How shall a man of inferior character be able to hit the mark? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode 6, 1),

'"Now shoot," he says, "and show your skill."
The other answers, "Shoot I will,
And hit the mark; — and when you miss,
Pray you the penal cup to kiss."'

'To pray' is to ask. The archer seeks to hit that he may decline the cup. The liquor in the cup is designed (properly) to nourish the aged, or the sick. When the archer seeks to hit that he may decline the cup, that is declining what should serve to nourish (those that need it).

BOOK XLIV. YEN Î

or

The Meaning of the Banquet.

1. Anciently, among the officers of the kings of Kâu, there was one called the shû-dze. He was charged with the care of the sons of the feudal lords, the high dignitaries who were the Great officers, and (other) officers, — the eldest sons who occupied the next place to their fathers. He managed (the issuing) to them of (all) cautions and orders; superintended their instruction in all they had to learn and (the art of self-)government; arranged them in their different classes; and saw that they occupied their correct positions. If there were any grand solemnity (being transacted) in the kingdom, he conducted them-these sons of the state-and placed them under the eldest son, the heir-apparent, who made what use of them he thought fit. If any military operations were being undertaken, he provided for them their carriages and coats of mail, assembled for them the companies of a hundred men and of five men (of which they should have charge), and appointed their inferior officers, thus training them in the art of war: — they were not under the jurisdiction of the minister of War. In all (other) governmental business of the state, these sons of it were left free, their fathers' eldest sons, without public occupation, and were made to attend to the cultivation of virtuous ways. In spring, (the shû-dze) assembled them in the college; and in autumn, in the archery (hall), that he might examine into their proficiency, and advanced or degraded them accordingly.

2. The meaning of the ceremony of the banquet at the feudal courts (may be thus described):-The ruler stood on the south-east of (his own) steps on the east, having his face towards the south, fronting the ministers or dignitaries who were nearest to him. They and all the (other) Great officers came forward a little, taking each his proper station. The ruler's mat is placed at the top of the eastern steps: — there is the station of the host. The ruler alone goes up and stands on his mat; with his face to the west he stands there by himself: — showing that no one presumes to place himself on a par with him.

3. Guests and host having been arranged, according to the rules for the ceremony of drinking in the country districts, (the ruler) makes his chief cook act for him in presenting (the cup): — a minister may not presume to take on himself any usage proper to the ruler. None of the (three) kung and no high minister has the place of a guest; but the Great officers are among the guests,-

because of the doubts that might arise, and to show the jealousy (which such great men in that position might create).

When the guests have entered to the middle of the courtyard, the ruler descends a step and bows to them: — thus courteously receiving them.

4. The ruler sends the cup round among the guests in order; and when he has given a special cup to any, they all descend, and bow twice, laying at the same time their heads to the ground; after which they ascend, and complete their bowing: — thus showing the observance due from subjects. The ruler responds to them, for every act of courtesy must be responded to: — illustrating the observances due from the ruler and superiors. When ministers and inferiors do their utmost to perform service for the state, the ruler must recompense them with rank and emoluments. Hence all officers and inferiors endeavour with their utmost strength and ability to establish their merit, and thus the state is kept in tranquillity, and the ruler's mind is at rest.

(The principle) that every act of courtesy must be responded to, showed that rulers do not receive anything from their inferiors without sufficient ground for doing so. The ruler must illustrate the path of rectitude in his conduct of the people; and when the people follow that path and do good service (for the state), then he may take from them a tenth part (of their revenues). In this way he has enough, and his subjects do not suffer want. Thus harmony and affection prevail between high and low, and they have no mutual dissatisfactions. Such harmony and rest are the result of the ceremonial usages. This is the great idea in the relation between ruler and subject, between high and low: — hence it is said that the object of the banquet was to illustrate the idea of justice between ruler and subject.

5. The mats were arranged so that the dignitaries of smaller rank occupied the place next (in honour) to those of higher; the Great officers, the place next to the lower dignitaries. The officers and sons of concubines (also) took their places below in their regular order. The cup being presented to the ruler, he begins the general pledging, and offers the cup to the high dignitaries. They continue the ceremony, and offer the cup to the Great officers, who offer it in turn to the (other) officers, and these finally offer it to the sons of concubines. The stands and dishes, with the flesh of the animals, and the savoury viands, were all proportioned to the differences of rank in the guests:-and thus the distinction was shown between the noble and the mean.

BOOK XLV. PHING Î

or

The Meaning of the Interchange of Missions between Different Courts.

1. According to the ceremonies in missions, a duke of the highest grade sent seven attendants with (his representative); a marquis or earl, five; and a count or baron, three. The difference in number served to show the difference in rank of their principals.

2. The messages (between the visitor and the host) were passed through all the attendants, from one to another. A superior man, where he wishes to do honour, will not venture to communicate directly and in person. This was a high tribute of respect.

3. The message was transmitted (only) after the messenger had thrice declined to receive (the courtesies offered to him at the gate); he entered the gate of the ancestral temple after thrice in the same way trying to avoid doing so; thrice he exchanged bows with his conductor before they arrived at the steps; and thrice he yielded the precedence offered to him before he ascended the hall: — so did he carry to the utmost his giving of honour and yielding courtesy.

4. The ruler sent an officer to meet (the messenger) at the border (of the state), and a Great officer to offer him the customary presents and congratulations (after the toils of the journey) in the suburb (near the capital); he himself met him and bowed to him inside the great gate, and then received him in the ancestral temple; with his face to the north he bowed to him when the presents (which he brought) were presented, and bowed again (when his message was delivered), in acknowledgment of its condescension: — in this way did he (on his part) testify his respect.

5. Respectfulness and yielding courtesy mark the intercourse of superior men with one another. Hence, when the feudal lords received one another with such respectfulness and yielding courtesy, they would not attack or encroach on one another.

6. A high minister is employed as principal usher (for the messenger), a Great officer as the next, and (ordinary) officers acted as their attendants. (When he had delivered his message), the ruler himself showed him courtesy, (and presented to him the cup of new liquor). He had his private interviews (with the dignitaries and Great officers of the court), and also with the ruler. (After this), supplies of animals, slaughtered and living, were sent (to his hotel). (When he

was about to take his departure), the jade-symbols (by which he was accredited) were returned to him, and the return gifts (of silk and other things) presented at the same time. He had been entertained and feasted. All these observances served to illustrate the idea underlying the relations between ruler and minister in receiving visitors and guests.

7. Therefore it was a statute made by the son of Heaven for the feudal lords, that every year they should interchange a small mission, and every three years a great one: — thus stimulating one another to the exercise of courtesy. If the messenger committed any error in the exchange of his mission, the ruler, his host, did not personally entertain and feast him: — thereby making him ashamed, and stimulating him.

When the princes thus stimulated one another to the observance of the ceremonial usages, they did not make any attacks on one another, and in their states there was no oppression or encroachment. In this way the son of Heaven cherished and nourished them; there was no occasion for any appeal to arms, and they were furnished with an instrument to maintain themselves in rectitude.

8. (The commissioners) carried with them their jade-symbols, the sceptre and half-sceptre: — showing the importance of the ceremony. On the completion of their mission, these were returned to them: — showing the small importance to be attached to their value, and the great importance of the ceremony. When the princes thus stimulated one another, to set light by the value of the articles, and recognise the importance of the ceremony, the people learned to be yielding and courteous.

9. The prince of the state to which the mission was sent treated his guests in this way: — Till their departure from their coming, they were supplied from the three stores (provided for such purposes). Living animals were sent to them at their lodging. A provision of five sets of the three animals for slaughter was made inside. Thirty loads of rice, the same number of grain with the straw, and twice as many of fodder and firewood were provided outside. There were five pairs of birds that went in flocks every day. All the attendants had cattle supplied to them for their food. There was one meal (a day in the court), and two (spare) entertainments (in the temple). The banquets and occasional bounties were without any definite number. With such generosity was the importance of the ceremony indicated.

10. They could not always be so profuse as this in antiquity in the use of their wealth; but their employment of it thus liberally (in connexion with these missions) showed how they were prepared to devote it to the maintenance of the ceremonies. When they expended it as they did on the ceremonies, then in the states ruler and minister did not encroach on one another’s rights and

possessions, and different states did not attack one another. It was on this account that the kings made their statute about these missions, and the feudal lords did their utmost to fulfil it.

11. The archery in connexion with these missions was a very great institution. With the early dawn they commenced it, and it was nearly midday before the whole of the ceremonies were concluded: — it required men of great vigour and strength to go through with it.

And further, when such men were about to engage in it, though the liquor might be clear and they were thirsty, they did not venture to drink of it; though the stalks of flesh were dry (and ready to their hand), and they were hungry, they did not venture to eat of them; at the close of the day, when they were tired, they continued to maintain a grave and correct deportment. So they carried out all the details of the ceremonies; so they maintained correctly the relation between ruler and subject, affection between father and son, and harmony between seniors and juniors. All this it is difficult for the generality of men to do, but it was done by those superior men; and on this account they were called men possessed of great ability in action. The ascribing to them such ability in action implied their possession of the sense of righteousness; and their possession of that sense implied that they were valiant and daring. The most valuable quality in a man who is bold and daring is that he can thereby establish his sense of righteousness; the most valuable quality in him who establishes that sense is that he can thereby show his great ability in action; the most valuable quality in him who has that ability is that he can carry all ceremonies into practice. In this way, the most valuable quality in valiant daring is that its possessor dares to carry into practice the rules of ceremony and righteousness.

It follows from this that such men, bold and daring, full of vigour and strength, when the kingdom was at peace, employed their gifts in the exercise of propriety and righteousness; and, when there was trouble in the kingdom, employed them in the battle-field and in gaining victory. When they employed them to conquer in battle, no enemies could resist them; when they employed them in the exercise of propriety and righteousness, then obedience and good order prevailed. No enemies abroad, and obedience and good order at home: — this was called the perfect condition for a state. But when men, so endowed, did not use their valour and strength in the service of propriety and righteousness, and to secure victory, but in strifes and contentions, then they were styled men of turbulence or disorder. Punishments were put in requisition throughout the kingdom, and the (first) use of them was to deal with those same men, and take them off. In this way (again), the people became obedient and there was good order, and the state was tranquil and happy.

12. Dze-kung asked Confucius, saying, ‘Allow me to ask the reason why the superior man sets a high value on jade, and but little on soapstone? Is it because jade is rare, and the soapstone plentiful?’

13. Confucius replied, ‘It is not because the soapstone is plentiful that he thinks but little of it, and because jade is rare that he sets a high value on it. Anciently superior men found the likeness of all excellent qualities in jade. Soft, smooth, and glossy, it appeared to them like benevolence; fine, compact, and strong, — like intelligence; angular, but not sharp and cutting, — like righteousness; hanging down (in beads) as if it would fall to the ground, — like (the humility of) propriety; when struck, yielding a note, clear and prolonged, yet terminating abruptly, — like music; its flaws not concealing its beauty, nor its beauty concealing its flaws, — like loyalty; with an internal radiance issuing from it on every side, — like good faith; bright as a brilliant rainbow, — like heaven; exquisite and mysterious, appearing in the hills and streams, — like the earth; standing out conspicuous in the symbols of rank, — like virtue; esteemed by all under the sky, — like the path of truth and duty. As is said in the ode (I, xi, ode 3, 1),

“Such my lord’s car. He rises in my mind,
Lovely and bland, like jade of richest kind.”

BOOK XLVI. SANG FÛ SZE KIH

or

The Four Principles Underlying the Dress of Mourning.

1. All ceremonial usages looked at in their great characteristics are the embodiment of (the ideas suggested by) heaven and earth; take their laws from the (changes of the) four seasons; imitate the (operation of the) contracting and developing movements in nature; and are conformed to the feelings of men. It is on this account that they are called the Rules of Propriety; and when any one finds fault with them, he only shows his ignorance of their origin.

2. Those usages are different in their applications to felicitous and unfortunate occurrences; in which they should not come into collision with one another: — this is derived from (their pattern as given by) the contracting and developing movements in nature.

3. The mourning dress has its four definite fashions and styles, the changes in which are always according to what is right: — this is derived from the (changes of the) four seasons.

Now, affection predominates; now, nice distinctions; now, defined regulations; and now, the consideration of circumstances: — all these are derived from the human feelings. In affection we have benevolence; in nice distinctions, righteousness; in defined regulations, propriety; and in the consideration of circumstances, knowledge. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge; — these make up the characteristic attributes of humanity.

4. Where the affection has been great, the mourning worn is deep. On this account the sackcloth with jagged edges is worn for the father for three years: — the regulation is determined by affection.

5. In the regulation (of the mourning) within the family circle, the, affection throws the (duty of public) righteousness into the shade. In the regulation (of that which is) beyond that circle, the (duty of public) righteousness cuts the (mourning of) affection short. The service due to a father is employed in serving a ruler, and the reverence is the same for both: — this is the greatest instance of (the conviction of the duty of) righteousness, in all the esteem shown to nobility and the honour done to the honourable. Hence the sackcloth with jagged edges is worn (also) for the ruler for three years: — the regulation is determined by righteousness.

6. The eating after three days; the washing the head after three months; the sacrifice and change of dress at the end of the first year; the not carrying the emaciation to such an extent as to affect life: — these regulations were to avoid doing harm to the living (by the mourning) for the dead. Not protracting the mourning rites beyond three years; not mending even the coarsest sackcloth; making no addition to the mound (raised at first) over the grave; fixing the day for the sacrifice at the end of the second year; playing (at first, on the conclusion of the rites) on a plain, unvarnished lute: — all these things were to make the people aware of the termination (of the several rites), and constituted the defined regulations.

The service due to a father is employed in serving a mother, and the love is the same for both. (But) in the sky there are not two suns, nor in a land two kings, nor in a state two rulers, nor in a family two equally honourable: — one (principle) regulates (all) these conditions. Hence, while the father is alive, the sackcloth with even edges is worn (for a mother), (and only) for a year, — showing that there are not (in the family) two equally honourable.

7. What is meant by the use of the staff? It is (a symbol of) rank. On the third day it is given to the son; on the fifth day, to Great officers; and on the seventh day, to ordinary officers; — (at the mourning rites for a ruler). Some say that it is given to them as the presiding mourners; and others, that it is to support them in their distress.

A daughter (not yet fully grown) and a son (while but a lad), do not carry a staff; — (being supposed) not to be capable of (extreme) distress.

When all the array of officers is complete, and all things are provided, and (the mourner) cannot speak (his directions), and things must (still) proceed, he is assisted to rise. If he be able to speak, and things will proceed (as he directs), he rises by the help of the staff. Where (the mourner) has himself to take part in what is to be done, he will have his face grimed (as if black with sorrow). Women who are bald do not use the coiffure; hunchbacks do not unbare their arms; the lame do not leap; and the old and ill do not give up the use of liquor and flesh. All these are cases regulated by the consideration of circumstances.

8. After the occurrence of the death, the (wailing for) three days, which left no leisure for anything else; the not taking off (the headband or girdle) for three months; the grief and lamentation for a whole year; and the sorrow on to the three years: (in all these things) there was a gradual diminution of the (manifestation of) affection. The sages, in accordance with that diminution of the natural feeling, made their various definite regulations.

9. It was on this account that the mourning rites were limited to three years. The worthiest were not permitted to go beyond this period, nor those who were

inferior to them to fall short of it. This was the proper and invariable time for those rites, what the (sage) kings always carried into practice.

When it is said in the Shû (Part IV, Book VIII, i, 1), that Kâo Zung, while occupying the mourning shed, for three years did not speak, this expresses approval of that sovereign. But the kings all observed this rule; — why is the approval only expressed in connexion with him? It may be replied, 'This Kâo Zung was Wû Ting.' Wû Ting was a worthy sovereign of Yin. He had come to the throne in the due order of succession, and was thus loving and good in his observance of the mourning rites. At this time Yin, which had been decaying, revived again; ceremonial usages, which had been neglected, came again into use. On this account the approval of him was expressed, and therefore it was recorded in the Shû, and he was styled Kâo (The Exalted), and designated Kâo Zung (The Exalted and Honoured Sovereign). (The rule was that), during the three years' mourning, a ruler should not speak; and that the Shû says, 'Kâo Zung, while he occupied the mourning shed, for the three years did not speak,' was an illustration of this. When it is said (in the Hsiâo King, chapter 18th), 'They speak, but without elegance of phrase,' the reference is to ministers and inferior (officers).

10. According to the usages, when wearing the sackcloth with jagged edges (for a father), (a son) indicated that he heard what was said to him, but did not reply in words; when wearing that with even edges (for a mother), he replied, but did not speak (of anything else); when wearing the mourning of nine months, he might speak (of other things), but did not enter into any discussion; when wearing that of five months, or of three, he might discuss, but did not show pleasure in doing so.

11. At the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) wore the cap of sackcloth, with strings of cords, and sandals of straw; after the third day, he (began to) take gruel; after the third month, he washed his head; at the end of the year, in the thirteenth month, he put on the mourning silk and cap proper after the first year; and when the three years were completed, he offered the auspicious sacrifice.

I CHING — 易經/周易

Translated by James Legge Also known as the *Classic of Changes*, this ancient divination text is the oldest of the Chinese classics, dating to the late ninth century BC. *I Ching* was originally a divination manual in the Western Zhou period (1000–750 BC), over the course of the Warring States period and early imperial period (500–200 BC) it was transformed into a cosmological text with a series of philosophical commentaries known as the "Ten Wings." After becoming part of the Five Classics in the second century BC, the book was the subject of scholarly commentary and the basis for divination practice for centuries across the Far East, and eventually took on an influential role in Western understanding of Eastern thought.

The *I Ching* uses a type of divination called cleromancy, which produces apparently random numbers. Four numbers, 6 to 9, are turned into a hexagram, which can then be looked up in the text, arranged in an order known as the King Wen sequence. The interpretation of the readings found in the *I Ching* is a matter of centuries of debate, and many commentators have used the book symbolically, often to provide guidance for moral decision making as informed by Taoism and Confucianism.

The core of the book is a Western Zhou divination text called the *Changes of Zhou* (Zhou yi). Traditionally, the *Changes of Zhou* is associated with the legendary world ruler Fu Xi. According to the canonical Great Commentary, Fu Xi observed the patterns of the world and created the eight trigrams to become thoroughly conversant with the mystical and to classify the myriad things. The *Changes of Zhou* itself does not contain this legend. During the Han dynasty there were various opinions about the historical relationship between the trigrams and the hexagrams. Eventually, a consensus formed around the second century AD scholar Ma Rong's attribution of the text to the joint work of Fu Xi, King Wen of Zhou, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius, but this traditional attribution is no longer generally accepted.

The basic unit of the text is the hexagram, a figure composed of six stacked horizontal lines. Each line is either broken or unbroken. The received text contains all 64 possible hexagrams, along with the hexagram's name, a short hexagram statement and six line statements. The statements were used to determine the results of divination, but the reasons for having two different

methods of reading the hexagram are not known, and it is not known why hexagram statements would be read over line statements or vice versa.

Title page of a Song dynasty (c. 1100) edition

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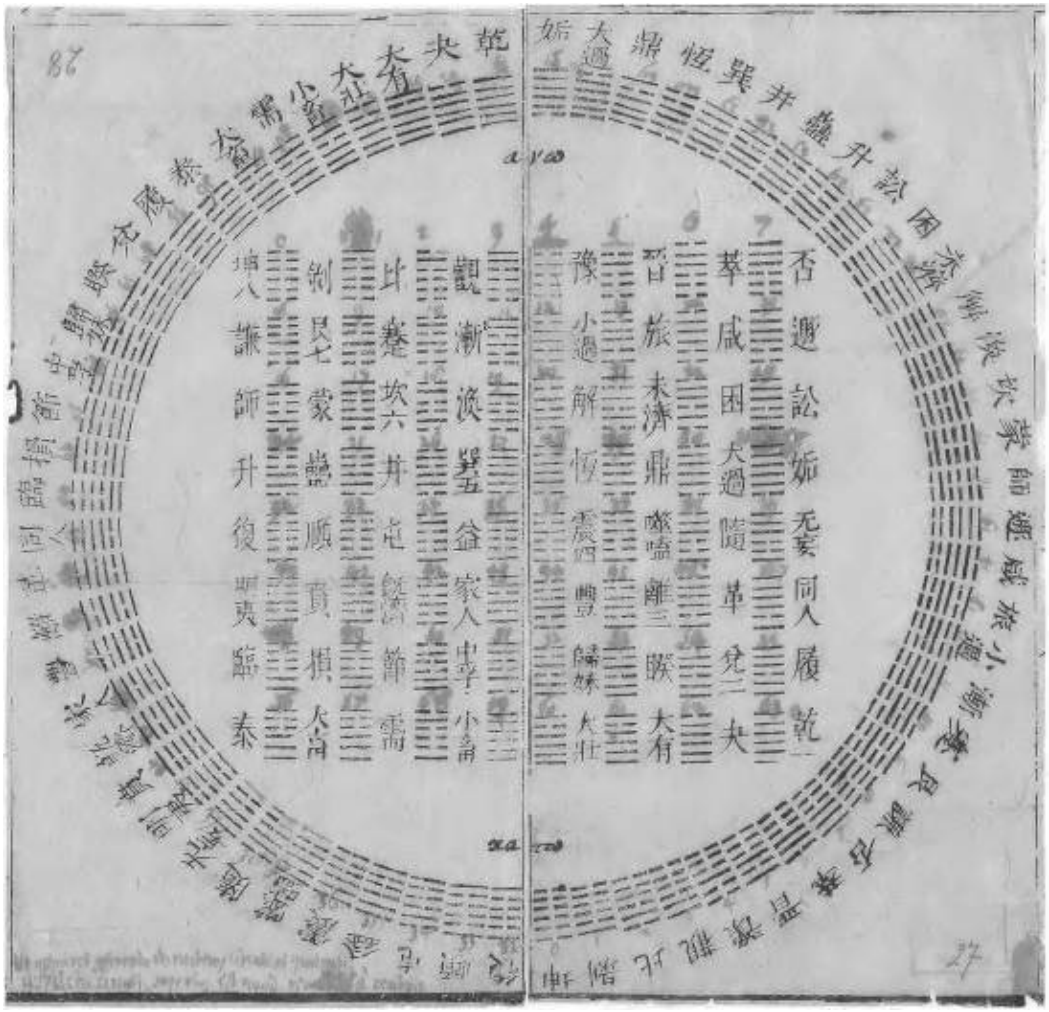


A diagram of I Ching hexagrams sent to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz from Joachim Bouvet. The Arabic numerals were added by Leibniz.

Portrait of Fu Xi, painted by Ma Lin of the Song dynasty. Fu Xi is a culture hero in Chinese legend and mythology, credited with creating humanity and the invention of hunting, fishing and cooking as well as the Cangjie system of writing Chinese characters.

PREFACE

I wrote out a translation of the Yî King, embracing both the Text and the Appendixes, in 1854 and 1855; and have to acknowledge that when the manuscript was completed, I knew very little about the scope and method of the book. I laid the volumes containing the result of my labour aside, and hoped, believed indeed, that the light would by and by dawn, and that I should one day get hold of a clue that would guide me to a knowledge of the mysterious classic.

Before that day came, the translation was soaked, in 1870, for more than a month in water of the Red Sea. By dint of careful manipulation it was recovered so as to be still legible; but it was not till 1874 that I began to be able to give to the book the prolonged attention necessary to make it reveal its secrets. Then for the first time I got hold, as I believe, of the clue, and found that my toil of twenty years before was of no service at all.

What had tended more than anything else to hide the nature of the book from my earlier studies was the way in which, with the Text, ordinarily and, as I think, correctly ascribed to king Wăn and his son Tan, there are interspersed, under each hexagram, the portions of the Appendixes I, II, and IV relating to it. The student at first thinks this an advantage. He believes that all the Appendixes were written by Confucius, and combine with the text to form one harmonious work; and he is glad to have the sentiments of 'the three sages' brought together. But I now perceived that the composition of the Text and of the Appendixes, allowing the Confucian authorship of the latter, was separated by about 700 years, and that their subject-matter was often incongruous. My first step towards a right understanding of the Yî was to study the Text by itself and as complete in itself. It was easy to do this because the imperial edition of 1715, with all its critical apparatus, keeps the Text and the Appendixes separate.

The wisdom of the course thus adopted became more apparent by the formation of eight different concordances, one for the Text, and one for each of the Appendixes. They showed that many characters in the Appendixes, and those especially which most readily occur to sinologists as characteristic of the Yî, are not to be found in the Text at all. A fuller acquaintance, moreover, with the tone and style of the Appendixes satisfied me that while we had sufficient evidence that the greater part of them was not from Confucius, we had no evidence that any part was his, unless it might be the paragraphs introduced by the compiler or compilers as sayings of 'the Master.'

Studying the Text in the manner thus described, I soon arrived at the view of the meaning and object of the Yî, which I have described in the second chapter

of the Introduction; and I was delighted to find that there was a substantial agreement between my interpretations of the hexagrams and their several lines and those given by the most noted commentators from the Han dynasty down to the present. They have not formulated the scheme so concisely as I have done, and they were fettered by their belief in the Confucian authorship of the Appendixes; but they held the same general opinion, and were similarly controlled by it in construing the Text. Any sinologist who will examine the Yü *K*ih *Z*ăh *K*iang Yî King *K*ieh Î, prepared by one of the departments of the Han Lin college, and published in 1682, and which I have called the 'Daily Lessons,' or 'Lectures,' will see the agreement between my views and those underlying its paraphrase.

After the clue to the meaning of the Yî was discovered, there remained the difficulty of translating. The peculiarity of its style makes it the most difficult of all the Confucian classics to present in an intelligible version. I suppose that there are sinologists who will continue, for a time at least, to maintain that it was intended by its author or authors, whoever they were, merely as a book of divination; and of course the oracles of divination were designedly wrapped up in mysterious phraseology. But notwithstanding the account of the origin of the book and its composition by king Wăn and his son, which I have seen reason to adopt, they, its authors, had to write after the manner of diviners. There is hardly another work in the ancient literature of China that presents the same difficulties to the translator.

When I made my first translation of it in 1854, I endeavoured to be as concise in my English as the original Chinese was. Much of what I wrote was made up, in consequence, of so many English words, with little or no mark of syntactical connexion. I followed in this the example of P. Regis and his coadjutors (Introduction, page) in their Latin version. But their version is all but unintelligible, and mine was not less so. How to surmount this difficulty occurred to me after I had found the clue to the interpretation; — in a fact which I had unconsciously acted on in all my translations of other classics) namely, that the written characters of the Chinese are not representations of words, but symbols of ideas, and that the combination of them in composition is not a representation of what the writer would say, but of what he thinks. It is vain therefore for a translator to attempt a literal version. When the symbolic characters have brought his mind en rapport with that of his author, he is free to render the ideas in his own or any other speech in the best manner that he can attain to. This is the rule which Mencius followed in interpreting the old poems of his country:— 'We must try with our thoughts to meet the scope of a sentence, and then we shall apprehend it.' In the study of a Chinese classical

book there is not so much an interpretation of the characters employed by the writer as a participation of his thoughts; — there is the seeing of mind to mind. The canon hence derived for a translator is not one of license. It will be his object to express the meaning of the original as exactly and concisely as possible. But it will be necessary for him to introduce a word or two now and then to indicate what the mind of the writer supplied for itself. What I have done in this way will generally be seen enclosed in parentheses, though I queried whether I might not dispense with them, as there is nothing in the English version which was not, I believe, present in the writer's thought. I hope, however, that I have been able in this way to make the translation intelligible to readers. If, after all, they shall conclude that in what is said on the hexagrams there is often 'much ado about nothing,' it is not the translator who should be deemed accountable for that, but his original.

I had intended to append to the volume translations of certain chapters from *K*û Hsî and other writers of the Sung dynasty; but this purpose could not be carried into effect for want of space. It was found necessary to accompany the version with a running commentary, illustrating the way in which the teachings of king Wăn and his son are supposed to be drawn from the figures and their several lines; and my difficulty was to keep the single Yî within the limits of one volume. Those intended translations therefore are reserved for another opportunity; and indeed, the Sung philosophy did not grow out of the Yî proper, but from the Appendixes to it, and especially from the third of them. It is more Tâoistic than Confucian.

When I first took the Yî in hand, there existed no translation of it in any western language but that of P. Regis and his coadjutors, which I have mentioned above and in various places of the Introduction. The authors were all sinologists of great attainments; and their view of the Text as relating to the transactions between the founders of the *K*âu dynasty and the last sovereign of the Shang or Yin, and capable of being illustrated historically, though too narrow, was an approximation to the truth. The late M. Mohl, who had edited the work in 1834, said to me once, 'I like it; for I come to it out of a sea of mist, and find solid ground.' No sufficient distinction was made in it, however, between the Text and the Appendixes; and in discussing the third and following Appendixes the translators were haunted by the name and shade of Confucius. To the excessive literalness of the version I have referred above.

In 1876 the Rev. Canon McClatchie, M.A., published a version at Shanghai with the title, 'A Translation of the Confucian Yî King, or the "Classic of Changes," with Notes and Appendix.' This embraces both the Text and the

Appendixes, the first, second, and fourth of the latter being interspersed along with the Text, as in the ordinary school editions of the classic. So far as I can judge from his language, he does not appear to be aware that the first and second Appendixes were not the work of king Wăn and the duke of *K*âu, but of a subsequent writer — he would say of Confucius — explaining their explanations of the entire hexagrams and their several lines. His own special object was 'to open the mysteries of the Yî by applying to it the key of Comparative Mythology.' Such a key was not necessary; and the author, by the application of it, has found sundry things to which I have occasionally referred in my notes. They are not pleasant to look at or dwell upon; and happily it has never entered into the minds of Chinese scholars to conceive of them. I have followed Canon McClatchie's translation from paragraph to paragraph and from sentence to sentence, but found nothing which I could employ with advantage in my own.

Long after my translation had been completed, and that of the Text indeed was printed, I received from Shanghai the third volume of P. Angelo Zottoli's 'Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae,' which had appeared in 1880. About 100 pages of it are occupied with the Yî. The Latin version is a great improvement on that in the work of Regis; but P. Zottoli translates only the Text of the first two hexagrams, with the portions of the first, second, and fourth Appendixes relating to them; and other six hexagrams with the explanations of king Wăn's Thwan and of the Great Symbolism. Of the remaining fifty-six hexagrams only the briefest summary is given; and then follow the Appendixes III, V, VI, and VII at length. The author has done his work well.

His general view of the Yî is stated in the following sentences:— 'Ex Fû-hsî figuris, Wăn regis definitionibus, *K*âu ducis symbolis, et Confucii commentariis, Liber conficitur, qui a mutationibus, quas duo elementa in hexagrammatum compositione inducunt, Yî (Mutator) vel Yî King (Mutationum Liber) appellatur. Quid igitur tandem famosus iste Yî King? Paucis accipe: ex linearum qualitate continua vel intercisa; earumque situ, imo, medio, vel supremo; mutuaque ipsarum relatione, occursu, dissidio, convenientia; ex ipso scilicet trigrammatum corpore seu forma, tum ex trigrammatum symbolo seu imagine, tum ex trigrammatum proprietate seu virtute, tum etiam aliquando ex unius ad alterum hexagramma varietate, eruitur aliqua imago, deducitur aliqua sententia, quoddam veluti oraculum continens, quod sorte etiam consulere possis ad documentum obtinendum, moderandae vitae solvendove dubio consentaneum. Ita liber juxta Confucii explicationem in scholis tradi solitam. Nil igitur sublime aut mysteriosum, nil foedum aut vile hic quaeras; argutulum potius lusum ibi video ad instructiones morales politicasque eliciendas, ut ad satietatem usque in Sinicis passim classicis, obvias, planas, naturales; tantum, cum liber iste, ut

integrum legenti textum facile patebit, ad sortilegii usum deductus fuerit, per ipsum jam summum homo obtinebit vitae beneficium, arcanam cum spiritibus communicationem secretamque futurorum eventuum cognitionem; theurgus igitur visus est iste liber, totus lux, totus spiritus, hominisque vitae accommodatissimus; indeque laudes a Confucio ei tributas, prorsus exaggeratas, in hujus libri praesertim appendice videre erit, si vere tamen, ut communis fert opinio, ipse sit hujus appendicis auctor.'

There has been a report for two or three years of a new translation of the Yî, or at least of a part of it, as being in preparation by M. Terrien de Lacouperie, and Professor R. K. Douglas of the British Museum and King's College, London. I have alluded on pages 8, 9 of the Introduction to some inaccurate statements about native commentaries on the Yî and translations of it by foreigners, made in connexion with this contemplated version. But I did not know what the projected undertaking really was, till I read a letter from M. Terrien in the 'Athenæum' of the 21st January of this year. He there says that the joint translation 'deals only with the oldest part of the book, the short lists of characters which follow each of the sixty-four headings, and leaves entirely aside the explanations and commentaries attributed to Wen Wang, *K*âu Kung, Confucius, and others, from 1200 B. C. downwards, which are commonly embodied as an integral part of the classic;' adding, 'The proportion of the primitive text to these additions is about one-sixth of the whole.' But if we take away these explanations and commentaries attributed to king Wăn, the duke of *K*âu, and Confucius, we take away the whole Yî. There remain only the linear figures attributed to Fû-hsî, without any lists of characters, long or short, without a single written character of any kind whatever. The projectors have been misled somehow about the contents of the Yî; and unless they can overthrow all the traditions and beliefs about them, whether Chinese or foreign, their undertaking is more hopeless than the task laid on the children of Israel by Pharaoh, that they should make bricks without straw.

I do not express myself thus in any spirit of hostility. If, by discoveries in Accadian or any other long-buried and forgotten language, M. Terrien de Lacouperie can throw new light on the written characters of China or on its speech, no one will rejoice more than myself; but his ignorance of how the contents of the classic are made up does not give much prospect of success in his promised translation.

In the preface to the third volume of these 'Sacred Books of the East,' containing the Shû King, Shih King, and Hsiâo King, I have spoken of the Chinese terms Tî and Shang Tî, and shown how I felt it necessary to continue to

render them by our word God, as I had done in all my translations of the Chinese classics since 1861. My doing so gave offence to some of the missionaries in China and others; and in June, 1880, twenty-three gentlemen addressed a letter to Professor F. Max Müller, complaining that, in such a work edited by him, he should allow me to give my own private interpretation of the name or names in question instead of translating them or transferring them. Professor Müller published the letter which he had received, with his reply to it, in the 'Times' newspaper of Dec. 30, 1880. Since then the matter has rested, and I introduce it again here in this preface, because, though we do not meet with the name in the Yî so frequently as in the Shû and Shih, I have, as before, wherever it does occur, translated it by God. Those who object to that term say that Shang Tî might be rendered by 'Supreme Ruler' or 'Supreme Emperor,' or by 'Ruler (or Emperor) on high;' but when I examined the question, more than thirty years ago, with all possible interest and all the resources at my command, I came to the conclusions that Tî, on its first employment by the Chinese fathers, was intended to express the same concept which our fathers expressed by God, and that such has been its highest and proper application ever since. There would be little if any difference in the meaning conveyed to readers by 'Supreme Ruler' and 'God;' but when I render Tî by God and Shang Tî by the Supreme God, or, for the sake of brevity, simply by God, I am translating, and not giving a private interpretation of my own. I do it not in the interests of controversy, but as the simple expression of what to me is truth; and I am glad to know that a great majority of the Protestant missionaries in China use Tî and Shang Tî as the nearest analogue for God.

It would be tedious to mention the many critical editions and commentaries that I have used in preparing the translation. I have not had the help of able native scholars, which saved time and was otherwise valuable when I was working in the East on other classics. The want of this, however, has been more than compensated in some respects by my copy of the 'Daily Lectures on the Yî,' the full title of which is given on page xiv. The friend who purchased it for me five years ago in Canton was obliged to content himself with a second-hand copy; but I found that the previous owner had been a ripe scholar who freely used his pencil in pursuing his studies. It was possible, from his punctuation, interlineations, and many marginal notes, to follow the exercises of his mind, patiently pursuing his search for the meaning of the most difficult passages. I am under great obligations to him; and also to the *K*âu Yî *K*eh *K*ung, the great imperial edition of the present dynasty, first published in 1715. I have generally spoken of its authors as the Khang-hsî editors. Their numerous discussions of the

meaning, and ingenious decisions, go far to raise the interpretation of the Yî to a science.

J. L.
OXFORD
16th March, 1882

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE YÎ KING FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY B.C. TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

1. Confucius is reported to have said on one occasion, ‘If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty to the study of the Yî, and might then escape falling into great errors .’

There was a Yî in the time of Confucius

The utterance is referred by the best critics to the closing period of Confucius’ life, when he had returned from his long and painful wanderings among the States, and was settled again in his native Lû. By this time he was nearly seventy, and it seems strange, if he spoke seriously, that he should have thought it possible for his life to be prolonged other fifty years. So far as that specification is concerned, a corruption of the text is generally admitted. My reason for adducing the passage has simply been to prove from it the existence of a Yî King in the time of Confucius. In the history of him by Sze-mâ *Kh*ien it is stated that, in the closing years of his life, he became fond of the Yî, and wrote various appendixes to it, that he read his copy of it so much that the leathern thongs (by which the tablets containing it were bound together) were thrice worn out, and that he said, ‘Give me several years (more), and I should be master of the Yî .’ The ancient books on which Confucius had delighted to discourse with his disciples were those of History, Poetry, and Rites and Ceremonies ; but ere he passed away from among them, his attention was much occupied also by the Yî as a monument of antiquity, which in the prime of his days he had too much neglected.

The Yî is now made up of the Text which Confucius saw and the Appendixes ascribed to him

2. *Kh*ien says that Confucius wrote various appendixes to the Yî, specifying all but two of the treatises, which go by the name of the ‘Ten Appendixes,’ and are, with hardly a dissentient voice, attributed to the sage. They are published along with the older Text, which is based on still older lineal figures, and are received by most Chinese readers, as well as by foreign Chinese scholars, as an integral portion of the Yî King. The two portions should, however, be carefully distinguished. I will speak of them as the Text and the Appendixes.

The Yî escaped the fires of Žhin

3. The Yî happily escaped the fires of Žhin, which proved so disastrous to most of the ancient literature of China in B. C. 213. In the memorial which the

premier Lî Sze addressed to his sovereign, advising that the old books should be consigned to the flames, an exception was made of those which treated of ‘medicine, divination, and husbandry .’ The Yî was held to be a book of divination, and so was preserved.

In the catalogue of works in the imperial library, prepared by Liû Hin about the beginning of our era, there is an enumeration of those on the Yî and its Appendixes, — the books of thirteen different authors or schools, comprehended in 294 portions of larger or smaller dimensions . I need not follow the history and study of the Yî into the line of the centuries since the time of Liû Hin. The imperial Khang-hsî edition of it, which appeared in 1715, contains quotations from the commentaries of 218 scholars, covering, more or less closely, the time from the second century B. C. to our seventeenth century. I may venture to say that those 218 are hardly a tenth of the men who have tried to interpret the remarkable book, and solve the many problems to which it gives rise.

The Yî before Confucius, and when it was made

4. It may be assumed then that the Yî King, properly so called, existed before Confucius, and has come down to us as correctly as any other of the ancient books of China; and it might also be said, as correctly as any of the old monuments of Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin literature. The question arises of how far before Confucius we can trace its existence. Of course an inquiry into this point will not include the portions or appendixes attributed to the sage himself. Attention will be called to them by and by, when I shall consider how far we are entitled, or whether we are at all entitled, to ascribe them to him. I do not doubt, however, that they belong to what may be called the Confucian period, and were produced some time after his death, probably between B.C. 450 and 350. By whomsoever they were written, they may be legitimately employed in illustration of what were the prevailing views in that age on various points connected with the Yî. Indeed, but for the guidance and hints derived from them as to the meaning of the text, and the relation between its statements and the linear figures, there would be great difficulty in making out any consistent interpretation of it.

The Yî mentioned in the Official Book of Kâu

(i) The earliest mention of the classic is found in the Official Book of the Kâu dynasty, where it is said that, among the duties of ‘the Grand Diviner,’ ‘he had charge of the rules for the three Yî (systems of Changes), called the Lien-shan, the Kweî-žhang, and the Yî of *K*âu; that in each of them the regular (or primary) lineal figures were 8, which were multiplied, in each, till the), amounted to 64.’

The date of the Official Book has not been exactly ascertained. The above passage can hardly be reconciled with the opinion of the majority of Chinese critics that it was the work of the duke of *K*âu, the consolidator and legislator of the dynasty so called; but I think there must have been the groundwork of it at a very early date. When that was composed or compiled, there was existing, among the archives of the kingdom, under the charge of a high officer, 'the Yî of *K*âu,' — what constitutes the Text of the present Yî; the Text, that is, as distinguished from the Appendixes. There were two other Yî, known as the Lien-shan and the Kwei-žhang. It would be a waste of time to try to discover the meaning of these designations. They are found in this and another passage of the Official Book; and nowhere else. Not a single trace of what they denoted remains, while we possess 'the Yî of *K*âu' complete .

The Yî mentioned in the Žo Khwan

(ii) In the Supplement of Žo *Kh*iû-ming to 'the Spring and Autumn,' there is abundant evidence that divination by the Yî was frequent, throughout the states of China, before the time of Confucius. There are at least eight narratives of such a practice, between the years B.C. 672 and 564, before he was born; and five times during his life-time the divining stalks and the book were had recourse to on occasions with which he had nothing to do. In all these cases the text of the Yî, as we have it now, is freely quoted. The 'Spring and Autumn' commences in B.C. 722. If it extended back to the rise of the *K*âu dynasty, we should, no doubt, find accounts of divination by the Yî interspersed over the long intervening period. For centuries before Confucius appeared on the stage of his country, the Yî was well known among the various feudal states, which then constituted the Middle Kingdom .

(iii) We may now look into one of the Appendixes for its testimony to the age and authorship of the Text. The third Appendix is the longest, and the most important . In the 49th paragraph of the second Section of it it is said: —

'Was it not in the middle period of antiquity that the Yî began to flourish? Was not he who made it (or were not they who made it) familiar with anxiety and calamity?'

The highest antiquity commences, according to Chinese writers, with Fû-hsî, B.C. 3322; and the lowest with Confucius in the middle of the sixth century B.C. Between these is the period of middle antiquity, extending a comparatively short time, from the rise of the *K*âu dynasty, towards the close of the twelfth century B.C., to the Confucian era. According to this paragraph it was in this period that our Yî was made.

The 69th paragraph is still more definite in its testimony: —

‘Was it not in the last age of the Yin (dynasty), when the virtue of *K*âu had reached its highest point, and during the troubles between king Wăn and (the tyrant) *K*âu, that (the study of) the Yî began to flourish? On this account the explanations (in the book) express (a feeling of) anxious apprehension, (and teach) how peril may be turned into security, and easy carelessness is sure to meet with overthrow.’

The dynasty of Yin was superseded by that of *K*âu in B. C. 1122. The founder of *K*âu was he whom we call king Wăn, though he himself never occupied the throne. The troubles between him and the last sovereign of Yin reached their height in B. C. 1143, when the tyrant threw him into prison in a place called Yû-lî, identified as having been in the present district of Thang-yin, department of *K*ang-teh, province of Ho-nan. Wăn was not kept long in confinement. His friends succeeded in appeasing the jealousy of his enemy, and securing his liberation in the following year. It follows that the Yî, so far as we owe it to king Wăn, was made in the year B.C. 1143 or 1142, or perhaps that it was begun in the former year and finished in the latter .

But the part which is thus ascribed to king Wăn is only a small portion of the Yî. A larger share is attributed to his son Tan, known as the duke of Kâu, and in it we have allusions to king Wû, who succeeded his father Wăn, and was really the first sovereign of the dynasty of *K*âu . There are passages, moreover, which must be understood of events in the early years of the next reign. But the duke of Kâu died in the year B. C. 1105, the 11th of king *Kh*ăng. A few years then before that time, in the last decade of the twelfth century B. C., the Yî King, as it has come down to us, was complete .

The Yî is not the most ancient of the Chinese books

5. We have thus traced the text of the Yî to its authors, the famous king Wăn in the year 1143 B. C., and his equally famous son, the duke of *K*âu, in between thirty and forty years later. It can thus boast of a great antiquity; but a general opinion has prevailed that it belonged to a period still more distant. Only two translations of it have been made by European scholars. The first was executed by Regis and other Roman Catholic missionaries in the beginning of last century, though it was given to the public only in 1834 by the late Jules Mohl, with a title commencing ‘Y-King, antiquissimus Sinarum liber .’ The language of the other European translator of it, the Rev. Canon McClatchie of Shanghâi, whose work appeared in 1876, is still more decided. The first sentence of his Introduction contains two very serious misstatements, but I have at present to do only with the former of them; — that ‘the Yî King is regarded by the Chinese with peculiar veneration, ... as being the most ancient of their classical

writings.' The Shû is the oldest of the Chinese classics, and contains documents more, than a thousand years earlier than king Wăn. Several pieces of the Shih King are also older than anything in the Yî; to which there can thus he assigned only the third place in point of age among the monuments of Chinese literature. Existing, however, about 3000 years ago, it cannot be called modern. Unless it be the books of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and judges, an equal antiquity cannot be claimed for any portion of our Sacred Scriptures.

The Text much older than the Appendixes

It will be well to observe here also how much older the Text is than the Appendixes. Supposing them to be the work of Confucius, though it will appear by and by that this assumption can be received as only partially correct, if indeed it be received at all, the sage could not have entered on their composition earlier than B.C. 483, 660 years later than the portion of the text that came from king Wăn, and nearly 630 later than what we owe to the duke of *K*âu. But during that long period of between six and seven centuries changes may have arisen in the views taken by thinking men of the method and manner of the Yî; and I cannot accept the Text and the Appendixes as forming one work in any proper sense of the term. Nothing has prevented the full understanding of both, so far as parts of the latter can be understood, so much as the blending of them together, which originated with Pî *K*ih of the first Han dynasty. The common editions of the book have five of the Appendixes (as they are ordinarily reckoned) broken up and printed side by side with the Text; and the confusion thence arising has made it difficult, through the intermixture of incongruous ideas, for foreign students to lay hold of the meaning.

Labours of native scholars on the Yî

6. Native scholars have of course been well aware of the difference in time between the appearance of the Text and the Appendixes; and in the Khang-hsî edition of them the two are printed separately. Only now and then, however, has any critic ventured to doubt that the two parts formed one homogeneous whole, or that all the appendixes were from the style or pencil of Confucius. Hundreds of them have brought a wonderful and consistent meaning out of the Text; but to find in it or in the Appendixes what is unreasonable, or any inconsistency between them, would be to impeach the infallibility of Confucius, and stamp on themselves the brand of heterodoxy.

An imperfect description of their labours

At the same time it is an unfair description of what they have accomplished to say, as has been done lately, that since the fires of Žhin, 'the foremost scholars of each generation have edited the Text (meaning both the Text and the

Appendixes), and heaped commentary after commentary upon it; and one and all have arrived at the somewhat lame conclusion that its full significance is past finding out .' A multitude of the native commentaries are of the highest value, and have left little to be done for the elucidation of the Text; and if they say that a passage in an Appendix is 'unfathomable' or 'incalculable,' it is because their authors shrink from allowing, even to themselves, that the ancient sages intermeddled, and intermeddled unwisely, with things too high for them.

Erroneous account of the labours of European Chinese scholars

When the same writer who thus speaks of native scholars goes on to say that 'in the same way a host of European Chinese scholars have made translations of the Yî, and have, if possible, made confusion worse confounded,' he only shows how imperfectly he had made himself acquainted with the subject. 'The host of European Chinese scholars who have made translations of the Yî' amount to two, — the same two mentioned by me above on p, 7. The translation of Regis and his coadjutors is indeed capable of improvement; but their work as a whole, and especially the prolegomena, dissertations, and notes, supply a mass of correct and valuable information. They had nearly succeeded in unravelling the confusion, and solving the enigma of the Yî.

CHAPTER II

THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE TEXT. THE LINEAL FIGURES AND THE EXPLANATION OF THEM

The Yî consists of essays based on lineal figures

1. Having described the Yî King as consisting of a text in explanation of certain lineal figures, and of appendixes to it, and having traced the composition of the former to its authors in the twelfth century B. C., and that of the latter to between six and seven centuries later at least, I proceed to give an account of what we find in the Text, and how it is deduced from the figures.

The subject-matter of the Text may be briefly represented as consisting of sixty-four short essays, enigmatically and symbolically expressed, on important themes, mostly of a moral, social, and political character, and based on the same number of lineal figures, each made up of six lines, some of which are whole and the others divided.

The first two and the last two may serve for the present as a specimen of those figures: , , and . The Text says nothing about their origin and formation. There they are. King Wăn takes them up, one after another, in the order that suits himself, determined, evidently, by the contrast in the lines of each successive pair of hexagrams, and gives their significance, as a whole, with some indication, perhaps, of the action to be taken in the circumstances which he supposes them to symbolise, and whether that action will be lucky or unlucky. Then the duke of *K*âu, beginning with the first or bottom line, expresses, by means of a symbolical or emblematical illustration, the significance of each line, with a similar indication of the good or bad fortune of action taken in connexion with it. The king's interpretation of the whole hexagram will be found to be in harmony with the combined significance of the six lines as interpreted by his son.

Both of them, no doubt, were familiar with the practice of divination which had prevailed in China for more than a thousand years, and would copy closely its methods and style. They were not divining themselves, but their words became oracles to subsequent ages, when men divined by the hexagrams, and sought by means of what was said under them to ascertain how it would be with them in the future, and learn whether they should persevere in or withdraw from the courses they were intending to pursue.

The origin of the lineal figures

2. I will give an instance of the lessons which the lineal figures are made to teach, but before I do so, it will be necessary to relate what is said of their origin, and of the rules observed in studying and interpreting them. For information on these points we must have recourse to the Appendixes; and in reply to the question by whom and in what way the figures were formed, the third, of which we made use in the last chapter, supplies us with three different answers.

(i) The 11th paragraph of Section ii says: —

'Anciently, when the rule of all under heaven was in the hands of Pâo-hsî, looking up, he contemplated the brilliant forms exhibited in the sky; and looking down, he surveyed the patterns shown on the earth. He marked the ornamental appearances on birds and beasts, and the (different) suitabilities of the soil. Near at hand, in his own person, he found things for consideration, and the same at a distance, in things in general. On this he devised the eight lineal figures of three lines each, to exhibit fully the spirit-like and intelligent operations (in nature), and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things.'

Pâo-hsî is another name for Fû-hsî, the most ancient personage who is mentioned with any definiteness in Chinese history, while much that is fabulous is current about him. His place in chronology begins in B.C. 3322, 5203 years ago. He appears in this paragraph as the deviser of the eight kwâ or trigrams. The processes by which he was led to form them, and the purposes which he intended them to serve, are described, but in vague and general terms that do not satisfy our curiosity. The eight figures, however, were, , , , , , , and; called *kh*ien, tui, lî, *k*ăn, sun, khân, kăn, and khwăn; and representing heaven or the sky; water, especially a collection of water as in a marsh or lake; fire, the sun, lightning; thunder; wind and wood; water, especially as in rain, the clouds, springs, streams in defiles, and the moon; a hill or mountain; and the earth. To each of these figures is assigned a certain attribute or quality which should be suggested by the natural object it symbolises; but on those attributes we need not enter at present.

(ii) The 70th and 71st paragraphs of Section i give another account of the origin of the trigrams: —

'In (the system of) the Yî there is the Great Extreme, which produced the two Î (Elementary Forms). These two Forms produced the four Hsiang (Emblematic Symbols); which again produced the eight Kwâ (or Trigrams). The eight Kwâ served to determine the good and evil (issues of events), and from this determination there ensued the (prosecution of the) great business of life.'

The two elementary Forms, the four emblematic Symbols, and the eight Trigrams can all be exhibited with what may be deemed certainty. A whole line

() and a divided () were the two Î. These two lines placed over themselves, and each of them over the other, formed the four Hsiang:;;;. The same two lines placed successively over these Hsiang, formed the eight Kwâ, exhibited above.

Who will undertake to say what is meant by 'the Great Extreme' which produced the two elementary Forms? Nowhere else does the name occur in the old Confucian literature. I have no doubt myself that it found its way into this Appendix in the fifth (?or fourth) century B.C. from a Tâoist source. *K*û Hsî, in his 'Lessons on the Yî for the Young,' gives for it the figure of a circle, — thus,; observing that he does so from the philosopher Kâu (A.D. 1017-1073) , and cautioning his readers against thinking that such a representation came from Fû-hsî himself. To me the circular symbol appears very unsuccessful. 'The Great Extreme,' it is said, 'divided and produced two lines, — a whole line and a divided line.' But I do not understand how this could be. Suppose it possible for the circle to unroll itself; —

we shall have one long line,. If this divide itself, we have two whole lines; and another division of one of them is necessary to give us the whole and the divided lines of the lineal figures. The attempt to fashion the Great Extreme as a circle must be pronounced a failure.

But when we start from the two lines as bases, the formation of all the diagrams by a repetition of the process indicated above is easy. The addition to each of the trigrams of each of the two fundamental lines produces 16 figures of four lines; dealt with in the same way, these produce 32 figures of five lines; and a similar operation with these produces the 64 hexagrams, each of which forms the subject of an essay in the text of the Yî. The lines increase in an arithmetical progression whose common difference is 1, and the figures in a geometrical progression whose common ratio is 2. This is all the mystery in the formation of the lineal figures; this, I believe, was the process by which they were first formed; and it is hardly necessary to imagine them to have come from a sage like Fû-hsî. The endowments of an ordinary man were sufficient for such a work. It was possible even to shorten the operation by proceeding at once from the trigrams to the hexagrams, according to what we find in Section i, paragraph 2: —

'A strong and a weak line were manipulated together (till there were the 8 trigrams), and those 8 trigrams were added each to itself and to all the others (till the 64 hexagrams were formed).'

Who first multiplied the figures to 64?

It is a moot question who first multiplied the figures from the trigrams universally ascribed to Fû-hsî to the 64 hexagrams of the Yî The more common view is that it was king Wăn; but *K*û Hsî, when he was questioned on the

subject, rather inclined to hold that Fû-hsî had multiplied them himself, but declined to say whether he thought that their names were as old as the figures themselves, or only dated from the twelfth century B.C. I will not venture to controvert his opinion about the multiplication of the figures, but I must think that the names, as we have them now, were from king Wăn.

Why the figures were not continued after 64

No Chinese writer has tried to explain why the framers stopped with the 64 hexagrams, instead of going on to 128 figures of 7 lines, 256 of 8, 512 of 9, and so on indefinitely. No reason can be given for it, but the cumbrousness of the result, and the impossibility of dealing, after the manner of king Wăn, with such a mass of figures.

(iii) The 73rd paragraph of Section i, with but one paragraph between it and the two others which we have been considering, gives what may be considered a third account of the origin of the lineal figures: —

'Heaven produced the spirit-like things (the tortoise and the divining plant), and the sages took advantage of them. (The operations of) heaven and earth are marked by so many changes and transformations, and the sages imitated them (by means of the Yî). Heaven hangs out its (brilliant) figures, from which are seen good fortune and bad, and the sages made their emblematic interpretations accordingly. The Ho gave forth the scheme or map, and the Lo gave forth the writing, of (both of) which the sages took advantage.'

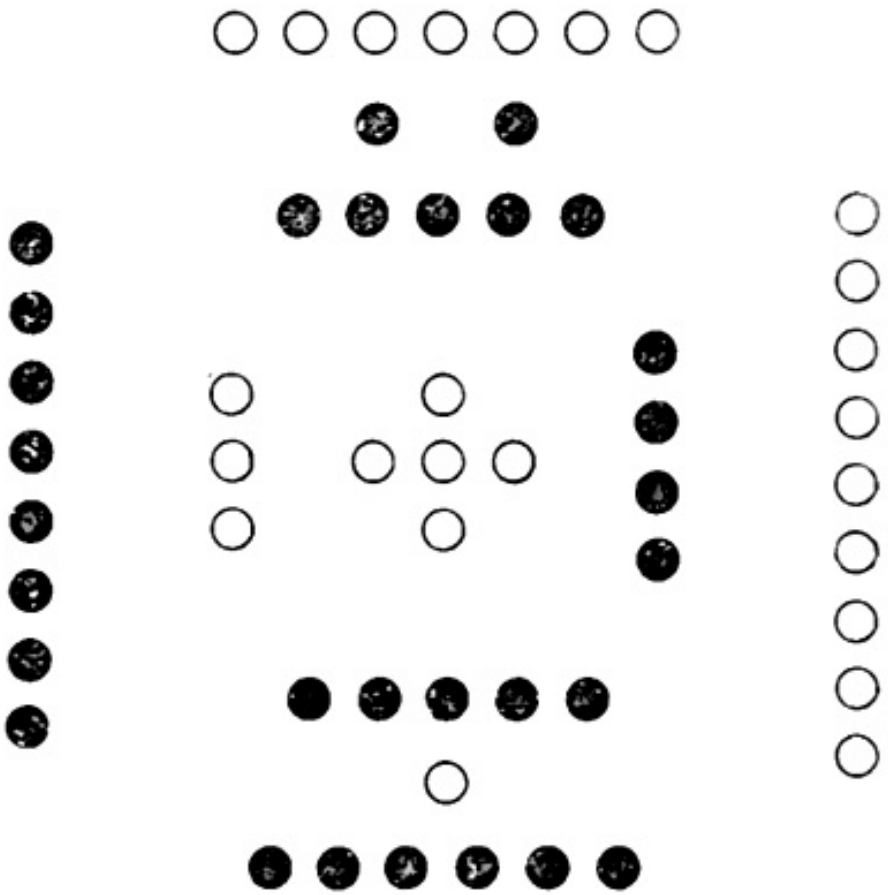
The words with which we have at present to do are 'The Ho (that is, the Yellow River) gave forth the Map.' This map, according to tradition and popular belief, contained a scheme which served as a model to Fû-hsî in making his 8 trigrams. Apart from this passage in the Yî King, we know that Confucius believed in such a map, or spoke at least as if he did . In the 'Record of Rites' it is said that 'the map was borne by a horse ;' and the thing, whatever it was, is mentioned in the Shû as still preserved at court, among other curiosities, in B.C. 1079 . The story of it, as now current, is this, that 'a dragon-horse' issued from the Yellow River, bearing on its back an arrangement of marks, from which Fû-hsî got the idea of the trigrams.

All this is so evidently fabulous that it seems a waste of time to enter into any details about it. My reason for doing so is a wish to take advantage of the map in giving such a statement of the rules observed in interpreting the figures as is necessary in this Introduction.

The form of the River Map

The map that was preserved, it has been seen, in the eleventh century B.C., afterwards perished, and though there was much speculation about its form from the time that the restoration of the ancient classics was undertaken in the Han

dynasty, the first delineation of it given to the public was in the reign of Hui Žung of the Sung dynasty (A. D. 1101-1125) . The most approved scheme of it is the following: —



It will be observed that the markings in this scheme are small circles, pretty nearly equally divided into dark and light. All of them whose numbers are odd are light circles, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9; and all of them whose numbers are even are dark, — 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. This is given as the origin of what is said in paragraphs 49 and 50 of Section i about the numbers of heaven and earth. The difference in the colour of the circles occasioned the distinction of them and of what they signify into Yin and Yang, the dark and the bright, the moon-like and the sun-like; for the sun is called the Great Brightness (Thâi Yang), and the moon the Great Obscurity (Thâi Yin). I shall have more to say in the next chapter on the application of these names. Fû-hsî in making the trigrams, and king Wăn, if it was he who first multiplied them to the 64 hexagrams, found it convenient to use lines instead of the circles: — the whole line () for the bright circle (), and the divided line () for the dark (). The first, the third, and the fifth lines in a

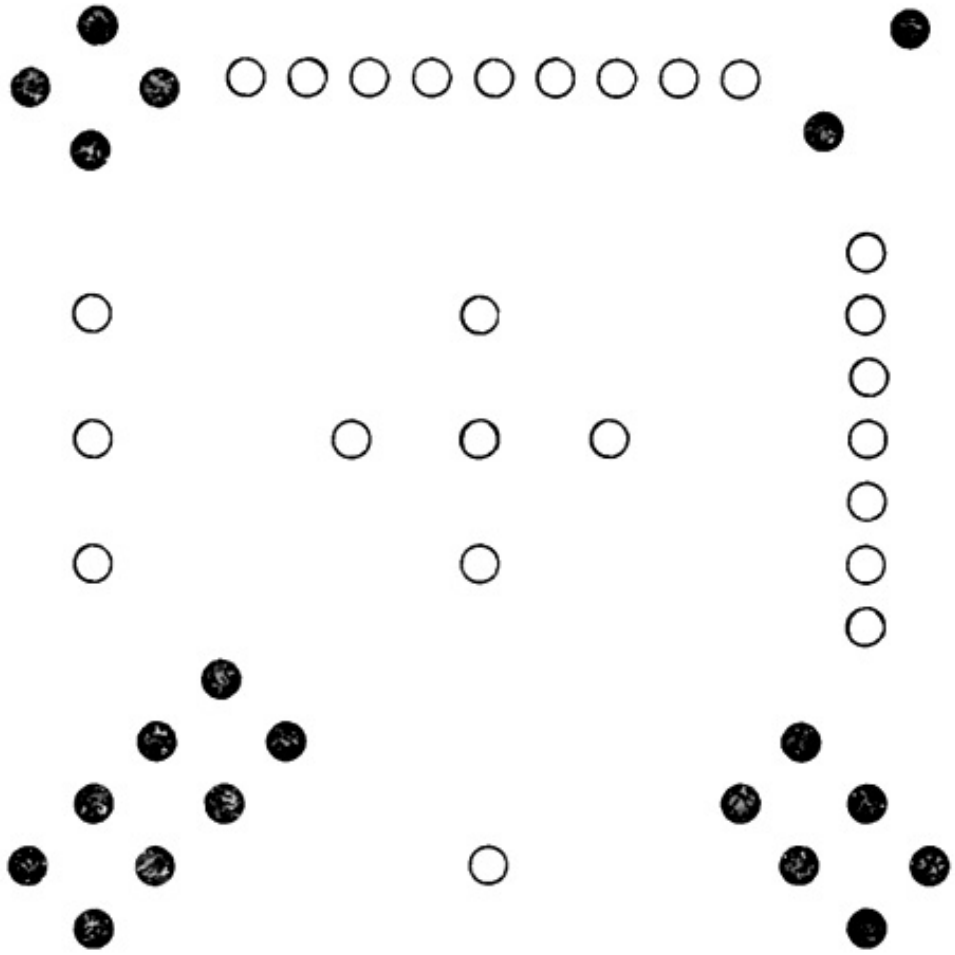
hexagram, if they are ‘correct’ as it is called, should all be whole, and the second, fourth, and sixth lines should all be divided. Yang lines are strong (or hard), and Yin lines are weak (or soft). The former indicate vigour and authority; the latter, feebleness and submission. It is the part of the former to command; of the latter to obey.

The lines, moreover, in the two trigrams that make up the hexagrams, and characterise the subjects which they represent, are related to one another by their position, and have their significance modified accordingly. The first line and the fourth, the second and the fifth,. the third and the sixth are all correlates; and to make the correlation perfect the two members of it should be lines of different qualities, one whole and the other divided. And, finally, the middle lines of the trigrams, the second and fifth, that is, of the hexagrams, have a peculiar value and force. If we have a whole line () in the fifth place, and a divided line () in the second, or vice versâ, the correlation is complete. Let the subject of the fifth be the sovereign or a commander-in-chief, according to the name and meaning of the hexagram, then the subject of the second will be an able minister or a skilful officer, and the result of their mutual action will be most beneficial and successful. It is specially important to have a clear idea of the name of the hexagram, and of the subject or state which it is intended to denote. The significance of all the lines comes thus to be of various application, and will differ in different hexagrams.

I have thus endeavoured to indicate how the lineal figures were formed, and the principal rules laid down for the interpretation of them. The details are wearying, but my position is like that of one who is called on to explain an important monument of architecture, very bizarre in its conception and execution. A plainer, simpler structure might have answered the purpose better, but the architect had his reasons for the plan and style which he adopted. If the result of his labours be worth expounding, we must not grudge the study necessary to detect his processes of thought, nor the effort and time required to bring the minds of others into sympathy with his.

My own opinion, as I have intimated, is, that the second, account of the origin of the trigrams and hexagrams is the true one. However the idea of the whole and divided lines arose in the mind of the first framer, we must start from them; and then, manipulating them in the manner described, we arrive, very easily, at all the lineal figures, and might proceed to multiply them to billions. We cannot tell who devised the third account of their formation from the map or scheme on the dragon-horse of the, Yellow River . Its object, no doubt, was to impart a supernatural character to the trigrams and produce a religious veneration for them. It may be doubted whether the scheme as it is now fashioned be the

correct one, — such as it was in the *K*âu dynasty. The paragraph where it is mentioned, goes on to say— 'The Lo produced the writing.' This writing was a scheme of the same character as the Ho map, but on the back of a tortoise, which emerged from the river Lo, and showed it to the Great Yü, when he was engaged in his celebrated work of draining off the waters of the flood, as related in the Shû. To the hero sage it suggested 'the Great Plan,' an interesting but mystical document of the same classic, 'a Treatise,' according to Gaubil, 'of Physics, Astrology, Divination, Morals, Politics, and Religion,' the great model for the government of the kingdom. The accepted representation of this writing is the following: —



But substituting numbers for the number of marks, we have

This is nothing but the arithmetical puzzle, in which the numbers from 1 to 9 are arranged so as to make 15 in whatever way we add them . If we had the original form of ‘the River Map,’ we should probably find it a numerical trifle, not more difficult, not more supernatural, than this magic square.

3. Let us return to the Yî of *K*âu, which, as I have said above on , contains, under each of the 64 hexagrams, a brief essay of a moral, social, or political character, symbolically expressed.

State of the country in time of king Wăn

To understand it, it will be necessary to keep in mind the circumstances in which king Wăn addressed himself to the study of the lineal figures. The kingdom, under the sovereigns of the Yin or Shang dynasty, was utterly disorganised and demoralised. A brother of the reigning king thus described its condition: —

‘The house of Yin can no longer exercise rule over the land. The great deeds of our founder were displayed in a former age, but through mad addiction to drink we have destroyed the effects of his virtue. The people, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws. There is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The lesser people rise up and commit violent outrages on one another. The dynasty of Yin is sinking in ruin; its condition is like that of one crossing a large stream, who can find neither ford nor bank .’

The character of the monarch

This miserable state of the nation was due very much to the character and tyranny of the monarch. When the son of Wăn took the field against him, he thus denounced him in ‘a Solemn Declaration’ addressed to all the states: —

‘Shâu, the king of Shang, treats all virtue with contemptuous slight, and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people. He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading in a (winter-)morning he cut out the heart of the good man . His power has been shown in killing and murdering. His

honours and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He neglects the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. He has discontinued the offerings

in the ancestral temple. He makes (cruel) contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary ingenuity to please his wife — .God will no longer bear with him, but with a curse is sending down his ruin .'

The lords of Kâu; and especially king Wăn

Such was the condition of the nation, such the character of the sovereign. Meanwhile in the west of the kingdom, in a part of what is now the province of Shen-hsî, lay the principality of *K*âu, the lords of which had long been distinguished for their ability, and virtue. Its present chief, now known to us as king Wăn, was *Kh*ang, who had succeeded to his father in B. C. 1185. He was not only lord of Kâu, but had come to be a sort of viceroy over a great part of the kingdom. Equally distinguished in peace and war, a model of all that was good and attractive, he conducted himself with remarkable wisdom and self-restraint. Princes and people would have rejoiced to follow him to attack the tyrant, but he shrank from exposing himself to the charge of being disloyal. At last the jealous suspicion of Shâu was aroused. Wăn, as has been already stated, was thrown into prison in B. C. 1143, and the order for his death might arrive at any moment. Then it was that he occupied himself with the lineal figures.

King Wăn in prison, occupied with the lineal figures

The use of those figures — of the trigrams at least — had long been practised for the purposes of divination. The employment of the divining stalks is indicated in 'the Counsels of the Great Yü,' one of the earliest Books of the Shû , and a whole section in 'the Great Plan,' also a Book of the Shû, and referred to the times of the Hsiâ dynasty, describes how 'doubts were to be examined' by means of the tortoise-shell and the stalks . Wăn could not but be familiar with divination as an institution of his country . Possibly it occurred to him that nothing was more likely to lull the suspicions of his dangerous enemy than the study of the figures; and if his keepers took notice of what he was doing, they would smile at his lines, and the sentences which he appended to them.

I like to think of the lord of *K*âu, when incarcerated in Yû-lî, with the 64 figures arranged before him. Each hexagram assumed a mystic meaning, and glowed with a deep significance. He made it tell him of the qualities of various objects of nature, or of the principles of human society, or of the condition, actual and possible, of the kingdom. He named the figures, each by a term

descriptive of the idea with which he had connected it in his mind, and then he proceeded to set that idea forth, now with a note of exhortation, now with a note of warning. It was an attempt to restrict the follies of divination within the bounds of reason. The last but one of the Appendixes bears the name of 'Sequence of the Diagrams.' I shall have to speak of it more at length in the next chapter. I only remark at present that it deals, feebly indeed, with the names of the hexagrams in harmony with what I have said about them, and tries to account for the order in which they follow one another. It does all this, not critically as if it needed to be established, but in the way of expository statement, relating that about which there was no doubt in the mind of the author.

But all the work of prince *Kh*ang or king Wăn in the Yî thus amounts to no more than 64 short paragraphs.

Work of the duke of Kâu on the separate lines

We do not know what led his son Tan to enter into his work and complete it as he did. Tan was a patriot, a hero, a legislator, and a philosopher. Perhaps he took the lineal figures in hand as a tribute of filial duty. What had been done for the whole hexagram he would do for each line, and make it clear that all the six lines 'bent one way their precious influence,' and blended their rays in the globe of light which his father had made each figure give forth.

But his method strikes us as singular. Each line seemed to become living, and suggested some phenomenon in nature or some case of human experience, from which the wisdom or folly, the luckiness or unluckiness, indicated by it could be inferred. It cannot be said that the duke carried out his plan in a way likely to interest any one but a hsien shăng who is a votary of divination, and admires the style of its oracles. According to our notions, a framer of emblems should be a good deal of a poet, but those of the Yî only make us think of a dryasdust. Out of more than 350, the greater number are only grotesque. We do not recover from the feeling of disappointment till we remember that both father and son had to write 'according to the trick,' after the manner of diviners, as if this lineal augury had been their profession.

The seventh hexagram

4. At length I come to illustrate what I have said on the subject-matter of the Yî by an example. It shall be the treatment of the seventh hexagram which king Wăn named Sze, meaning Hosts. The character is also explained as meaning 'multitudes;' and in fact, in a feudal kingdom, the multitudes of the people were all liable to become its army, when occasion required, and the 'host' and the 'population' might be interchangeable terms. As Froude expresses it in

the introductory chapter to his History of England, ‘Every man was regimented somewhere.’

The hexagram Sze is composed of the two trigrams Khan () and Khwăn (), exhibiting waters collected on the earth; and in other symbolisms besides that of the Yî, waters indicate assembled multitudes of men. The waters on which the mystical Babylon sits in the Apocalypse are explained as ‘peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues.’ I do not positively affirm that it was by this interpretation of the trigrams that king Wăn saw in the feudal hosts of his country collected, for neither from him nor his son do we learn, by their direct affirmation, that they had any acquaintance with, the trigrams of Fû-hsî. The name which he gave the figure shows, however, that he saw in it the feudal hosts in the field. How shall their expedition be conducted that it may come to a successful issue?

Looking again at the figure, we see that it is made up of five divided lines, and of one undivided. The undivided line occupies the central place in the lower trigram, — the most important place, next to the fifth, in the whole hexagram. It will represent, in the language of the commentators, ‘the lord of the whole figure;’ and the parties represented by the other lines may be expected to be of one mind with him or obedient to him. He must be the leader of the hosts. If he were on high, in the fifth place, he would be the sovereign of the kingdom. This is what king Wăn says: —

‘Sze indicates how (in the case which it supposes), with firmness and correctness, and (a leader of) age and experience, there will be good fortune and no error.’

This is a good auspice. Let us see how the duke of *K*âu expands it.

He says: —

‘The first line, divided, shows the host going forth according to the rules (for such a movement). If those (rules) be not good, there will be evil.’

We are not told what the rules for a military expedition were. Some commentators understand them of the reasons justifying the movement, — that it should be to repress and punish disorder and rebellion. Others, with more likelihood, take them to be the discipline or rules laid down to be observed by the troops. The line is divided, a weak line in a strong place, ‘not correct:’ this justifies the caution given in the duke’s second sentence.

The Text goes on: —

‘The second line, undivided, shows (the leader) in the midst of the hosts. There will be good fortune and no error. The king has thrice conveyed to him his

charge.’

This does not need any amplification. The duke saw in the strong line the symbol of the leader, who enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign, and whose authority admitted of no opposition.

On the third line it is said: —

‘The third line, divided, shows how the hosts may possibly have many commanders: — (in such a case) there will be evil.’

The third place is odd, and should be occupied by a strong line, instead of which we have a weak line in it. But it is at the top of the lower trigram, and its subject should be in office or activity. There is suggested the idea that its subject has vaulted over the second line, and wishes to share in the command and honour of him who has been appointed sole commander-in-chief. The lesson in the previous line is made of none effect. We have a divided authority in the expedition. The result can only be evil.

On the fourth line the duke wrote: —

‘The fourth line, divided, shows the hosts in retreat: there is no error.’

The line is also weak, and victory cannot be expected but in the fourth place a weak line is in its correct position, and its subject will do what is right in his circumstances. He will retreat, and a retreat is for him the part of wisdom. When safely affected, where advance would be disastrous, a retreat is as glorious as victory.

Under the fifth line we read: —

‘The fifth line, divided, shows birds in the fields which it is advantageous to seize (and destroy). There will be no error. If the oldest son lead the host, and younger men be (also) in command, however firm and correct he may be, there will be evil.’

We have an intimation in this passage that only defensive war, or war waged by the rightful authority to put down rebellion and lawlessness, is right. The ‘birds in the fields’ are emblematic of plunderers and invaders, whom it will be well to destroy. The fifth line symbolises the chief authority, but here he is weak or humble, and has given all power and authority to execute judgment into the hands of the commander-in-chief, who is the oldest son; and in the subject of line 3 we have an example of the younger men who would cause evil if allowed to share his power.

Finally, on the sixth line the duke wrote: —

‘The topmost line, divided, shows the great ruler delivering his charges (to the men who have distinguished themselves), appointing some to be rulers of states, and others to be chiefs of clans. But small men should not be employed (in such positions).’

The action of the hexagram has been gone through. The expedition has been conducted to a successful end. The enemy has been subdued. His territories are at the disposal of the conqueror. The commander-in-chief has done his part well. His sovereign, 'the great ruler,' comes upon the scene, and rewards the officers who have been conspicuous by their bravery and skill, conferring on them rank and lands. But he is warned to have respect in doing so to their moral character. Small men, of ordinary or less than ordinary character, may be rewarded with riches and certain honours; but land and the welfare of its population should not be given into the hands of any who are not equal to the responsibility of such a trust.

The above is a specimen of what I have called the essays that make up the Yî of *K*âu. So would king Wăn and his son have had all military expeditions conducted in their country 3000 years ago. It seems to me that the principles which they lay down might find a suitable application in the modern warfare of our civilised and Christian Europe. The inculcation of such lessons cannot have been without good effect in China during the long course of its history.

Sze is a fair specimen of its class. From the other 63 hexagrams lessons are deduced, for the most part equally good and striking. But why, it may be asked, why should they be conveyed to us by such an array of lineal figures, and in such a farrago of emblematic representations? It is not for the foreigner to insist on such a question. The Chinese have not valued them the less because of the antiquated dress in which their lessons are arrayed. Hundreds of their commentators have evolved and developed their meaning with a minuteness of detail and felicity of illustration that leave nothing to be desired. It is for foreign students of Chinese to gird up their loins for the mastery of the book instead of talking about it as mysterious and all but inexplicable.

Granting, however, that the subject-matter of the Yî is what has been described, very valuable for its practical wisdom, but not drawn up from an abysmal deep of philosophical speculation, it may still be urged, 'But in all this we find nothing to justify the name of the book as Yî King, the "Classic of Changes." Is there not something more, higher or deeper, in the Appendixes that have been ascribed to Confucius, whose authority is certainly not inferior to that of king Wăn, or the duke of *K*âu?' To reply fully to this question will require another chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE APPENDIXES

Subjects of the chapter

1. Two things have to be considered in this chapter: — the authorship of the Appendixes, and their contents. The Text is ascribed, without dissentient voice, to king Wăn, the founder of the *K*âu dynasty, and his son Tan, better known as the duke of *K*âu; and I have, in the preceding chapters, given reasons for accepting that view. As regards the portion ascribed to king Wăn, the evidence of the third of the Appendixes and the statement of Sze-mâ *Kh*ien are as positive as could be desired; and as regards that ascribed to his son, there is no ground for calling in question the received tradition. The Appendixes have all been ascribed to Confucius, though not with entirely the same unanimity. Perhaps I have rather intimated my own opinion that this view cannot be sustained. I have pointed out that, even if it be true, between six and seven centuries elapsed after the Text of the classic appeared before the Appendixes were written; and I have said that, considering this fact, I cannot regard its two parts as a homogeneous whole, or as constituting one book in the ordinary acceptation of that name. Before entering on the question of the authorship, a very brief statement of the nature and number of the Appendixes will be advantageous.

Number and Nature of the Appendixes

2. They are reckoned to be ten, and called the Shih Yî or 'Ten Wings.' They are in reality not so many; but the Text is divided into two sections, called the Upper and Lower, or, as we should say, the first and second, and then the commentary on each section is made to form a separate Appendix. I have found it more convenient in the translation which follows to adopt a somewhat different arrangement.

My first Appendix, in two sections, embraces the first and second 'wings,' consisting of remarks on the paragraphs by king Wăn in the two parts of the Text.

My second Appendix, in two sections, embraces the third and fourth 'wings,' consisting of remarks on the symbolism of the duke of *K*âu in his explanation of the individual lines of the hexagrams.

My third Appendix, in two sections, embraces the fifth and sixth 'wings,' which bear the name in Chinese of 'Appended Sentences,' and constitute what is called by many 'the Great Treatise.' Each wing has been divided into twelve

chapters of very different length, and I have followed this arrangement in my sections. This is the most important Appendix. It has less of the nature of commentary than the previous four wings. While explaining much of what is found in the Text, it diverges to the origin of the trigrams, the methods pursued in the practice of divination, the rise of many arts in the progress of civilisation, and other subjects.

My fourth Appendix, also in two sections, forms the seventh 'wing.' It is confined to an amplification of the expositions of the first and second hexagrams by king Wăn and his son, purporting to show how they may be interpreted of man's nature and doings.

My fifth Appendix is the eighth 'wing,' called 'Discourses on the Trigrams.' It treats of the different arrangement of these in respect of the seasons of the year and the cardinal points by Fû-hsî and king Wăn. It contains also one paragraph, which might seem to justify the view that there is a mythology in the Yî.

My sixth Appendix, in two sections, is the ninth 'wing,' —

'a Treatise on the Sequence of the Hexagrams,' intended to trace the connexion of meaning between them in the order in which they follow one another in the Text of king Wăn.

My seventh Appendix is the tenth 'wing,' an exhibition of the meaning of the 64 hexagrams, not taken in succession, but promiscuously and at random, as they approximate to or are opposed to one another in meaning.

The authorship of the Appendixes

3. Such are the Appendixes of the Yî King. We have to enquire next who wrote them, and especially whether it be possible to accept the dictum that they were all written by Confucius. If they have come down to us, bearing unmistakeably the stamp of the mind and pencil of the great sage, we cannot but receive them with deference, not to say with reverence. If, on the contrary, it shall appear that with great part of them he had nothing to do, and that it is not certain that any part of them is from him, we shall feel entirely at liberty to exercise our own judgment on their contents, and weigh them in the balances of our reason.

There is no superscription of Confucius on any of the Appendixes

None of the Appendixes, it is to be observed, bear the superscription of Confucius. There is not a single sentence in any one of them ascribing it to him. I gave in the first chapter, on , the earliest testimony that these treatises were produced by him. It is that of Sze-mâ *Kh*ien, whose 'Historical Records' must have appeared about the year 100 before our era. He ascribes all the Appendixes, except the last two of them, which he does not mention at all, expressly to

Confucius; and this, no doubt, was the common belief in the fourth century after the sage's death.

The third and fourth Appendixes evidently not from Confucius

But when we look for ourselves into the third and fourth Appendixes — the fifth, sixth, and seventh 'wings' — both of which are specified by *Kh*ien, we find it impossible to receive his statement about them. What is remarkable in both parts of the third is, the frequent occurrence of the formula, 'The Master said,' familiar to all readers of the Confucian Analects. Of course, the sentence following that formula, or the paragraph covered by it, was, in the judgment of the writer, in the language of Confucius; but what shall we say of the portions preceding and following? If he were the author of them, he would not thus be distinguishing himself from himself. The formula occurs in the third Appendix at least twenty-three times. Where we first meet with it, *K*û Hsî has a note to the effect that 'the Appendixes having been all made by Confucius, he ought not to be himself introducing the formula, "The Master said;" and that it may be presumed, wherever it occurs, that it is a subsequent addition to the Master's text.' One instance will show the futility of this attempt to solve the difficulty. The tenth chapter of Section i commences with the 59th paragraph: —

'In the Yî there are four things characteristic of the way of the sages. We should set the highest value on its explanations, to guide us in speaking; on its changes, for the initiation of our movements; on its emblematic figures, for definite action, as in the construction of implements; and on its prognostications, for our practice of divination.'

This is followed by seven paragraphs expanding its statements, and we come to the last one of the chapter which says,— 'The Master said, "Such is the import of the statement that there are four things in the Yî, characteristic of the way of the sages."' I cannot understand how it could be more fully conveyed to us that the compiler or compilers of this Appendix were distinct from the Master whose words they quoted, as it suited them, to confirm or illustrate their views.

In the fourth Appendix, again, we find a similar occurrence of the formula of quotation. It is much shorter than the third, and the phrase, 'The Master said,' does not come before us so frequently; but in the thirty-six paragraphs that compose the first section we meet with it six times.

Bearing of the conclusion as to the third and fourth on the other Appendixes

Moreover, the first three paragraphs of this Appendix are older than its compilation, which could not have taken place till after the death of Confucius, seeing it professes to quote his words. They are taken in fact from a narrative of the Žo *K*wan, as having been spoken by a marchioness-dowager of Lû fourteen

years before Confucius was born. To account for this is a difficult task for the orthodox critics among the Chinese literati. *K*û Hsî attempts to perform it in this way: — that anciently there was the explanation given in these paragraphs of the four adjectives employed by king Wăn to give the significance of the first hexagram; that it was employed by Mû *K*iang of Lû; and that Confucius also availed himself of it, while the chronicler used, as be does below, the phraseology of 'The Master said,' to distinguish the real words of the sage from such ancient sayings. But who was 'the chronicler?' No one can tell. The legitimate conclusion from KO's criticism is, that so much of the Appendix as is preceded by 'The Master said' is from Confucius, — so much and no more. I am thus obliged to come to the conclusion that Confucius had nothing to do with the composition of these two Appendixes, and that they were not put together till after his death. I have no pleasure in differing from the all but unanimous opinion of Chinese critics and commentators. What is called 'the destructive criticism' has no attractions for me; but when an opinion depends on the argument adduced to support it, and that argument turns out to be of no weight, you can no longer set your seal to this, that the opinion is true. This is the position in which an examination of the internal evidence as to the authorship of the third and fourth Appendixes has placed me. Confucius could not be their author. This conclusion weakens the confidence which we have been accustomed to place in the view that 'the ten wings' were to be ascribed to him unhesitatingly. The view has broken down in the case of three of them; — possibly there is no sound reason for holding the Confucian origin of the other seven.

I cannot henceforth maintain that origin save with bated breath. This, however, can be said for the first two Appendixes in my arrangement, that there is no evidence against their being Confucian like the fatal formula, 'The Master said.' So it is with a good part of my fifth Appendix; but the concluding paragraphs of it, as well as the seventh

Appendix, and the sixth also in a less degree, seem too trivial to be the production of the great man. As a translator of every sentence both in the Text and the Appendixes, I confess my sympathy with P. Regis, when he condenses the fifth Appendix into small space, holding that the 8th and following paragraphs are not worthy to be translated. 'They contain,' he says, 'nothing but the mere enumeration of things, some of which may be called Yang, and others Yin, without any other cause for so thinking being given. Such a method of procedure would be unbecoming any philosopher, and it cannot be denied to be unworthy of Confucius, the chief of philosophers .'

I could not characterise Confucius as ‘the chief of philosophers,’ though he was a great moral philosopher, and has been since he went out and in among his disciples, the best teacher of the Chinese nation. But from the first time my attention was directed to the Yî, I regretted that he had stooped to write the parts of the Appendixes now under remark. It is a relief not to be obliged to receive them as his. Even the better treatises have no other claim to that character besides the voice of tradition, first heard nearly 400 years after his death.

4. I return to the Appendixes, and will endeavour to give a brief, but sufficient, account of their contents.

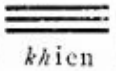
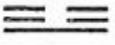
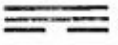
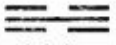
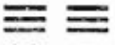
The first Appendix

The first bears in Chinese the name of Thwan *K*wan, ‘Treatise on the Thwan,’ thwan being the name given to the paragraphs in which Wăn expresses his sense of the significance of the hexagrams. He does not tell us why he attaches to each hexagram such and such a meaning, nor why he predicates good fortune or bad fortune in connexion with it, for he speaks oracularly, after the manner of a diviner. It is the object of the writer of this Appendix to show the processes of king Wăn’s thoughts in these operations, how he looked at the component trigrams with their symbolic intimations, their attributes and qualities, and their linear composition, till he could not think otherwise of the figures than he did. All these considerations are sometimes taken into account,

and sometimes even one of them is deemed sufficient. In this way some technical characters appear which are not found in the Text. The lines, for instance, and even whole trigrams are distinguished as kang and *z*âu, hard or strong’ and ‘weak or soft.’ The phrase Kwei-shăn, ‘spirits,’ or ‘spiritual beings,’ occurs, but has not its physical signification of ‘the contracting and expanding energies or operations of nature.’ The names Yin and Yang, mentioned above on p, 16, do not present themselves.

I delineated, on , the eight trigrams of Fû-hsî, and gave their names., with the natural objects they are said to represent, but did not mention the attributes, the virtutes, ascribed to them. Let me submit here a table of them, with those qualities, and the points of the compass to which they are referred. I must do this because king Wăn made a change in the geographical arrangement of them, to which reference is made perhaps in his text and certainly in this treatise. He also is said to have formed an entirely different theory as to the things represented by the trigrams, which it will be well to give now, though it belongs properly to the fifth Appendix.

FÛ-HSÎ'S TRIGRAMS.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
							
*kh*ien	tui	lî	*k*ăn	sun	khân	kăn	khwăn
Heaven, the sky.	Water, collected as in a marsh or lake.	Fire, as in lightning; the sun.	Thunder.	The wind; wood.	Water, as in rain, clouds, springs, streams, and defiles. The moon.	Hills, or mountains.	The earth.
S.	S.E.	E.	N.E.	S.W.	W.	N.W.	N.
Untiring strength; power.	Pleasure; complacent satisfaction.	Brightness; elegance.	Moving, exciting power.	Flexibility; penetration.	Peril; difficulty.	Resting; the act of arresting.	Capaciousness; submission.

The natural objects and phenomena thus represented are found up and down in the Appendixes. It is impossible to believe that the several objects were assigned to the several figures on any principles of science, for there is no indication of science in the matter: it is difficult even to suppose that they were assigned on any comprehensive scheme of thought. Why are tui and khân used to represent water in different conditions, while khân, moreover, represents the moon? How is sun set apart to represent things so different as wind and wood? At a very early time the Chinese spoke of 'the five elements,' meaning water, fire, wood, metal, and earth; but the trigrams were not made to indicate them, and it is the general opinion that there is no reference to them in the Yî .

Again, the attributes assigned to the trigrams are learned mainly from this Appendix and the fifth. We do not readily get familiar with them, nor easily accept them all. It is impossible for us to tell whether they were a part of the jargon of divination before king Wăn, or had grown up between his time and that of the author of the Appendixes.

King Wăn altered the arrangement of the trigrams so that not one of them should stand at the same point of the compass as in the ancient plan. He made them also representative of certain relations among themselves, as if they

composed a family of parents and children. It will be sufficient at present to give a table of his scheme.

KING WĂN'S TRIGRAMS

KING WĂN'S TRIGRAMS.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
lî	sun	*kh*ăn	kăn	khân	*kh*ien	tui	khwăn
Second daughter.	Oldest daughter.	Oldest son.	Youngest son.	Second son.	Father.	Youngest daughter.	Mother.
S.	S.E.	E.	N.E.	N.	N.W.	W.	S.W.

There is thus before us the apparatus with which the writer of the Appendix accomplishes his task. Let me select one of the shortest instances of his work.

The fourteenth hexagram is , called Tâ Yû, and meaning 'Possessing in great abundance.' King Wăn saw in it the symbol of a government prosperous and realising all its proper objects; but all that he wrote on it was 'Tâ Yû (indicates) great progress and success.' Unfolding that view of its significance, the Appendix says: —

'In Tâ Yû the weak (line) has the place of honour, is grandly central, and (the strong lines) above and below respond to it. Hence comes its name of "Possession of what is great." The attributes (of its constituent trigrams, *kh*ien and lî) are strength and vigour, elegance and brightness. (The ruling line in it) responds to (the ruling line in the symbol of) heaven, and its actings are (consequently all) at the proper times. Thus it is that it is said to indicate great progress and success.'

In a similar way the paragraphs on all the other 63 hexagrams are gone through; and, for the most part, with success. The conviction grows upon the student that the writer has on the whole apprehended the mind of king Wăn.

The name Kwei-shăn

I stated, on , that the name kwei-shăn occurs in this Appendix. It has not yet, however, received the semi-physical, semi-metaphysical signification which the comparatively modern scholars of the Sung dynasty give to it. There are two passages where it is found; — the second paragraph on *Kh*ien, the fifteenth

hexagram, and the third on Făng, the fifty-fifth. By consulting them the reader will be able to form an opinion for himself. The term kwei denotes specially the human spirit disembodied, and shăn is used for spirits whose seat is in heaven. I do not see my way to translate them, when used binomially together, otherwise than by spiritual beings or spiritual agents.

*K*û Hsî once had the following question suggested by the second of these passages put to him:— 'Kwei-shăn is a name for the traces of making and transformation; but when it is said that (the interaction of) heaven and earth is now vigorous and abundant, and now dull and void, growing and diminishing according to the seasons, that constitutes the traces of making and transformation; why should the writer further speak of the Kwei-shăn?' He replied, 'When he uses the style of "heaven and earth," he is speaking of the result generally; but in ascribing it to the Kwei-shăn, he is representing the traces of their effective interaction, as if there were men (that is, some personal agency) bringing it about .' This solution merely explains the language away. When we come to the fifth Appendix, we shall understand better the views of the period when these treatises were produced.

The single character shăn is used in explaining the thwan on Kwân, the twentieth hexagram, where we read: —

'In Kwân we see the spirit-like way of heaven, through which the four seasons proceed without error. The sages, in accordance with (this) spirit-like way, laid down their instructions, and all under heaven yield submission to them.'

The author of the Appendix delights to dwell on the changing phenomena taking place between heaven and earth, and which he attributes to their interaction; and he was penetrated evidently with a sense of the harmony between the natural and spiritual worlds. It is this sense, indeed, which vivifies both the thwan and the explanation of them.

The second Appendix

5. We proceed to the second Appendix, which professes to do for the duke of *K*âu's symbolical exposition of the several lines what the Thwan *K*wan does for the entire figures. The work here, however, is accomplished with less trouble and more briefly. The whole bears the name of Hsiang *K*wan, 'Treatise on the Symbols' or 'Treatise on the Symbolism (of the Yî).'

If there were reason to think that it came in any way from Confucius, I should fancy that I saw him sitting with a select class of his disciples around him. They read the duke's Text column after column, and the master drops now a word or two, and now a sentence or two, that illuminate the meaning. The disciples take

notes on their tablets, or store his remarks in their memories, and by and by they write them out with the whole of the, Text or only so much of it as is necessary. Whoever was the original lecturer, the Appendix, I think, must have grown up in this way.

It would not be necessary to speak of it at greater length, if it were not that the six paragraphs on the symbols of the duke of *K*âu are always preceded by one which is called 'the Great Symbolism,' and treats of the trigrams composing the hexagram, how they go together to form the six-lined figure, and how their blended meaning appears in the institutions and proceedings of the great men and kings of former days, and of the superior men of all time. The paragraph is for the most part, but by no means always, in harmony with the explanation of the hexagram by king Wăn, and a place in the Thwan *K*wan would be more appropriate to it. I suppose that, because it always begins with the mention of the two symbolical trigrams, it is made, for the sake of the symmetry, to form a part of the treatise on the Symbolism of the Yî.

The Great Symbolism

I will give a few examples of the paragraphs of the Great Symbolism. The first hexagram is formed by a repetition of the trigram *Kh*ien representing heaven, and it is said on it:— 'Heaven in its motion (gives) the idea of strength. The superior man, in accordance with this, nerves himself to ceaseless activity.'

The second hexagram is formed by a repetition of the trigram Khwăn representing the earth, and it is said on it:— 'The capacious receptivity of the earth is what is denoted by Khwăn. The superior man, in accordance with this, with his large virtue, supports men and things.'

The forty-fourth hexagram, called Kâu , is formed by the trigrams Sun, representing wind, and *Kh*ien representing heaven or the sky, and it is said on it: —'(The symbol of) wind, beneath that of the sky, forms Kâu. In accordance with this, the sovereign distributes his charges, and promulgates his announcements throughout the four quarters (of the kingdom).'

The fifty-ninth hexagram, called Hwân is formed by the trigrams *Kh*ân, representing water, and Sun, representing wind, and it is said on it: — (The symbol of) water and (that of wind) above it form Hwân. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, presented offerings to God, and established the ancestral temple.' The union of the two trigrams suggested to king Wăn the idea of dissipation in the alienation of men from the Supreme Power, and of the minds

of parents from their children; a condition which the wisdom of the ancient kings saw could best be met by the influences of religion.

One more example. The twenty-sixth hexagram, called Tâ *Kh*û, is formed of the trigrams Khien, representing heaven or the sky, and Kân, representing a mountain, and it is said on it:—'(The symbol of) heaven in the midst of a mountain forms Tâ *Kh*û. The superior man, in accordance with this, stores largely in his memory the words of former men and their conduct, to subserve the accumulation of his virtue.' We are ready to exclaim and ask, 'Heaven, the sky, in the midst of a mountain! Can there be such a thing?' and *K*û Hsî will tell us in reply, 'No, there cannot be such a thing in reality; but you can conceive it for the purpose of the symbolism.'

From this and the other examples adduced from the Great Symbolism, it is clear that, so far as its testimony bears on the subject, the trigrams of Fû-hsî did not receive their form and meaning with a deep intention that they should serve as the basis of a philosophical scheme concerning the constitution of heaven and earth and all that is in them. In this Appendix they are used popularly, just as one

'Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.'

The writer moralises from them in an edifying manner. There is ingenuity, and sometimes instruction also, in what he says, but there is no mystery. Chinese scholars and gentlemen, however, who have got some little acquaintance with western science, are fond of saying that all the truths of electricity, heat, light, and other branches of European physics, are in the eight trigrams. When asked how then they and their countrymen have been and are ignorant of those truths, they say that they have to learn them first from western books, and then, looking into the Yî, they see that they were all known to Confucius more than 2000, years ago. The vain assumption thus manifested is childish; and until the Chinese drop their hallucination about the Yî as containing all things that have ever been dreamt of in all philosophies, it will prove a stumbling-block to them, and keep them from entering on the true path of science.

The third Appendix

6. We go on to the third Appendix in two sections, being the fifth and sixth 'wings,' and forming what is called 'The Great Treatise.' It will appear singular to the reader, as it has always done to myself, that neither in the Text, nor in the first two Appendixes, does the character called Yî, which gives its name to the classic, once appear. It is the symbol of 'change,' and is formed from the character for 'the sun' placed over that for 'the moon .' As the sun gives place to

the moon, and the moon to the sun, so is change always proceeding in the phenomena of nature and the experiences of society. We meet with the character nearly fifty times in this Appendix; — applied most commonly to the Text of our classic, so that Yî King or Yî Shû is 'the Classic or Book of Changes.' It is also applied often to the changes in the lines of the figures, made by the manipulations of divination, apart from any sentence or oracle concerning them delivered by king Wăn or his son. There is therefore the system of the Yî as well as the book of the Yî. The definition of the name which is given in one paragraph will suit them both:— 'Production and reproduction is what is called (the process of) change .' In nature there is no vacuum. When anything is displaced, what displaces it takes the empty room. And in the lineal figures, the strong and the weak lines push each other out.

Harmony between the lines ever changing and the changes in external phenomena

Now the remarkable thing asserted is, that the changes in the lines of the figures and the changes of external phenomena show a wonderful harmony and concurrence. We read: —

'The Yî was made on a principle of accordance with heaven and earth, and shows us therefore, without rent or confusion, the course (of things) in heaven and earth .'

'There is a similarity between the sage and heaven and earth; and hence there is no contrariety in him to them. His knowledge embraces all things, and his course is intended to be helpful to all under the sky; and therefore he falls into no error. He acts according to the exigency of circumstances, without being carried away by their current; he rejoices in Heaven, and knows its ordinations; and hence he has no anxieties. He rests in his own (present) position, and cherishes the spirit of generous benevolence; and hence he can love (without reserve) .'

'(Through the Yî) he embraces, as in a mould or enclosure, the transformations of heaven and earth without any error; by an ever-varying adaptation he completes (the nature of) all things without exception; he penetrates to a knowledge of the course of day and night (and all other correlated phenomena). It is thus that his operation is spirit-like, unconditioned by place, while the changes (which he produces) are not restricted to any form.'

One more quotation: —

'The sage was able to survey all the complex phenomena under the sky. He then considered in his mind how they could be

figured, and (by means of the diagrams) represented their material forms and their character .'

All that is thus predicated of the sage, or ancient sages, though the writer probably had Fû-hsî in his mind, is more than sufficiently extravagant, and reminds us of the language in 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' that 'the sage, able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of heaven and earth, may with heaven and earth form a ternion .'

Divination

I quoted largely, in the second chapter, from this Appendix the accounts which it gives of the formation of the lineal figures. There is no occasion to return to that subject. Let us suppose the figures formed. They seem to have the significance, when looked at from certain points of view, which have been determined for us by king Wăn and the duke of *K*âu. But this does not amount to divination. How can the lines be made to serve this purpose? The Appendix professes to tell us.

Ancient divination

Before touching on the method which it describes, let me observe that divination was practised in China from a very early time. I will not say 5,200 years ago, in the days of Fû-hsî, for I cannot repress doubts of his historical personality; but as soon as we tread the borders of something like credible history, we find it existing. In the Shû King, in a document that purports to be of the twenty-third century B. C. , divination by means of the tortoise-shell is mentioned; and somewhat later we find that method continuing, and also divination by the lineal figures, manipulated by means of the stalks of a plant , the Ptarmica Sibirica , which is still cultivated on and about the grave of Confucius, where I have myself seen it growing.

Object of the divination

The object of the divination, it should be acknowledged, was not to discover future events absolutely, as if they could be known beforehand , but to ascertain whether certain schemes, and conditions of events contemplated by the consulter, would turn out luckily or unluckily. But for the actual practice the stalks of the plant were necessary; and I am almost afraid to write that this Appendix teaches that they were produced by Heaven of such a nature as to be fit for the purpose. 'Heaven,' it says, in the 73rd paragraph of Section i, quoted above on , 'Heaven produced the spirit-like things.' The things were the tortoise and the plant, and in paragraph 68, the same quality of being shăn, or 'spirit-like,' is ascribed to them. Occasionally, in the field of Chinese literature, we meet with doubts as to the efficacy of divination, and the folly of expecting any revelation of the character of the future from an old tortoise-shell and a handful of withered twigs ; but when this Appendix was made, the writer had not

attained to so much common sense. The stalks were to him ‘spirit-like,’ possessed of a subtle and invisible virtue that fitted them for use in divining.

Formation of the lineal figures by the divining stalks

Given the stalks with such virtue, the process of manipulating them so as to form the lineal figures is described (Section i, cha, parr. 49-58), but it will take the student much time and thought to master the various operations. Forty-nine stalks were employed, which were thrice manipulated for each line, so that it took eighteen manipulations to form a hexagram. The lines were determined by means of the numbers derived from the River Map or scheme. Odd numbers gave strong or undivided lines, and even numbers gave the weak or divided. An important part was played in combining the lines, and forming the hexagrams by the four emblematic symbols, to which the numbers 9, 8, 7, 6 were appropriated . The figures having been formed, recourse was had for their interpretation to the thwan of king Wăn, and the emblematic sentences of the duke of *K*âu. This was all the part which numbers played in the divination by the Yî, helping the operator to make up his lineal figure. An analogy has often been asserted between the numbers of the Yî and the numbers of Pythagoras; and certainly we might make ten, and more than ten, antinomies from these Appendixes in startling agreement with the ten principia of the Pythagoreans. But if Aristotle was correct in holding that Pythagoras regarded numbers as entities, and maintained that Number was the Beginning (Principle, ἀρχή) of things, the cause of their material existence, and of their modifications and different states, then the doctrine of the philosopher of Samos was different from that of the Yî , in which numbers come in only as aids in divining to form the hexagrams. Of course all divination is vain, nor is the method of the Yî less absurd than any other. The Chinese themselves have given it up in all circles above those of the professional quacks, and yet their scholars continue to maintain the unfathomable science and wisdom of these appended treatises!

The names Yin and Yang

It is in this Appendix that we first meet with the names yin and yang , of which I have spoken briefly on p, 16. Up to this point, instead of them, the names for the two elementary forms of the lines have been kang and *z*âu, which I have translated by ‘strong and weak,’ and which also occur here ten times. The following attempt to explain these different names appears in the fifth Appendix, paragraph 4: —

‘Anciently when the sages made the Yî, it was with the design that its figures should be in conformity with the principles underlying the natures (of men and things), and the ordinances appointed (for them by Heaven). With this view they

exhibited in them the way of heaven, calling (the lines) yin and yang; the way of earth, calling them the strong (or hard) and the weak (or soft); and the way of man, under the names of benevolence and righteousness. Each (trigram) embraced those three Powers, and being repeated, its full form consisted of six lines.'

However difficult it may be to make what is said here intelligible, it confirms what I have affirmed of the significance of the names yin and yang, as meaning bright and dark, derived from the properties of the sun and moon. We may use for these adjectives a variety of others, such as active and inactive, masculine and feminine, hot and cold, more or less analogous to them; but there arise the important questions, — Do we find yang and yin not merely used to indicate the quality of what they are applied to, but at the same time with substantival force, denoting what has the quality which the name denotes? Had the doctrine of a primary matter of an ethereal nature, now expanding and showing itself full of activity and power as yang, now contracting and becoming weak and inactive as yin: — had this doctrine become matter of speculation when this Appendix was written? The Chinese critics and commentators for the most part assume that it had. P. Regis, Dr. Medhurst, and other foreign Chinese scholars repeat their statements without question. I have sought in vain for proof of what is asserted. It took more than a thousand years after the closing of the Yî to fashion in the Confucian school the doctrine of a primary matter. We do not find it fully developed till the era of the Sung dynasty, and in our eleventh and twelfth centuries . To find it in the Yî is the logical, or rather illogical, error of putting 'the last first.' Neither creation nor cosmogony was before the mind of the author whose work I am analysing. His theme is the Yî, — the ever-changing phenomena of nature and experience. There is nothing but this in the 'Great Treatise' to task our powers; — nothing deeper or more abstruse.

The name Kwei-shăn

As in the first Appendix, so in this, the name kwei-shăn occurs twice; in paragraphs 21 and 50 of Section i. In the former instance, each part of the name has its significance. Kwei denotes the animal soul or nature, and Shăn, the intellectual soul, the union of which constitutes the living rational man. I have translated them, it will be seen, by 'the anima and the animus.' Canon McClatchie gives for them 'demons and gods;' and Dr. Medhurst said on the passage, 'The kwei-shăns are evidently the expanding and contracting principles of human life The kwei-shăns are brought about by the dissolution of the human frame, and consist of the expanding and ascending shăn, which rambles about in space, and of the contracted and shrivelled kwei, which reverts to earth and nonentity .'

This is pretty much the same view as my own, though I would not here use the phraseology of ‘expanding and contracting.’ Canon McClatchie is consistent with himself, and renders the characters by ‘demons and gods.’

In the latter passage it is more difficult to determine the exact meaning. The writer says, that ‘by the odd numbers assigned to heaven and the even numbers assigned to earth, the changes and transformations are effected, and the spirit-like agencies kept in movement;’ meaning that by means of the numbers the spirit-like lines might be formed on a scale sufficient to give a picture of all the changing phenomena, taking place, as if by a spiritual agency, in nature. Medhurst contents himself on it with giving the explanation of *K*û Hsî, that ‘the kwei-shăns refer to the contractions and expandings, the recedings and approachings of the productive and completing powers of the even and odd numbers .’ Canon McClatchie does not follow his translation of the former passage and give here ‘demons and gods,’ but we have ‘the Demon-god (i.e. Shang Tî) .’ I shall refer to this version when considering the fifth Appendix.

Shan alone

The single character shăn occurs more than twenty times; — used now as a substantive, now as an adjective, and again as a verb. I must refer the reader to the translation and notes for its various significance, subjoining in a note a list of the places where it occurs .

Much more might be said on the third Appendix, for the writer touches on many other topics, antiquarian and speculative, but a review of them would help us little in the study of the leading subject of the Yî. In passing on to the next treatise, I would only further say that the style of this and the author’s manner of presenting his thoughts often remind the reader of ‘the Doctrine of the Mean.’ I am surprised that ‘the Great Treatise’ has never been ascribed to the author of that Doctrine, Žze-sze, the grandson of Confucius, whose death must have taken place between B. C. 400 and 450.

The Fourth Appendix

7. The fourth Appendix, the seventh wing’ of the Yî, need not detain us long. As I stated on , it is confined to an exposition of the Text on the first and second hexagrams, being an attempt to show that what is there affirmed of heaven and earth may also be applied to man, and that there is an essential agreement between the qualities ascribed to them, and the benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom, which are the four constituents of his moral and intellectual nature.

It is said by some of the critics that Confucius would have treated all the other hexagrams in a similar way, if his life had been prolonged, but we found special grounds for denying that Confucius had anything to do with the composition of

this Appendix; and, moreover, I cannot think of any other figure that would have afforded to the author the same opportunity of discoursing about man. The style and method are after the manner of 'the Doctrine of the Mean' quite as much as those of 'the Great Treatise.' Several paragraphs, moreover, suggest to us the magniloquence of Mencius. It is said, for instance, by Žze-sze, of the sage, that 'he is the equal or correlate of Heaven ,' and in this Appendix we have the sentiment expanded into the following: —

'The great man is he who is in harmony in his attributes with heaven and earth; in his brightness with the sun and moon; in his orderly procedure with the four seasons; and in his relation to what is fortunate and what is calamitous with the spiritual agents. He may precede Heaven, and Heaven will not act in opposition to him; he may follow Heaven, but will act only as Heaven at the time would do. If Heaven will not act in opposition to him, how much less will man! how much less will the spiritual agents !'

One other passage may receive our consideration: —

'The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery .'

The language makes us think of the retribution of good and evil as taking place in the family, and not in the individual; the judgment is long deferred, but it is inflicted at last, lighting, however, not on the head or heads that most deserved it. Confucianism never falters in its affirmation of the difference between good and evil, and that each shall have its appropriate recompense; but it has little to say of the where and when and how that recompense will be given. The old classics are silent on the subject of any other retribution besides what takes place in time. About the era of Confucius the view took definite shape that, if the issues of good and evil, virtue and vice, did not take effect in the experience of the individual, they would certainly do so in that of his posterity. This is the prevailing doctrine among the Chinese at the present day; and one of the earliest expressions, perhaps the earliest expression, of it was in the sentence under our notice that has been copied from this Appendix into almost every moral treatise that circulates in China. A wholesome and an important truth it is, that 'the sins of parents are visited on their children;' but do the parents themselves escape the curse? It is to be regretted that this short treatise, the only 'wing' of the Yî professing to set forth its teachings concerning man as man, does not attempt any definite reply to this question. I leave it, merely observing that it has always struck me as the result of an after-thought, and a wish to give to man, as the last of 'the Three Powers,' a suitable place in connexion with the Yî. The doctrine of 'the Three Powers' is as much out of place in Confucianism

as that of ‘the Great Extreme.’ The treatise contains several paragraphs interesting in themselves, but it adds nothing to our understanding of the Text, or even of the object of the appended treatises, when we try to look at them as a whole.

The Fifth Appendix

8. It is very different with the fifth of the Appendixes, which is made up of ‘Remarks on the Trigrams.’ It is shorter than the fourth, consisting of only 22 paragraphs, in some of which the author rises to a height of thought reached nowhere else in these treatises, while several of the others are so silly and trivial, that it is difficult, not to say impossible, to believe that they are the production of the same man. We find in it the earlier and later arrangement of the trigrams, — the former, that of Fû-hsî, and the latter, that of king Wăn; their names and attributes; the work of God in nature, described as a progress through the trigrams; and finally a distinctive, but by no means exhaustive, list of the natural objects, symbolised by them.

First paragraph

It commences with the enigmatic declaration that ‘Anciently, when the sages made the Yî,’ (that is, the lineal figures, and the system of divination by them),’in order to give mysterious assistance .to the spiritual Intelligences, they produced (the rules for the use of) the divining plant.’ Perhaps this means no more than that the lineal figures were made to ‘hold the mirror up to nature,’ so that men by the study of them would understand more of the unseen and spiritual operations, to which the phenomena around them were owing, than they could otherwise do.

The author goes on to speak of the Fû-hsî trigrams, and passes from them to those of king Wăn in paragraph 8. That and the following two are very remarkable; but before saying anything of them, I will go on to the 14th, which is the only passage that affords any ground for saying that there is a mythology in the Yî. It says: —

Mythology of the Yî

‘*Kh*ien is (the symbol of) heaven, and hence is styled father. Khwăn is (the symbol of) earth, and hence is styled mother. *K*ăn (shows) the first application (of khwăn to *kh*ien), resulting in getting (the first of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence we call it the oldest son. Sun (shows) a first application (of *kh*ien to khwăn), resulting in getting (the first of) its female (or divided lines), and hence we call it the oldest daughter. Khân (shows) a second application (of khwăn to *kh*ien), and Lî a second (of *kh*ien to khwăn), resulting in the second son and second daughter. In *K*ăn and Tui we have a third application (of khwăn

to *kh*ien and of *kh*ien to khwăn), resulting in the youngest son and youngest daughter.'

From this language has come the fable of a marriage between *Kh*ien and Khwăn, from which resulted the six other trigrams, considered as their three sons and three daughters; and it is not to be wondered at, if some men of active and ill-regulated imaginations should see Noah and his wife in those two primary trigrams, and in the others their three sons and the three sons' wives. Have we not in both cases an ogdoad? But I have looked in the paragraph in vain for the notion of a marriage-union between heaven and earth.

It does not treat of the genesis of the other six trigrams by the union of the two, but is a rude attempt to explain their forms when they were once existing . According to the idea of changes, *Kh*ien and Khwăn are continually varying their forms by their interaction. As here represented, the other trigrams are not 'produced ' by a marriage-union, but from the application, literally the seeking, of one of them of Khwăn as much as of *Kh*ien — addressed to the other .

This way of speaking of the trigrams, moreover, as father and mother, sons and daughters, is not so old as Fû-hsî; nor have we any real proof that it originated with king Wăn. It is not of 'the highest antiquity.' It arose some time in 'middle antiquity,' and was known in the era of the Appendixes; but it had not prevailed then, nor has it prevailed since, to discredit and supersede the older nomenclature. We are startled when we come on it in the place which it occupies. And there it stands alone. It is not entitled to more attention than the two paragraphs that precede it, or the eight that follow it, none of which were thought by P. Regis worthy to be translated. I have just said that it stands 'alone.' Its existence, however, seems to me to be supposed in the fourth chapter, paragraphs 28-30, of the third Appendix, Section ii; but there only the trigrams of 'the six children' are mentioned, and nothing is said of 'the parents.' *K*ăn, khân, and kăn are referred to as being yang, and sun, lî, and tui as being yin. What is said about them is trifling and fanciful.

Operation of God in nature throughout the year

Leaving the question of the mythology of the Yî, of which I am myself unable to discover a trace, I now call attention to paragraphs 8-10, where the author speaks of the work of God in nature in all the year as a progress through the trigrams, and as being effected by His Spirit. The description assumes the peculiar arrangement of the trigrams, ascribed to king Win, and which I have exhibited above, on page 33 . Father Regis adopts the general view of Chinese critics that Win purposely altered the earlier and established arrangement, as a symbol of the disorganisation and disorder into which the kingdom had fallen .

But it is hard to say why a man did something more than 3000 years ago, when he has not himself said anything about it. So far as we can judge from this Appendix, the author thought that king Win altered the existing order and position of the trigrams with regard to the cardinal points, simply for the occasion, — that he might set forth vividly his ideas about the springing, growth, and maturity in the vegetable kingdom from the labours of spring to the cessation from toil in winter. The marvel is that in doing this he brings God upon the scene, and makes Him in the various processes of nature the 'all and in all.'

The 8th paragraph says: —

'God comes forth in *K*ăn (to his producing work); He brings (His processes) into full and equal action in Sun; they are manifested to one another in Lî; the greatest service is done for Him in Khwăn; He rejoices in Tui; He struggles in *Kh*ien; He is comforted and enters into rest in Khân; and he completes (the work of) the year in Kăn.'

God is here named Tî, for which P. Regis gives the Latin 'Supremus Imperator,' and Canon McClatchie, after him, 'the Supreme Emperor.' I contend that 'God' is really the correct translation in English of Tî; but to render it here by 'Emperor' would not affect the meaning of the paragraph. *K*û Hsî says that 'by Tî is intended the Lord and Governor of heaven;' and Khung Ying-tâ, about five centuries earlier than *K*û, quotes Wang Pî, who died A.D. 249, to the effect that 'Tî is the lord who produces (all) things, the author of prosperity and increase.'

I must refer the reader to the translation in the body of the volume for the 9th paragraph, which is too long to be introduced here. As the 8th speaks directly of God, the 9th, we are told, 'speaks of all things following Him, from spring to winter, from the east to the north, in His progress throughout the year.' In words strikingly like those of the apostle Paul, when writing his Epistle to the Romans, Wan *Kh*ung-žung (of the Khang-hsî period) and his son, in their admirable work called, 'A New Digest of Collected Explanations of the Yî King,' say:— 'God (Himself) cannot be seen; we see Him in the things (which He produces).' The first time I read these paragraphs with some understanding, I thought of Thomson's Hymn on the Seasons, and I have thought of it in connexion with them a hundred times since. Our English poet wrote: —

'These, as they change, Almighty Father, these
Are but the varied God. The rolling year
Is full of Thee. Forth in the pleasing spring
Thy beauty walks, Thy tenderness and love.
Then comes Thy glory in the summer months,

With light and heat refulgent. Then Thy sun
Shoots full perfection through the swelling year.
Thy bounty shines in autumn unconfined,
And spreads a common feast for all that lives.
In winter awful Thou!'

Prudish readers have found fault with some of Thomson's expressions, as if they savoured of pantheism. The language of the Chinese writer is not open to the same captious objection. Without poetic ornament, or swelling phrase of any kind, he gives emphatic testimony to God as renewing the face of the earth in spring, and not resting till He has crowned the year with His goodness.

And there is in the passage another thing equally wonderful. The 10th paragraph commences:— 'When we speak of Spirit, we mean the subtle presence (and operation of God) with all things;' and the writer goes on to illustrate this sentiment from the action and influences symbolised by the six 'children,' or minor trigrams, — water and fire, thunder and wind, mountains and collections of water. *K*û Hsî says, that there is that in the paragraph which he does not understand. Some Chinese scholars, however, have not been far from descrying the light that is in it. Let Liang Yin, of our fourteenth century, be adduced as an example of them. He says:— 'The spirit here simply means God. God is the personality (literally, the body or substantiality) of the Spirit; the Spirit is God in operation. He who is lord over and rules all things is God; the subtle presence and operation of God with all things is by His Spirit.' The language is in fine accord with the definition of shăn or spirit, given in the 3rd Appendix, Section i, 32.

Concluding

I wish that the Treatise on the Trigrams had ended with the 10th paragraph. The writer had gradually risen to a noble elevation of thought from which he plunges into a slough of nonsensical remarks which it would be difficult elsewhere to parallel. I have referred on to the judgment of P. Regis about them. He could not receive them as from Confucius, and did not take the trouble to translate them, and transfer them to his own pages, My plan required me to translate everything published in China as a part of the Yî King; but I have given my reasons for doubting whether any portion of these Appendixes be really from Confucius. There is nothing that could better justify the supercilious disregard with which the classical literature of China is frequently treated than to insist on the concluding portion of this treatise as being from the pencil of its greatest sage. I have dwelt at some length on the 14th paragraph, because of its mythological semblance; but among the eight paragraphs that follow it, it would

be difficult to award the palm for silliness. They are descriptive of the eight trigrams, and each one enumerates a dozen or more objects of which its subject is symbolical. The writer must have been fond of and familiar with horses. *Kh*ien, the symbol properly of heaven, suggests to him the idea of a good horse; an old horse; a lean horse; and a piebald. *K*ăn, the symbol of thunder, suggests the idea of a good neigher; of the horse with white hind-legs; of the prancing horse; and of one with a white star in his forehead. Khân, the symbol of water, suggests the idea of the horse with an elegant spine; of one with a high spirit; of one with a drooping head; and of one with a shambling step. The reader will think he has had enough of these symbolisings of the trigrams. I cannot believe that the earlier portions and this concluding portion of the treatise were by the same author. If there were any evidence that paragraphs 8 to 10 were by Confucius, I should say that they were worthy, even more than worthy, of him; what follows is mere drivel. Horace's picture faintly pourtrays the inconsistency between the parts: —

'Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.'

In reviewing the second of these Appendixes, I was led to speak of the original significance of the trigrams, in opposition to the views of some Chinese who pretend that they can find in them the physical truths discovered by the researches of western science. May I not say now, after viewing the phase of them presented in these paragraphs, that they were devised simply as aids to divination, and partook of the unreasonableness and uncertainty belonging to that?

The Sixth Appendix

9. The sixth Appendix is the Treatise on the Sequence of the Hexagrams, to which allusion has been made more than once. It is not necessary to dwell on it at length. King Wăn, it has been seen, gave a name to each hexagram, expressive of the idea — some moral, social, or political truth — which he wished to set forth by means of it; and this name enters very closely into its interpretation. The author of this treatise endeavours to explain the meaning of the name, and also the sequence of the figures, or how it is that the idea of the one leads on to that of the next. Yet the reader must not expect to find in the 64 a chain 'of linked sweetness long drawn out.' The connexion between any two is generally sufficiently close; but on the whole the essays, which I have said they form, resemble 'a heap of orient pearls at random strung.' The changeableness of human affairs is a topic never long absent from the writer's mind. He is firmly persuaded that 'the fashion of the world passeth away.' Union is sure to give place to separation, and by and by that separation will issue in re-union.

There is nothing in the treatise to suggest anything about its authorship; and

as the reader will see from the notes, we are perplexed occasionally by meanings given to the names that differ from the meanings in the Text.

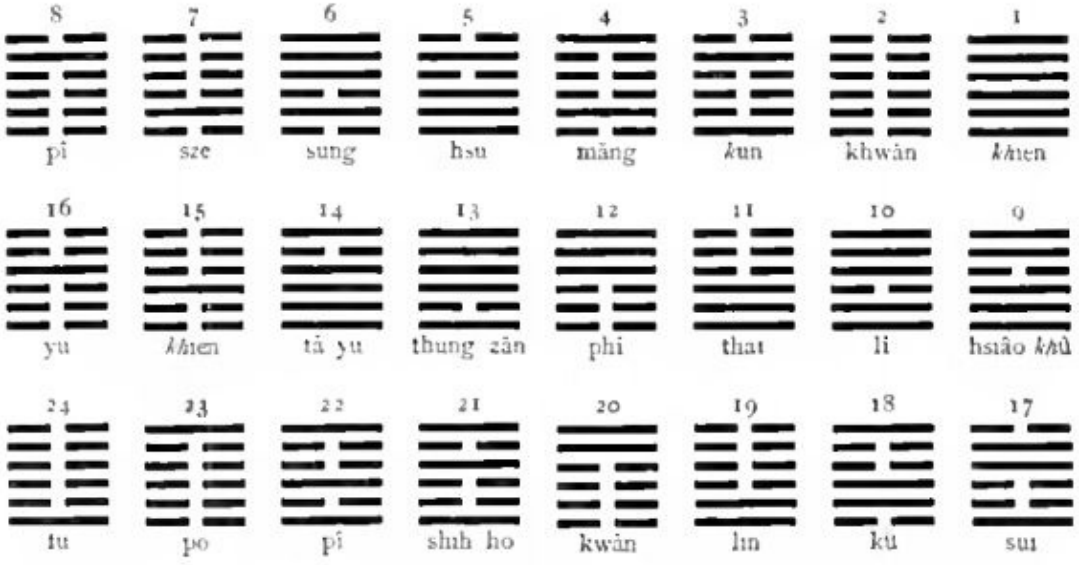
The Seventh Appendix

10. The last and least Appendix is the seventh, called Žâ Kwâ *K*wan, or 'Treatise on the Lineal Figures taken promiscuously,' — not with regard to any sequence, but as they approximate, or are opposed, to one another in meaning. It is in rhyme, moreover, and this, as much as the meaning, determined, no doubt, the grouping of the hexagrams. The student will learn nothing of value from it; it is more a 'jeu d'esprit' than anything else.

PLATES

PLATE I.

THE HEXAGRAMS, in the order in which they appear in the Yî, and were arranged by king Wăn.



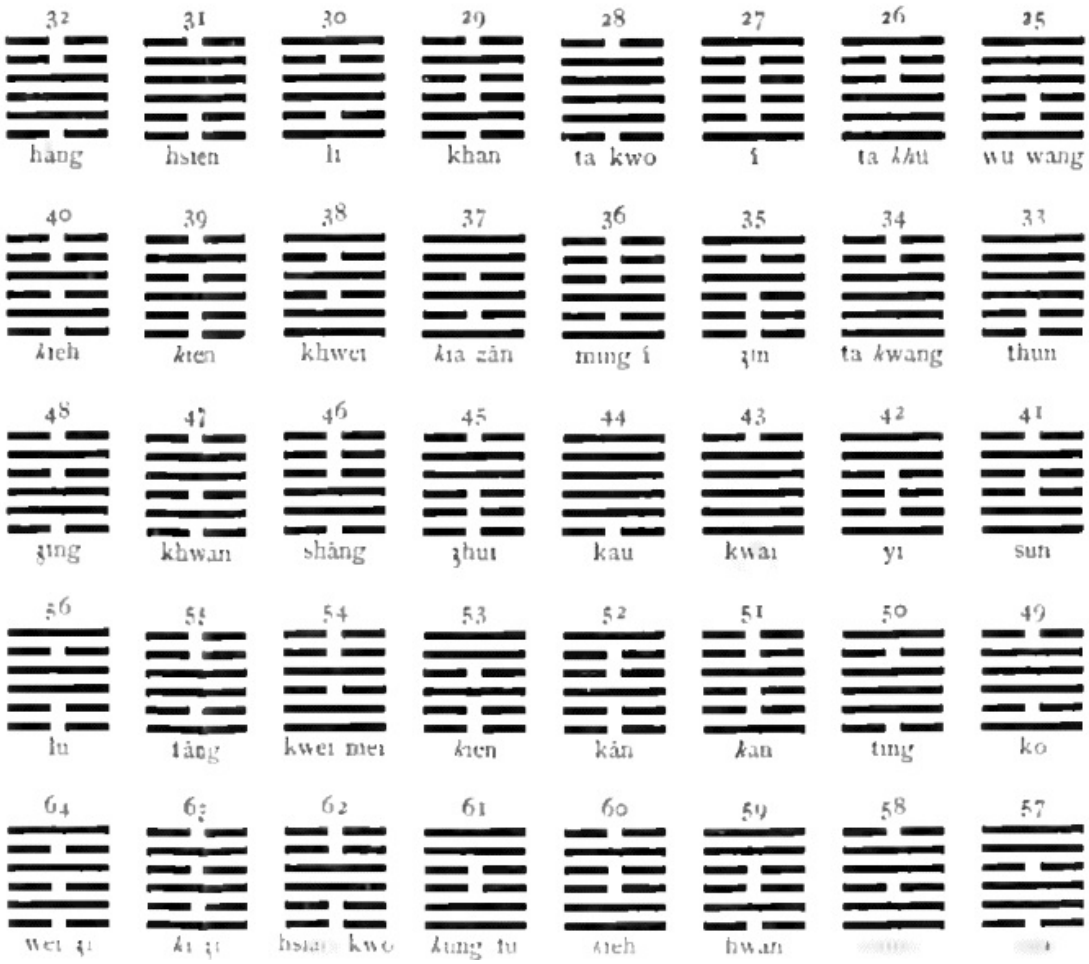

32 hâng
31 hsien
30 li
29 khan
28 ta kwo
27 i
26 ta khu
25 wu wang
40 kieh
39 kien
38 khwei
37 kia zân
36 ming i
35 zin
34 ta kwang
33 thun
48 zing
47 khwan
46 shâng
45 zhui
44 kau
43 kwai
42 yi
41 sun
56 lu
55 fâng
54 kwei mei
53 kien
52 kân
51 kan
50 ting
49 ko
64 wei zi
63 ki zi
62 hsiao kwo
61 kung fu
60 kieh
59 hwan
58
57

PLATE II.

PLATE II.

FIG. 1.

THE HEXAGRAMS, exhibited circularly and in a square, according to the natural process of development from the whole and divided lines, and the order of arrangement ascribed to Fû-hsî.

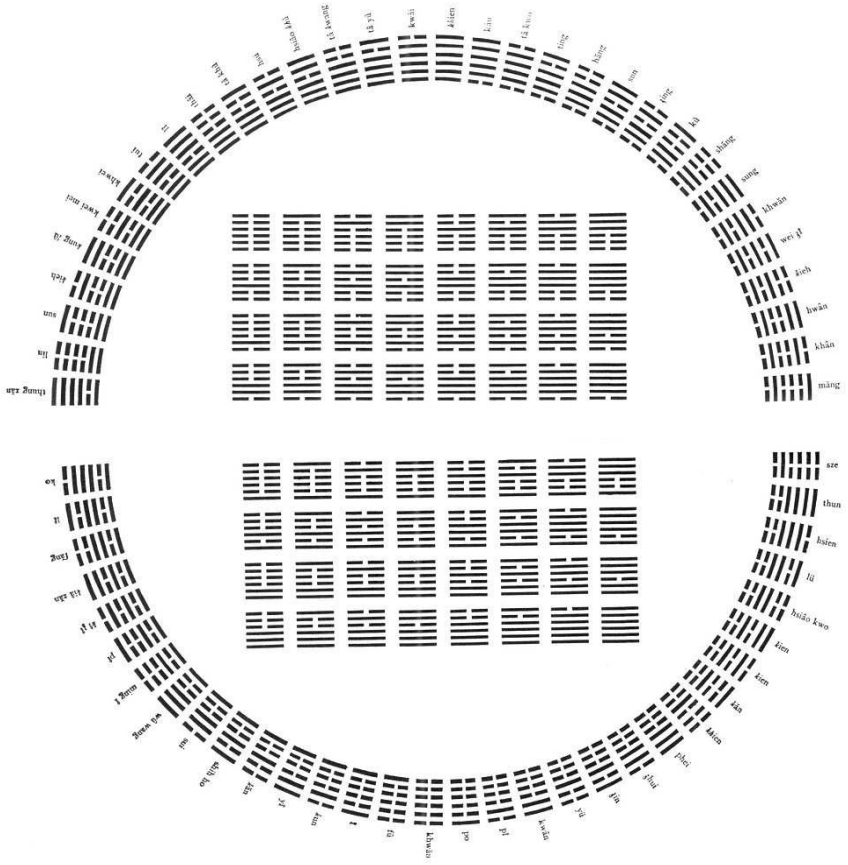


PLATE II.

FIG. 2.

THE TRIGRAMS distinguished as Yin and Yang.

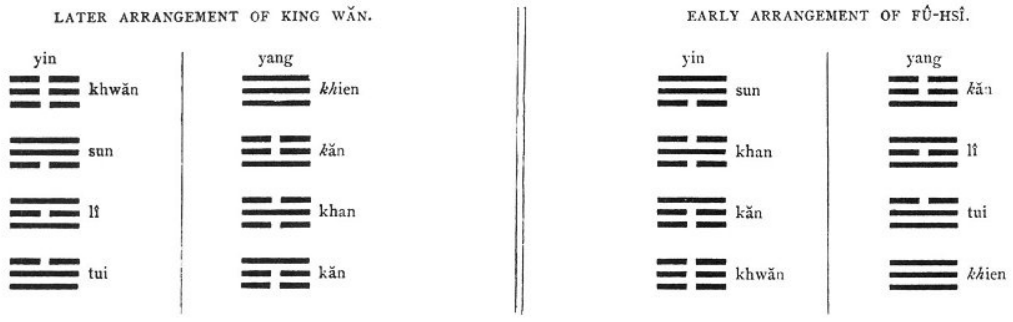


PLATE III.

PLATE III.

Fig. 1.

Illustrating the tenth paragraph of Appendix V.

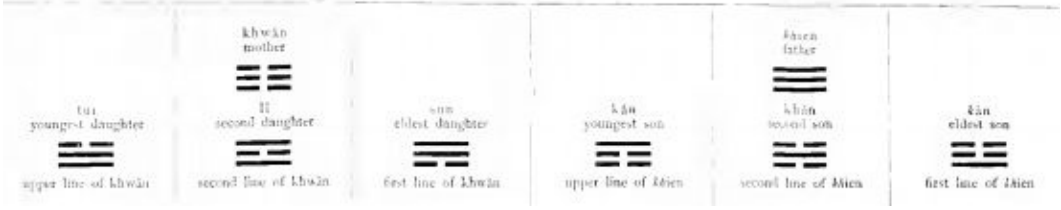
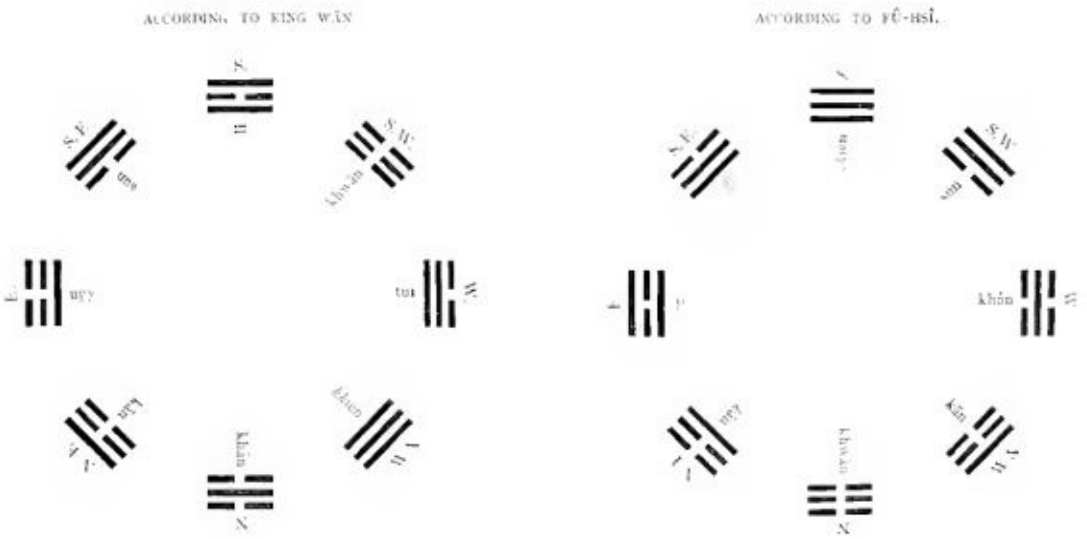


Fig. 2.

Order of the Trigrams, with the cardinal and other points to which they are severally referred.



TEXT SECTION I

I. THE KHIEN HEXAGRAM

Explanation of the entire figure by king Wăn *Kh*ien (represents) what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm.

Explanation of the separate lines by the duke of *K*âu.

1. In the first (or lowest) NINE, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon lying hid (in the deep). It is not the time for active doing.

2. In the second NINE, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon appearing in the field. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

3. In the third NINE, undivided, (we see its subject as) the superior man active and vigilant all the day, and in the evening still careful and apprehensive. (The position is) dangerous, but there will be no mistake.

4. In the fourth NINE, undivided, (we see its subject as the dragon looking) as if he were leaping up, but still in the deep. There will be no mistake.

5. In the fifth NINE, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon on the wing in the sky. It will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

6. In the sixth (or topmost) NINE, undivided, (we see its subject as) the dragon exceeding the proper limits. There will be occasion for repentance.

7. (The lines of this hexagram are all strong and undivided, as appears from) the use of the number NINE. If the host of dragons (thus) appearing were to divest themselves of their heads, there would be good fortune.

FOOTNOTES

I The Text under each hexagram consists of one paragraph by king Wăn, explaining the figure as a whole, and of six (in the case of hexagrams 1 and 2, of seven) paragraphs by the duke of *K*âu, explaining the individual lines. The explanatory notices introduced above to this effect will not be repeated. A double space will be used to mark off the portion of king Wăn from that of his son.

Each hexagram consists of two of the trigrams of Fû-hsî, the lower being called ‘the inner,’ and the one above ‘the outer.’ The lines, however, are numbered from one to six, commencing with the lowest. To denote the number of it and of the sixth line, the terms for commencing’ and ‘topmost’ are used. The intermediate lines are simply ‘second,’ ‘third,’ &c. As the lines must be either whole or divided, technically called strong and weak, yang and yin, this distinction is indicated by the application to them of the numbers nine and six. All whole lines are nine, all divided lines, six.

Two explanations have been proposed of this application of these numbers. The *Kh*ien trigram, it is said, contains 3 strokes (), and the *Kh*wăn 6 (). But the yang contains the yin in itself, and its representative number will be 3 + 6 = 9, while the yin, not containing the yang, will only have its own number or 6. This explanation, entirely arbitrary, is new deservedly abandoned. The other is based on the use of the 'four Hsiang,' or emblematic figures (the great or old yang, the young yang, the old yin, and the young yin). To these are assigned (by what process is unimportant for our present purpose) the numbers 9, 8, 7, 6. They were 'the old yang,' represented by 9, and 'the old yin,' represented by 6, that, in the manipulation of the stalks to form new diagrams, determined the changes of figure; and so 9 and 6 came to be used as the names of a yang line and a yin line respectively. This explanation is now universally acquiesced in. The nomenclature of first nine, nine two, &c., or first six, six two, &c., however, is merely a jargon; and I have preferred to use, instead of it, in the translation, in order to describe the lines, the names 'undivided' and 'divided.'

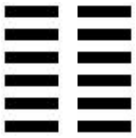
I. Does king Wăn ascribe four attributes here to *Kh*ien, or only two? According to Appendix IV, always by Chinese writers assigned to Confucius, he assigns four, corresponding to the principles of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge in man's nature. *K*û Hsî held that he assigned only two, and that we should translate, 'greatly penetrating,' and 'requires to be correct and firm,' two responses in divination. Up and down throughout the Text of the 64 hexagrams, we often find the characters thus coupled together. Both interpretations are possible. I have followed what is accepted as the view of Confucius. It would take pages to give a tithe of what has been written in justification of it, and to reconcile it with the other.

'The dragon' is the symbol employed by the duke of *K*âu to represent 'the superior man' and especially 'the great man,' exhibiting the virtues or attributes characteristic of heaven. The creature's proper home is in the water, but it can disport itself on the land, and also fly and soar aloft. It has been from the earliest time the emblem with the Chinese of the highest dignity and wisdom, of sovereignty and sagehood, the combination of which constitutes 'the great man.' One emblem runs through the lines of many of the hexagrams as here.

But the dragon appears in the sixth line as going beyond the proper limits. The ruling-sage has gone through all the sphere in which he is called on to display his attributes; it is time for him to relax. The line should not be always pulled tight; the bow should not be always kept drawn. The unchanging use of force will give occasion for repentance. The moral meaning found in the line is that 'the high shall be abased.'

The meaning given to the supernumerary paragraph is the opposite of that of paragraph 6. The 'host of dragons without their heads' would give us the next hexagram, or Khwăn, made up of six divided lines. Force would have given place to submission, and haughtiness to humility; and the result would be good fortune. Such at least is the interpretation of the paragraph given in a narrative of the ŽoKwan under B. C. 513. For further explanation of the duke of *K*âu's meaning, see Appendixes II and IV.

II. THE KHWĂN HEXAGRAM



Khwăn (represents) what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and having the firmness of a mare. When the superior man (here intended) has to make any movement, if he take the initiative, he will go astray; if he follow, he will find his (proper) lord. The advantageousness will be seen in his getting friends in the south-west, and losing friends in the north-east. If he rest in correctness and firmness, there will be good fortune.

1. In the first SIX, divided, (we see its subject) treading on hoarfrost. The strong ice will come (by and by).

2. The second SIX, divided, (shows the attribute of) being straight, square, and great. (Its operation), without repeated efforts, will be in every respect advantageous.

3. The third SIX, divided, (shows its subject) keeping his excellence under restraint, but firmly maintaining it. If he should have occasion to engage in the king's service, though he will not claim the success (for himself), he will bring affairs to a good issue.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, (shows the symbol of) a sack tied up. There will be no ground for blame or for praise.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, (shows) the yellow lower garment. There will be great good fortune.

6. The sixth SIX, divided (shows) dragons fighting in the wild. Their blood is purple and yellow.

7. (The lines of this hexagram are all weak and divided, as appears from) the use of the number six. If those (who are thus represented) be perpetually correct and firm, advantage will arise.

FOOTNOTES

II The same attributes are here ascribed to Khwăn, as in the former hexagram to *Kh*ien; — but with a difference. The figure, made up of six divided lines, expresses the ideal of subordination and docility. The superior man, represented by it, must not take the initiative; and by following he will find his lord, — the subject, that is of *Kh*ien. Again, the correctness and firmness is defined to be that of 'a mare,' 'docile and strong,' but a creature for the service of man. That it is not the sex of the animal which the writer has chiefly in mind is plain from the immediate mention of the superior man, and his lord.

That superior man will seek to bring his friends along with himself to serve his ruler. But according to the arrangement of the trigrams by king Wăn, the place of Khwăn is in the south-west, while the opposite quarter is occupied by the yang trigram Kăn, as in Figure 2, Plate III. All that this portion of the Thwan says is an instruction to the subject of the hexagram to seek for others of the same principles and tendencies with himself to serve their common lord. But in quietness and firmness will be his strength.

The symbolism of the lines is various. Paragraph 2 presents to us the earth itself, according to the Chinese conception of it, as a great cube. To keep his excellence under restraint, as in paragraph 3, is the part of a minister or officer, seeking not his own glory, but that of his ruler. Paragraph 4 shows its subject exercising a still greater restraint on himself than in paragraph 3. There is an interpretation of the symbolism of paragraph 5 in a narrative of the Žo *K*wan, under the 12th year of duke *Kh*âo, B.C. 530. 'Yellow' is one of the five 'correct' colours, and the colour of the earth. 'The lower garment' is a symbol of humility. The fifth line is the seat of honour. If its occupant possess the qualities indicated, he will be greatly fortunate.

See the note on the sixth line of hexagram 1. What is there said to be 'beyond the proper limits' takes place here 'in the wild.' The humble subject of the divided line is transformed into a dragon, and fights with the true dragon, the subject of the undivided line. They fight and bleed, and their blood is of the colour proper to heaven or the sky, and the colour proper to the earth. Paragraph 7 supposes that the hexagram Khwăn should become changed into *Kh*ien — the result of which would be good.

III. THE KUN HEXAGRAM

*K*un (indicates that in the case which it presupposes) there will be great progress and success, and the advantage will come from being correct and firm. (But) any movement in advance should not be (lightly) undertaken. There will be advantage in appointing feudal princes.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows the difficulty (its subject has) in advancing. It will be advantageous for him to abide correct and firm; advantageous (also) to be made a feudal ruler.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows (its subject) distressed and obliged to return; (even) the horses of her chariot (also) seem to be retreating. (But) not by a spoiler (is she assailed), but by one who seeks her to be his wife. The young lady maintains her firm correctness, and declines a union. After ten years she will be united, and have children.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows one following the deer without (the guidance of) the forester, and only finding himself in the midst of the forest. The superior man, acquainted with the secret risks, thinks it better to give up the chase. If he went forward, he would regret it.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows (its subject as a lady), the horses of whose chariot appear in retreat. She seeks, however, (the help of) him who seeks her to be his wife. Advance will be fortunate; all will turn out advantageously.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows the difficulties in the way of (its subject's) dispensing the rich favours that might be expected from him. With firmness and correctness there will be good fortune in small things; (even) with them in great things there will be evil.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows (its subject) with the horses of his chariot obliged to retreat, and weeping tears of blood in streams.

FOOTNOTES

III The character called Kun is pictorial, and was intended to show us how a plant struggles with difficulty out of the earth, rising gradually above the surface. This difficulty, marking the first stages in the growth of a plant, is used to symbolise the struggles that mark the rise of a state out of a condition of disorder, consequent on a great revolution. The same thing is denoted by the combination of the trigrams that form the figure; — as will be seen in the notes on it under Appendix II.

I have introduced within parentheses, in the translation, the words ‘in the case which the hexagram presupposes.’ It is necessary to introduce them. King Wăn and his son wrote, as they did in every hexagram, with reference to a particular state of affairs which they had in mind. This was the unspoken text which controlled and directed all their writing; and the student must try to get hold of this, if he would make his way with comfort and success through the Yî. Wăn saw the social and political world around him in great disorder, hard to be remedied. But he had faith in himself and the destinies of his House. Let there be prudence and caution, with unswerving adherence to the right; let the government of the different states be entrusted to good and able men: — then all would be well.

The first line is undivided, showing the strength of its subject. He will be capable of action, and his place in the trigram of mobility will the more dispose him to it. But above him is the trigram of peril; and the lowest line of that, to which especially he must look for response and co-operation, is divided and weak. Hence arise the ideas of difficulty in advancing, the necessity of caution, and the advantage of his being clothed with authority.

To the subject of the second line, divided, advance is still more difficult. He is weak in himself; he is pressed by the subject of the strong line below him. But happily that subject, though strong, is correct; and above in the fifth line, in the place of authority, is the strong one, union with whom and the service of whom should be the objects pursued. All these circumstances suggested to the duke of *K*âu the idea of a young lady, sought in marriage by a strong wooer, when marriage was unsuitable, rejecting him, and finally, after ten years, marrying a more suitable, the only suitable, match for her.

The third line is divided, not central, and the number of its place is appropriate to the occupancy of a strong line. All these things should affect the symbolism of the line. But the outcome of the whole hexagram being good, the superior man sees the immediate danger and avoids it.

The subject of the fourth line, the first of the upper trigram, has recourse to the strong suitor of line 1, the first of the lower trigram; and with his help is able to cope with the difficulties of the position, and go forward.

The subject of the fifth line is in the place of authority, and should show himself a ruler, dispensing benefits on a great scale. But he is in the very centre of the trigram denoting perilousness, and line 2, which responds to 5, is weak. Hence arises the symbolism, and great things should not be attempted.

The sixth line is weak; the third responding to it is also weak it is at the extremity of peril; the game is up. What can remain for its subject in such a case but terror and abject weeping?

IV. THE MĂNG HEXAGRAM

Măng (indicates that in the case which it presupposes) there will be progress and success. I do not (go and) seek the youthful and inexperienced,

but he comes and seeks me. When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him. If he apply a second and third time, that is troublesome; and I do not instruct the troublesome. There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

1. The first SIX, divided, (has respect to) the dispelling of ignorance. It will be advantageous to use punishment (for that purpose), and to remove the shackles (from the mind). But going on in that way (of punishment) will give occasion for regret.

2. The second NINE, undivided, (shows its subject) exercising forbearance with the ignorant, in which there will be good fortune; and admitting (even the goodness of women, which will also be fortunate. (He may be described also as) a son able to (sustain the burden of) his family.

3. The third SIX, divided, (seems to say) that one should not marry a woman whose emblem it might be, for that, when she sees a man of wealth, she will not keep her person from him, and in no wise will advantage come from her.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, (shows its subject as if) bound in chains of ignorance. There will be occasion for regret.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows its subject as a simple lad without experience. There will be good fortune.

6. In the topmost NINE, undivided, we see one smiting the ignorant (youth). But no advantage will come from doing him an injury. Advantage would come from warding off injury from him.

FOOTNOTES

IV As *K*un shows us plants struggling from beneath the surface, Măng suggests to us the small and undeveloped appearance which they then present; and hence it came to be the symbol of youthful inexperience and ignorance. The object of the hexagram is to show how such a condition should be dealt with by the parent and ruler, whose authority and duty are represented by the second and sixth, the two undivided lines. All between the first and last sentences of the Thwan must be taken as an oracular response received by the party divining on the subject of enlightening the youthful ignorant. This accounts for its being more than usually enigmatical, and for its being partly rhythmical. See Appendix I, in loc.

The subject of the first line, weak, and at the bottom of the figure, is in the grossest ignorance. Let him be punished. If punishment avail to loosen the shackles and manacles from the mind, well; if not, and punishment be persevered with, the effect will be had.

On the subject of the second line, strong, and in the central place, devolves the task of enlightening the ignorant; and we have him discharging it with forbearance and humility. In proof of his generosity, it is said that ‘he receives,’ or learns from, even weak and ignorant women. He appears also as ‘a son’ taking the place of his father.

The third line is weak, and occupies an odd place belonging properly to an undivided line; nor is its place in the centre. All these things give the subject of it so bad a character.

The fourth line is far from both the second and sixth, and can get no help from its correlate, — the first line, weak as itself. What good can be done with or by the subject of it?

The fifth line is in the place of honour, and has for its correlate the strong line in the second place. Being weak in itself, it is taken as the symbol of a simple lad, willing to be taught.

The topmost line is strong, and in the highest place. It is natural, but unwise, in him to use violence in carrying on his educational measures. A better course is suggested to him.

V. THE HSÜ HEXAGRAM

Hsü intimates that, with the sincerity which is declared in it, there will be brilliant success. With firmness there will be good fortune; and it will be advantageous to cross the great stream.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject waiting in the distant border. It will be well for him constantly to maintain (the purpose thus shown), in which case there will be no error.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject waiting on the sand (of the mountain stream). He will (suffer) the small (injury of) being spoken (against), but in the end there will be good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject in the mud (close by the stream). He thereby invites the approach of injury.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject waiting in (the place of) blood. But he will get out of the cavern.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject waiting amidst the appliances of a feast. Through his firmness and correctness there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject entered into the cavern. (But) there are three guests coming, without being urged, (to his help).

If he receive them respectfully, there will be good fortune in the end.

FOOTNOTES

V Hsü means waiting. Strength confronted by peril might be expected to advance boldly and at once to struggle with it; but it takes the wiser plan of waiting till success is sure. This is the lesson of the hexagram. That 'sincerity is declared in it' is proved from the fifth line in the position of honour and authority, central, itself undivided and in an odd place. In such a case, nothing but firm correctness is necessary to great success.

'Going through a great stream,' an expression frequent in the Yî, may mean undertaking hazardous enterprises, or encountering great difficulties, without any special reference; but more natural is it to understand by the great stream' the Yellow river, which the lords of *K*âu must cross in a revolutionary movement against the dynasty of Yin and its tyrant. The passage of it by king Wû, the son of Wăn in B. C. 1122, was certainly one of the greatest deeds in the history of China. It was preceded also by long waiting,' till the time of assured success came.

‘The border’ under line 1 means the frontier territory of the state. There seems no necessity for such a symbolism. ‘The sand’ and ‘the mud’ are appropriate with reference to the watery defile; but it is different with ‘the border.’ The subject of the line appears at work in his distant fields, not thinking of anything but his daily work; and he is advised to abide in that state and mind.

‘The sand’ of paragraph 2 suggests a nearer approach to the defile, but its subject is still self-restrained and waiting. I do not see what suggests the idea of his suffering from ‘the strife of tongues.’

In paragraph 3 the subject is on the brink of the stream. His advance to that position has provoked resistance, which may result in his injury.

Line 4 has passed from the inner to the upper trigram, and entered on the scene of danger and strife;— ‘into the place of blood.’ Its subject is ‘weak and in the correct place for him;’ he therefore retreats and escapes from the cavern, where he was engaged with his enemy.

Line 5 is strong and central, and in its correct place, being that of honour. All good qualities therefore belong to the subject of it, who has triumphed, and with firmness will triumph still more.

Line 6 is weak, and has entered deeply into the defile and its caverns. What will become of its subject? His correlate is the strong line 3 below, which comes with its two companions to his help. If they are respectfully received, that help will prove effectual. P. Regis tries to find out a reference in these ‘three guests’ to three princes who distinguished themselves by taking part with *K*âu in its struggle with Yin or Shang; see vol. i, p-282. I dare not be so confident of any historical reference.

VI. THE SUNG HEXAGRAM

Sung intimates how, though there is sincerity in one's contention, he will yet meet with opposition and obstruction; but if he cherish an apprehensive caution, there will be good fortune, while, if he must prosecute the contention to the (bitter) end, there will be evil. It will be advantageous to see the great man; it will not be advantageous to cross the great stream.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject not perpetuating the matter about which (the contention is). He will suffer the small (injury) of being spoken against, but the end will be fortunate.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject unequal to the contention. If he retire and keep concealed (where) the inhabitants of his city are (only) three hundred families, he will fall into no mistake.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject keeping in the old place assigned for his support, and firmly correct. Perilous as the position is, there will be good fortune in the end. Should he perchance engage in the king's business, he will not (claim the merit of) achievement.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject unequal to the contention. He returns to (the study of Heaven's) ordinances, changes (his wish to contend), and rests in being firm and correct. There will be good fortune.

S. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject contending; — and with great good fortune.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows how its subject may have the leathern belt conferred on him (by the sovereign), and thrice it shall be taken from him in a morning.

FOOTNOTES

VI We have strength in the upper trigram, as if to regulate and control the lower, and peril in that lower as if looking out for an opportunity to assail the upper; or, as it may be represented, we have one's self in a state of peril matched against strength from without. All this is supposed to give the idea of contention or strife. But the undivided line in the centre of Khân is emblematic of sincerity, and gives a character to the whole figure. An individual, so represented, will be very wary, and have good fortune; but strife is bad, and if persevered in even by such a one, the effect will be evil. The fifth line, undivided, in an odd place, and central, serves as a representative of 'the great man,' whose agency is sure to be good; but the topmost line

being also strong, and with its two companions, riding as it were, on the trigram of peril, its action is likely to be too rash for a great enterprise. See the treatise on the Thwan, in loc.

The subject of line 1 is weak and at the bottom of the figure. He may suffer a little in the nascent strife, but will let it drop; and the effect will be good.

Line 2 represents one who is strong, and has the rule of the lower trigram; — he has the mind for strife, and might be expected to engage in it. But his strength is weakened by, being in an even place, and he is no match for his correlate in line 5, and therefore retreats. A town or city with only three hundred families is said to be very small. That the subject of the line should retire to so insignificant a place is further proof of his humility.

Line 3 is weak and in an odd place. Its subject therefore is not equal to strive, but withdraws from the arena. Even if forced into it, he will keep himself in the background; — and be safe. 'He keeps in the old place assigned for his support' is, literally, 'He eats his old virtue;' meaning that he lives in and on the appanage assigned to him for his services.

Line 4 is strong, and not in the centre; so that we are to conceive of its subject as having a mind to strive. But immediately above it is line 5, the symbol of the ruler, and with him it is hopeless to strive; immediately below is 3, weak, and out of its proper place, incapable of maintaining a contention. Its proper correlate is the lowest line, weak, and out of its proper place, from whom little help can come. Hence its subject takes the course indicated, which leads to good fortune.

Line 5 has every circumstance in favour of its subject.

Line 6 is strong and able to contend successfully; but is there to be no end of striving? Persistence in it is sure to end in defeat and disgrace. The contender here might receive a reward from the king for his success; but if he received it thrice in a morning, thrice it would be taken from him again. As to the nature of the reward here given, see on the Lî *K*î, X, ii, 32.

P. Regis explains several of the expressions in the Text, both in the Thwan and the Hsiang, from the history of king Wăn and his son king Wû. Possibly his own circumstances may have suggested to Wăn some of the Thwan; and his course in avoiding a direct collision with the tyrant Shâu, and Wû's subsequent exploits may have been in the mind of the duke of *K*âu. Some of the sentiments, however, cannot be historically explained. They are general protests against all contention and strife.

VII. THE SZE HEXAGRAM

Sze indicates how, in the case which it supposes, with firmness and correctness, and (a leader of) age and experience, there will be good fortune and no error.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows the host going forth according to the rules (for such a movement). If these be not good, there will be evil.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows (the leader) in the midst of the host. There will be good fortune and no error. The king has thrice conveyed to him the orders (of his favour).

3. The third SIX, divided, shows how the host may, possibly, have many inefficient leaders. There will be evil.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows the host in retreat. There is no error.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows birds in the fields, which it will be advantageous to seize (and destroy). In that case there will be no error. If the oldest son leads the host, and younger men (idly occupy offices assigned to them), however firm and correct he may be, there will be evil.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows the great ruler delivering his charges, (appointing some) to be rulers of states, and others to undertake the headship of clans; but small men should not be employed (in such positions).

FOOTNOTES

VII The conduct of military expeditions in a feudal kingdom, and we may say, generally, is denoted by the hexagram Sze. Referring to Appendixes I and II for an explanation of the way in which the combination of lines in it is made out to suggest the idea of an army, and that idea being assumed, it is easy to see how the undivided line in the second place should be interpreted of the general, who is responded to by the divided line in the fifth and royal place. Thus entire trust is reposed in him. He is strong and correct, and his enterprises will be successful. He is denominated *k*ang *z*ăn, 'an old, experienced man.'

'The rules,' it is said, 'are twofold; — first, that the war be for a righteous end; and second, that the manner of conducting it, especially at the outset, be right.' But how this and the warning in the conclusion should both follow from the divided line being in the first place, has not been sufficiently explained.

How line 2 comes to be the symbol of the general in command of the army has been shown above on the Thwan. The orders of the king thrice conveyed to him are to be understood of his appointment to the command, and not of any rewards conferred on him as a tribute to his merit. Nor is stress to be laid on the

‘thrice.’ ‘It does not mean that the appointment came to him three times; but that it was to him exclusively, and with the entire confidence of the king.’

The symbolism of line 3 is very perplexing. P. Regis translates it:— ‘Milites videntur deponere sarcinas in curribus. Male.’ Canon McClatchie has:— ‘Third-six represents soldiers as it were lying dead in their baggage carts, and is unlucky.’ To the same effect was my own translation of the paragraph, nearly thirty years ago. But the third line, divided, cannot be forced to have such an indication. The meaning I have now given is more legitimate, taken character by character, and more in harmony with the scope of the hexagram, The subject of line 2 is the one proper leader of the host. But line 3 is divided and weak, and occupies the place of a strong line, as if its subject had perversely jumped over two, and perched himself above it to take the command. This interpretation also suits better in the 5th paragraph.

Line 4 is weak and not central; and therefore ‘to retreat’ is natural for its subject. But its place is even, and proper for a divided line; and the retreat will be right in the circumstances.

In line 5 we seem to have an intimation of the important truth that only defensive war, or war waged by the rightful authority to put down rebellion and lawlessness, is right. ‘The birds in the fields’ symbolise parties attacking for plunder. The fifth line symbolises the chief authority, — the king, who is weak, or humble, and in the centre, and cedes the use of all his power to the general symbolised by line 2. The subject of 2 is ‘the oldest son.’ Those of three and four are supposed to be ‘the younger brother and son,’ that is, the younger men, who would cause evil if admitted to share the command.

The lesson on the topmost line is true and important, but the critics seem unable to deduce it from the nature of the line, as divided and in the sixth place.

VIII. THE PÎ HEXAGRAM

Pî indicates that (under the conditions which it supposes) there is good fortune. But let (the principal party intended in it) re-examine himself, (as if)

by divination, whether his virtue be great, unintermitting, and firm. If it be so, there will be no error. Those who have not rest will then come to him; and with those who are (too) late in coming it will be ill.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject seeking by his sincerity to win the attachment of his object. There will be no error. Let (the breast) be full of sincerity as an earthenware vessel is of its contents, and it will in the end bring other advantages.

2. In the second SIX, divided, we see the movement towards union and attachment proceeding from the inward (mind). With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

In the third SIX, divided, we see its subject seeking for union with such as ought not to be associated with.

4. In the fourth SIX, divided, we see its subject seeking for union with the one beyond himself. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, affords the most illustrious instance of seeking union and attachment. (We seem to see in it) the king urging his pursuit of the game (only) in three directions, and allowing the escape of all the animals before him, while the people of his towns do not warn one another (to prevent it). There will be good fortune.

6. In the topmost SIX, divided, we see one seeking union and attachment without having taken the first step (to such an end). There will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

VIII The idea of union between the different members and classes of a state, and how it can be secured, is the subject of the hexagram Pî. The whole line occupying the fifth place, or that of authority, in the hexagram, represents the ruler to whom the subjects of all the other lines offer a ready submission. According to the general rules for the symbolism of the lines, the second line is the correlate of the fifth; but all the other lines are here made subject to that fifth; — which is also a law of the Yî, according to the 'Daily Lecture.' To me it has the suspicious look of being made for the occasion. The harmony of union, therefore, is to be secured by the sovereign authority of one; but he is warned to see to it that his virtue be what will beseem his place, and subjects are warned not to delay to submit to him.

Where does the ‘sincerity’ predicated of the subject of line 1 come from? The ‘earthenware vessel’ is supposed to indicate its plain, unadorned character; but there is nothing in the position and nature of the line, beyond the general idea in the figure, to Suggest the attribute.

Line 2 is the proper correlate of 5. Its position in the centre of the inner or lower trigram agrees with the movement of its subject as proceeding from the inward mind.

Line 3 is weak, not in the centre, nor in its correct place. The lines above and below it are both weak. All these things are supposed to account for what is said on it.

‘The one beyond himself’ in line 4 is the ruler or king, who is the subject of 5, and with whom union ought to be sought. The divided line, moreover, is in a place proper to it. If its subject be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

The subject of line 5 is the king, who must be the centre of union. The ancient kings had their great hunting expeditions in the different seasons; and that of each season had its peculiar rules. But what is stated here was common to all. When the beating was completed, and the shooting was ready to commence, one side of the enclosure into which the game had been driven was left open and unguarded; — a proof of the royal benevolence, which did not want to make an end of all the game. So well known and understood is this benevolence of the model king of the hexagram, that all his people try to give it effect. Thus the union contemplated is shown to be characterised by mutual confidence and appreciation in virtue and benevolence.

A weak line being in the 6th place, which is appropriate to it, its subject is supposed to be trying to promote union among and with the subjects of the lines below. It is too late. The time is past. Hence it is symbolised as ‘without a head,’ that is, as not having taken the first step, from which its action should begin, and go on to the end.

IX. THE HSIÂO KHÛ HEXAGRAM

Hsiâo *Kh*û indicates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and success. (We see) dense clouds, but no rain coming from our borders in the west.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject returning and pursuing his own course. What mistake should he fall into? There will be good fortune.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject, by the attraction (of the former line), returning (to the proper course). There will be good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, suggests the idea of a carriage, the strap beneath which has been removed, or of a husband and wife looking on each other with averted eyes.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity. The danger of bloodshed is thereby averted, and his (ground for) apprehension dismissed. There will be no mistake.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity, and drawing others to unite with him. Rich in resources, he employs his neighbours (in the same cause with himself).

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows how the rain has fallen, and the (onward progress) is stayed; — (so) must we value the full accumulation of the virtue (represented by the upper trigram). But a wife (exercising restraint), however firm and correct she may be, is in a position of peril, (and like) the moon approaching to the full. If the superior man prosecute his measures (in such circumstances), there will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

IX The name Hsiâo *Kh*û is interpreted as meaning ‘small restraint.’ The idea of ‘restraint’ having once been determined on as that to be conveyed by the figure, it is easily made out that the restraint must be small, for its representative is the divided line in the fourth place; and the check given by that to all the undivided lines cannot be great. Even if we suppose, as many critics do, that all the virtue of that upper trigram Sun is concentrated in its first line, the attribute ascribed to Sun is that of docile flexibility, which cannot long be successful against the strength emblemed by the lower trigram *Kh*ien. The restraint therefore is small, and in the end there will be ‘progress and success.’

The second sentence of the Thwan contains indications of the place, time, and personality of the writer which it seems possible to ascertain. The fief of *K*âu was the western portion of the kingdom of Yin or

Shang, the China of the twelfth century B. C., the era of king Wăn. Rain coming and moistening the ground is the cause of the beauty and luxuriance of the vegetable world, and the emblem of the blessings flowing from good training and good government. Here therefore in the west, the hereditary territory of the house of *K*âu, are blessings which might enrich the whole kingdom; but they are somehow restrained. The dense clouds do not empty their stores.

P. Regis says:— 'To declare openly that no rain fell from the heavens long covered with dense clouds over the great tract of country, which stretched from the western border to the court and on to the eastern sea, was nothing else but leaving it to all thoughtful minds to draw the conclusion that the family of Wan was as worthy of the supreme seat as that of Shâu, the tyrant, however ancient, was unworthy of it (vol. i,).' The intimation is not put in the Text, however, so clearly as by P. Regis.

Line 1 is undivided, the first line of *Kh*ien, occupying its proper place. Its subject, therefore, notwithstanding the check of line 4, resumes his movement, and will act according to his strong nature, and go forward.

Line 2 is also strong, and though an even place is not appropriate to it, that place being central, its subject will make common cause with the subject of line 1; and there will be good fortune.

Line 3, though strong, and in a proper place, yet not being in the centre, is supposed to be less able to resist the restraint of line 4; and hence it has the ill omens that are given.

The subject of line 4, one weak line against all the strong lines of the hexagram, might well expect wounds, and feel apprehension in trying to restrain the others; but it is in its proper place; it is the first line also of Sun, whose attribute is docile flexibility. The strong lines are moved to sympathy and help, and 'there is no mistake.'

Line 5 occupies the central place of Sun, and converts, by the sincerity, of its subject, 4 and 6 into its neighbours, who suffer themselves to be used by it, and effect their common object.

In line 6, the idea of the hexagram has run its course. The harmony of nature is restored. The rain falls, and the onward march of the strong lines should now stop. But weakness that has achieved such a result, if it plume itself on it, will be in a position of peril; and like the full moon, which must henceforth wane. Let the superior man, when he has attained his end, remain in quiet.

X. THE LÎ HEXAGRAM

(Lî suggests the idea of) one treading on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him. There will be progress and success.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject treading his accustomed path. If he go forward, there will be no error.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject treading the path that is level and easy; — a quiet and solitary man, to whom, if he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows a one-eyed man (who thinks he) can see; a lame man (who thinks he) can walk well; one who treads on the tail of a tiger and is bitten. (All this indicates) ill fortune. We have a (mere) bravo acting the part of a great ruler.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject treading on the tail of a tiger. He becomes full of apprehensive caution, and in the end there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows the resolute tread of its subject. Though he be firm and correct, there will be peril.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, tells us to look at (the whole course) that is trodden, and examine the presage which that gives. If it be complete and without failure, there will be great good fortune.

FOOTNOTES

X The character giving its name to the hexagram plays an important part also in the symbolism; and this may be the reason why it does not, as the name, occupy the first place in the Thwan. Looking at the figure, we see it is made up of the trigrams Tui, representing a marsh, and *Kh*ien, representing the sky. Tui is a yin trigram, and its top line is divided. Below *Kh*ien, the great symbol of strength, it may readily suggest the idea of treading on a tiger's tail, which was an old way of expressing what was hazardous (Shû V, XXV, 2). But what suggests the statement that 'the tiger does not bite the treader?' The attribute of Tui is pleased satisfaction. Of course such an attribute could not be predicated of one who was in the fangs of a tiger. The coming scatheless out of such danger further suggests the idea of 'progress and success' in the course which king Wăn had in his mind. And according to Appendix VI, that course was 'propriety,' the observance of all the rules of courtesy. On these, as so many stepping-stones, one may tread safely amid scenes of disorder and peril.

Line 1 is an undivided line in an odd place; giving us the ideas of activity, firmness, and correctness. One so characterised will act rightly.

Line 2 occupies the middle place of the trigram, which is supposed to symbolise a path cut straight and level along the hill-side, or over difficult ground. Line, is not a proper correlate, and hence the idea of the subject of 2 being ‘a quiet and solitary man.’

Line 3 is neither central nor in an even place, which would be proper to it. But with the strength of will which the occupant of an odd place should possess, he goes forward with the evil results so variously emblemed. The editors of the imperial edition, in illustration of the closing sentence, refer to Analects VII, x.

Line 4 is in contiguity with 5, whose subject is in the place of authority; but he occupies the place proper to a weak or divided line, and hence he bethinks himself, and goes softly.

Beneath the symbolism under line 5, lies the principle that the most excellent thing in ‘propriety’ is humility. And the subject of the line, which is strong and central, will not be lacking in this, but bear in mind that the higher he is exalted, the greater may be his fall.

What is said on line 6 is good, but is only a truism. The whole course has been shown; if every step has been right and appropriate, the issue will be very good.

XI. THE THÂI HEXAGRAM

In Thâi (we see) the little gone and the great come. (It indicates that) there will be good fortune, with progress and success.

1. The first NINE, undivided, suggests the idea of grass pulled up, and bringing with it other stalks with whose roots it is connected. Advance (on the part of its subject) will be fortunate.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows one who can bear with the uncultivated, will cross the Ho without a boat, does not forget the distant, and has no (selfish) friendships. Thus does he prove himself acting in accordance with the course of the due Mean.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows that, while there is no state of peace that is not liable to be disturbed, and no departure (of evil men) so that they shall not return, yet when one is firm and correct, as he realises the distresses that may arise, he will commit no error. There is no occasion for sadness at the certainty (of such recurring changes); and in this mood the happiness (of the present) may be (long) enjoyed.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject fluttering (down); — not relying on his own rich resources, but calling in his neighbours. (They all come) not as having received warning, but in the sincerity (of their hearts).

5. The fifth six, divided, reminds us of (king) Tî-yî's (rule about the) marriage of his younger sister. By such a course there is happiness and there will be great good fortune.

6. The sixth six, divided, shows us the city wall returned into the moat. It is not the time to use the army. (The subject of the line) may, indeed, announce his orders to the people of his own city; but however correct and firm he may be, he will have cause for regret.

FOOTNOTES

XI The language of the Thwan has reference to the form of Thâi, with the three strong lines of *Kh*ien below, and the three weak lines of Khwăn above. The former are 'the great,' active and vigorous; the latter are 'the small,' inactive and submissive. But where have the former 'come' from, and whither are the latter gone?' In many editions of the Yî beneath the hexagram of Thâi here, there appears that of Kwei Mei, the 54th in

order ( ), which becomes Thâi, if the third and fourth lines exchange places. But in the notes on the Thwan, in the first Appendix, on hexagram 6, I have spoken of the doctrine of ‘changing figures,’ and intimated my disbelief of it. The different hexagrams arose necessarily by the continued manipulation of the undivided and divided lines, and placing them each over itself and over the other. When king Wăn wrote these Thwan, he was taking the 64 hexagrams, as they were ready to his hand, and not forming one from another by any process of divination. The ‘gone’ and ‘come’ are merely equivalent to ‘below’ and ‘above,’ in the lower trigram or in the upper.

A course in which the motive forces are represented by the three strong, and the opposing by the three weak lines, must be progressive and successful. Thâi is called the hexagram of the first month of the year, the first month of the natural spring, when for six months, through the fostering sun and genial skies, the processes of growth will be going on.

The symbolism of paragraph 1 is suggested by the three strong lines of *Kh*ien all together, and all possessed by the same instinct to advance. The movement of the first will be supported by that of the others, and be fortunate.

The second line is strong, but in an even place. This is supposed to temper the strength of its subject; which is expressed by the first of his characteristics. But the even place is the central; and it is responded to by a proper correlate in the fifth line above. Hence come all the symbolism of the paragraph and the auspice of good fortune implied in it.

Beneath the symbolism in paragraph 3 there lies the persuasion of the constant change that is taking place in nature and in human affairs. As night succeeds to day, and winter to summer, so calamity may be expected to follow prosperity, and decay the flourishing of a state. The third is the last of the lines of *Kh*ien, by whose strength and activity the happy state of Thâi has been produced. Another aspect of things may be looked for; but by firmness and correctness the good estate of the present may be long continued.

According to the treatise on the Thwan, the subjects of the fourth and other upper lines are not ‘the small returning’ as opponents of the strong lines below, as is generally supposed; but as the correlates of those lines, of one heart and mind with them to maintain the state of Thâi, and giving them, humbly but readily, all the help in their power.

Tî-yî, the last sovereign but one of the Yin dynasty, reigned from B. C. 1191 to 1155; but what was the history of him and his sister here referred to we do not know. P. Regis assumes that he gave his sister in marriage to the lord of *K*âu, known in subsequent time as king Wăn, and that she was the famous Thaî-sze; — contrary to all the evidence I have been able to find on the subject. According to *Kh*ăng-žze, Tî-yî was the first to enact a law that daughters of the royal house, in marrying princes of the states, should be in subjection to them, as if they were not superior to them in rank. Here line 5, while occupying the place of dignity and authority in the hexagram, is yet a weak line in the place of a strong and its subject, accordingly, humbly condescends to his one, strong and proper correlate in line 2.

The course denoted by Thâi has been run; and will be followed by one of a different and unhappy character. The earth dug from the moat had been built up to form a protecting wall; but it is now again fallen into the ditch. War will only aggravate the evil; and however the ruler may address good proclamations to himself and the people of his capital, the coming evil cannot be altogether averted.

XII. THE PHÎ HEXAGRAM

In Phî there is the want of good understanding between the (different classes of) men, and its indication is unfavourable to the firm and correct course of the superior man. We see in it the great gone and the little come.

1. The first SIX, divided, suggests the idea of grass pulled up, and bringing with it other stalks with whose roots it is connected. With firm correctness (on the part of its subject), there will be good fortune and progress.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject patient and obedient. To the small man (comporting himself so) there will be good fortune. If the great man (comport himself) as the distress and obstruction require, he will have success.

The third SIX, divided, shows its subject ashamed of the purpose folded (in his breast).

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject acting in accordance with the ordination (of Heaven), and committing no error. His companions will come and share in his happiness.

5. In the fifth NINE, undivided, we see him who brings the distress and obstruction to a close, — the great man and fortunate. (But let him say), 'We may perish! We may perish!' (so shall the state of things become firm, as if) bound to a clump of bushy mulberry trees.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows the overthrow (and removal of) the condition of distress and obstruction. Before this there was that condition. Hereafter there will be joy.

FOOTNOTES

XII The form of Phî, it will be seen, is exactly the opposite of that of Thâi. Much of what has been said on the interpretation of that will apply to this, or at least assist the student in making out the meaning of its symbolism. Phî is the hexagram of the seventh month. Genial influences have done their work, the processes of growth are at an end. Henceforth increasing decay must be looked for.

Naturally we should expect the advance of the subject of the first of the three weak lines to lead to evil; but if he set himself to be firm and correct, he will bring about a different issue.

Patience and obedience are proper for the small man in all circumstances. If the great man in difficulty yet cherish these attributes, he will soon have a happy issue out of the distress.

The third line is weak. Its place is odd, and therefore for it incorrect. Its subject would vent his evil purpose, but has not strength to do so. He is left therefore to the shame which he ought to feel without a word of warning. Does the ming of the fourth line mean 'the ordination of Heaven,' as *K*û Hsî thinks; or the orders of the ruler, as Khăng-žze says? Whichever interpretation be taken (and some critics unite the two), the action of the subject of the line, whose strength is tempered by the even position, will be good and correct, and issue in success and happiness.

The strong line in the fifth, (its correct), place, brings the distress and obstruction to a close. Yet its subject — the ruler in the hexagram-is warned to continue to be cautious in two lines of rhyme: —

'And let him say, "I die! I die I"
So to a bushy clump his fortune he shall tie.'

There is an end of the condition of distress. It was necessary, that condition should give place to its opposite; and the strong line in the topmost place fitly represents the consequent joy.

XIII. THE THUNG ZĂN HEXAGRAM

Thung *Z*ăn (or ‘Union of men’) appears here (as we find it) in the (remote districts of the) country, indicating progress and success. It will be advantageous to cross the great stream. It will be advantageous to maintain the firm correctness of the superior man.

1. The first NINE, undivided, (shows the representative of) the union of men just issuing from his gate. There will be no error.

2. The second SIX, divided, (shows the representative of) the union of men in relation with his kindred. There will be occasion for regret.

3. The third NINE, undivided, (shows its subject) with his arms hidden in the thick grass, and at the top of a high mound. (But) for three years he makes no demonstration.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, (shows its subject) mounted on the city wall; but he does not proceed to make the attack (he contemplates). There will be good fortune.

5. In the fifth NINE, undivided, (the representative of) the union of men first wails and cries out, and then laughs. His great host conquers, and he (and the subject of the second line) meet together.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, (shows the representative of) the union of men in the suburbs. There will be no occasion for repentance.

FOOTNOTES

XIII Thung *Z*ăn describes a condition of nature and of the state opposite to that of Phî. There was distress and obstruction; here is union. But the union must be based entirely on public considerations, without taint of selfishness.

The strong line in the fifth, its correct, place, occupies the most important position, and has for its correlate the weak second line, also in its correct place. The one divided line is naturally sought after by all the strong lines. The upper trigram is that of heaven, which is above; the lower is that of fire, whose tendency is to mount upwards. All these things are in harmony with the idea of union. But the union must be free from all selfish motives, and this is indicated by its being in the remote districts of the country, where people are unsophisticated, and free from the depraving effects incident to large societies. A union from such motives will cope with the greatest difficulties; and yet a word of caution is added.

Line 1 emblems the first attempts at union. It is strong, but in the lowest place; and it has no proper correlate above. There is, however, no intermixture of selfishness in it.

Lines 2 and 5 are proper correlates, which fact suggests in this hexagram the idea of their union being limited and partial, and such as may afford ground for blame.

Line 3 is strong, and in an odd place; but it has not a proper correlate in 6. This makes its subject more anxious to unite with 2; but 2 is devoted to its proper correlate in 5, of whose strength 3 is afraid, and takes the measures described. His abstaining so long, however, from any active attempt, will save him from misfortune.

Line 4 is strong, but in an even place, which weakens its subject, He also would fain make an attempt on 2; but he is afraid, and does not carry his purpose into effect.

Line 5 is strong, in an odd, and the central place; and would fain unite with 2, which indeed is the proper correlate of its subject. But 3 and 4 are powerful foes that oppose the union, Their opposition makes him weep; but he collects his forces, defeats them, and effects his purpose.

The union reaches to all within the suburbs, and is riot yet universal; but still there is no cause for repentance.

XIV. THE TÂ YÛ HEXAGRAM

Tâ Yû indicates that, (under the circumstances which it implies), there will be great progress and success.

1. In the first NINE, undivided, there is no approach to what is injurious, and there is no error. Let there be a realisation of the difficulty (and danger of the position), and there will be no error (to the end).

2. In the second NINE, undivided, we have a large waggon with its load. In whatever direction advance is made, there will be no error.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows us a feudal prince presenting his offerings to the Son of Heaven. A small man would be unequal (to such a duty).

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject keeping his great resources under restraint. There will be no error.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows the sincerity of its subject reciprocated by that of all the others (represented in the hexagram). Let him display a proper majesty, and there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject with help accorded to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune, advantage in every respect.

FOOTNOTES

XIV Tâ Yû means ‘Great Havings;’ denoting in a kingdom a state of prosperity and abundance, and in a, family or individual, a state of opulence. The danger threatening such a condition arises from the pride which it is likely to engender. But everything here is against that issue. Apart from the symbolism of the trigrams, we have the place of honour occupied by a weak line, so that its subject will be humble; and all the other lines, strong as they are, will act in obedient sympathy. There will be great progress and success.

Line 2, though strong, is at the lowest part of the figure, and has no correlate above. No external influences have as yet acted injuriously on its subject. Let him do as directed, and no hurtful influence will ever affect him.

The strong line 2 has its proper correlate in line 5, the ruler of the figure, and will use its strength in subordination to his humility. Hence the symbolism.

Line 3 is strong, and in the right (an odd) place. The topmost line of the lower trigram is the proper place for a feudal lord. The subject of this will humbly serve the condescending ruler in line 5. A small man, having the place without the virtue, would give himself airs.

Line 4 is strong, but the strength is tempered by the position, which is that of a weak line. Hence he will do no injury to the mild ruler, to whom he is so near.

Line 5 symbolises the ruler. Mild sincerity is good in him, and affects his ministers and others. But a ruler must not be without an awe-inspiring majesty.

Even the topmost line takes its character from 5. The strength of its subject is still tempered, and Heaven gives its approval.

XV. THE KHIEN HEXAGRAM

*Kh*ien indicates progress and success. The superior man, (being humble as it implies), will have a (good) issue (to his undertakings).

1. The first SIX, divided, shows us the superior man who adds humility to humility. (Even) the great stream may be crossed with this, and there will be good fortune.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows us humility that has made itself recognised. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows the superior man of (acknowledged) merit. He will maintain his success to the end, and have good fortune.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows one, whose action would be in every way advantageous, stirring up (the more) his humility.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows one who, without being rich, is able to employ his neighbours. He may advantageously use the force of arms. All his movements will be advantageous.

6. The sixth SIX, divided, shows us humility that has made itself recognised. The subject of it will with advantage put his hosts in motion; but (he will only) punish his own towns and state.

FOOTNOTES

XV An essay on humility rightly follows that on abundant possessions. The third line, which is a whole line amid five others divided, occupying the topmost place in the lower trigram, is held by the Khang-hsî editors and many others to be ‘the lord of the hexagram,’ the representative of humility, strong, but abasing itself. There is nothing here in the text to make us enter farther on the symbolism of the figure. Humility is the way to permanent success.

A weak line, at the lowest place of the figure, is the fitting symbol of the superior man adding humility to humility.

Line 2 is weak, central, and in its proper place, representing a humility that has ‘crowed;’ that is, has proclaimed itself.

Line 3 is strong, and occupies an odd (its proper) place. It is ‘the lord of the hexagram,’ to whom all represented by the lines above and below turn.

Line 4 is weak and in its proper position. Its subject is sure to be successful and prosperous, but being so near the fifth line, he should still use the greatest precaution.

All men love and honour humility, in itself and without the adjuncts which usually command obedience and respect. Hence his neighbours follow the ruler in the fifth line, though he may not be very rich or powerful. His humility need not keep him from asserting the right, even by force of arms.

The subject of the sixth line, which is weak, is outside the game, so to speak, that has been played out. He will use force, but only within his own sphere and to assert what is right. He will not be aggressive.

XVI. THE YÜ HEXAGRAM

Yü indicates that, (in the state which it implies), feudal princes may be set up, and the hosts put in motion, with advantage.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject proclaiming his pleasure and satisfaction. There will be evil.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows one who is firm as a rock. (He sees a thing) without waiting till it has come to pass; with his firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows one looking up (for favours), while he indulges the feeling of pleasure and satisfaction. If he would understand! — If he be late in doing so, there will indeed be occasion for repentance.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows him from whom the harmony and satisfaction come. Great is the success which he obtains. Let him not allow suspicions to enter his mind, and thus friends will gather around him.

5. The fifth six, divided, shows one with a chronic complaint, but who lives on without dying.

6. The topmost six, divided, shows its subject with darkened mind devoted to the pleasure and satisfaction (of the time); but if he change his course even when (it may be considered as) completed, there will be no error.

FOOTNOTES

XVI The Yü hexagram denoted to king Win a condition of harmony and happy contentment throughout the kingdom, when the people rejoiced in and readily obeyed their sovereign. At such a time his appointments and any military undertakings would be hailed and supported. The fourth line, undivided, is the lord of the figure, and being close to the fifth or place of dignity, is to be looked on as the minister or chief officer of the ruler. The ruler gives to him his confidence; and all represented by the other lines yield their obedience.

Line 1 is weak, and has for its correlate the strong 4. Its subject may well enjoy the happiness of the time. But he cannot contain himself, and proclaims, or boasts of, his satisfaction; — which is evil.

Line 2, though weak, is in its correct position, the centre, moreover, of the lower trigram. Quietly and firmly its subject is able to abide in his place, and exercise a far-seeing discrimination. All is indicative of good fortune.

Line 3 is weak, and in an odd place. Immediately below line 4, its subject keeps looking up to the lord of the figure, and depends on him, thinking of doing nothing, but how to enjoy himself. The consequence will be as described, unless he speedily change.

The strong subject of line 4 is the agent to whom the happy condition is owing; and it is only necessary to caution him to maintain his confidence in himself and his purpose, and his adherents and success will continue.

Line 5 is in the ruler's place; but it is weak, and he is in danger of being carried away by the lust of pleasure. Moreover, proximity to the powerful minister represented by 4 is a source of danger. Hence he is represented as suffering from a chronic complaint, but nevertheless he does not die. See Appendix II on the line.

Line 6, at the very top or end of the hexagram, is weak, and its subject is all but lost. Still even for him there is a chance of safety, if he will but change.

XVII. THE SUI HEXAGRAM

Sui indicates that (under its conditions) there will be great progress and success. But it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. There will (then) be no error.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows us one changing the object of his pursuit; but if he be firm and correct, there will he good fortune. Going beyond (his own) gate to find associates, he will achieve merit.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows us one who cleaves to the little boy, and lets go the man of age and experience.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows us one who cleaves to the man of age and experience, and lets go the little boy. Such following will get what it seeks; but it will be advantageous to adhere to what is firm and correct.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows us one followed and obtaining (adherents). Though he be firm and correct, there will be evil. If he be sincere (however) in his course, and make that evident, into what error will he fall?

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows us (the ruler) sincere in (fostering all) that is excellent. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows us (that sincerity) firmly held and clung to, yea, and bound fast. (We see) the king with it presenting his offerings on the western mountain.

FOOTNOTES

XVII Sui symbolises the idea of following. It is said to follow Yü, the symbol of harmony and satisfaction. Where there are these conditions men are sure to follow; nor will they follow those in whom they have no complacency. The hexagram includes the cases where one follows others, and where others follow him; and the auspice of great progress and success is due to this flexibility and applicability of it. But in both cases the following must be guided by a reference to what is proper and correct. See the notes on the Thwan and the Great Symbolism.

Line 1 is strong, and lord of the lower trigram. The weak lines ought to follow it; but here it is below them, in the lowest place of the figure. This gives rise to the representation of one changing his pursuit. Still through the native vigour indicated by the line being strong, and in its correct place, its subject will be fortunate. Going beyond his gate to find associates indicates his public spirit, and superiority to selfish considerations.

Line 2 is weak. Its proper correlate is the strong 5; but it prefers to cleave to the line below, instead of waiting to follow 5. Hence the symbolism of the text, the bad omen of which needs not to be mentioned.

Line 3 is also weak, but it follows the strong line above it and leaves line 1, reversing the course of 2; — with a different issue. It is weak, however, and 4 is not its proper correlate; hence the conclusion of the paragraph is equivalent to a caution.

Line 4 is strong, and in the place of a great minister next the ruler in 5. But his having adherents may be injurious to the supreme and sole authority of that ruler, and only a sincere loyalty will save him from error and misfortune.

Line 5 is strong, and in its correct place, with 2 as its proper correlate; thus producing the auspicious symbolism.

The issue of the hexagram is seen in line 6; which represents the ideal of following, directed by the most sincere adherence to what is right. This influence not only extends to men, but also to spiritual beings. ‘The western hill’ is mount *Khî*, at the foot of which was the original settlement of the house of *K*âu, in B. C. 1325. The use of the name ‘king’ here brings us down from Wăn into the time of king Wû at least.

XVIII. THE KÛ HEXAGRAM

Kû indicates great progress and success (to him who deals properly with the condition represented by it). There will be advantage in (efforts like that of) crossing the great stream. (He should weigh well, however, the events of) three days before the turning point, and those (to be done) three days after it.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his father. If he be an (able) son, the father will escape the blame of having erred. The position is perilous, but there will be good fortune in the end.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his mother. He should not (carry) his firm correctness (to the utmost).

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his father. There may be some small occasion for repentance, but there will not be any great error.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows (a son) viewing indulgently the troubles caused by his father. If he go forward, he will find cause to regret it.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows (a son) dealing with the troubles caused by his father. He obtains the praise of using (the fit instrument for his work).

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows us one who does not serve either king or feudal lord, but in a lofty spirit prefers (to attend to) his own affairs.

FOOTNOTES

XVIII In the 6th Appendix it is said, They who follow another are sure to have services (to perform), and hence Sui is followed by Kû.' But Kû means the having painful or troublesome services to do. It denotes here a state in which things are going to ruin, as if through poison or venomous worms; and the figure is supposed to describe the arrest of the decay and the restoration to soundness and vigour, so as to justify its auspice of great progress and success. To realise such a result, however, great efforts will be required, as in crossing the great stream; and a careful consideration of the events that have brought on the state of decay, and the measures to be taken to remedy it is also necessary. See Appendix I on the 'three days.'

The subject of line 1, and of all the other lines, excepting perhaps 6, appears as a son. Yet the line itself is of the yin nature, and the trigram in which it plays the principal part is also yin. Line 2 is strong, and of the yang nature, with the yin line 5 as its proper correlate. In line 2, 5 appears as the mother; but its subject there is again a son, and the upper trigram altogether is yang. I am unable to account for these things. As is said in the note of Regis on line 2:— 'Haec matris filiique denominatio ad has lineas mere translatitia est, et, ut ait commentarius vulgaris, ad explicationem sententiarum eas pro matre et filio supponere dicendum

est. Nec ratio reddetur si quis in utroque hoc nomine mysterium quaerat. Cur enim aliis in figuris lineae nunc regem, nunc vasallum, jam imperii administrum, mox summum armorum praefectum referre dicantur? Accommodantur scilicet lineae ad verba sententiae et verba sententiae ad sensum, queniadmodum faciendum de methodis libri Shih King docet Mencius, V, i, ode 4.2.'

We must leave this difficulty. Line 1 is weak, and its correlate 4 is also weak. What can its subject do to remedy the state of decay? But the line is the first of the figure, and the decay is not yet great. By giving heed to the cautions in the Text, he will accomplish what is promised.

The ruler in line 5 is represented by a weak line, while 2 is strong. Thus the symbolism takes the form of a son dealing with the prevailing decay induced somehow by his mother. But a son must be very gentle in all his intercourse with his mother, and especially so, when constrained by a sense of duty to oppose her course. I do not think there is anything more or better to be said here. The historical interpretation adopted by Regis and his friends, that the father here is king Wăn, the mother Thâi-sze, and the son king Wû, cannot be maintained. I have searched, but in vain, for the slightest Chinese sanction of it, and it would give to Kû the meaning of misfortunes endured, instead of troubles caused.

Line 3 is strong, and not central, so that its subject might well go to excess in his efforts. But this tendency is counteracted by the line's place in the trigram Sun, often denoting lowly submission.

Line 4 is weak, and in an even place, which intensifies that weakness. Hence comes the caution against going forward.

The weak line 5, as has been said, is the seat of the ruler; but its proper correlate is the strong 2, the strong siding champion minister, to whom the work of the hexagram is delegated.

Line 6 is strong, and has no proper correlate below. Hence it suggests the idea of one outside the sphere of action, and taking no part in public affairs, but occupied with the culture of himself.

XIX. THE LIN HEXAGRAM

Lin (indicates that under the conditions supposed in it) there will be great progress and success, while it will be advantageous to be firmly correct. In the eighth month there will be evil.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject advancing in company (with the subject of the second line). Through his firm correctness there will be good fortune.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject advancing in company (with the subject of the first line). There will be good fortune; (advancing) will be in every way advantageous.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows one well pleased (indeed) to advance, (but whose action) will be in no way advantageous. If he become anxious about it (however), there will be no error.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows one advancing in the highest mode. There will be no error.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows the advance of wisdom, such as befits the great ruler. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth SIX, divided, shows the advance of honesty and generosity. There will be good fortune, and no error.

FOOTNOTES

XIX In Appendix VI Lin is explained as meaning ‘great.’ The writer, having misunderstood the meaning of the previous Kû, subjoins— ‘He who performs such services may become “great.”’ But Lin denotes the approach of authority, — to inspect, to comfort, or to rule. When we look at the figure, we see two strong undivided lines advancing on the four weak lines above them, and thence follows the assurance that their action will be powerful and successful. That action must be governed by rectitude, however, and by caution grounded on the changing character of all conditions and events. The meaning of the concluding sentence is given in Appendix I as simply being — that, ‘the advancing power will decay in no long time.’ Lû *K*ăn —*khî* (Ming dynasty) says:— ‘The sun (or the day) is the symbol of what is Yang; and the moon is the symbol of what is Yin. Eight is the number of the second of the four emblematic figures (the smaller Yin), and seven is the number of the third of them (the smaller Yang). Hence to indicate the period of the coming of what is Yin, we use the phrase, “the eighth month;” and to indicate the period of the coming of what is Yang, we use the phrase, “the seventh day.”’ The Khang-hsî editors say that this is the best explanation of the language of the Text that can be given:— ‘The Yang numbers culminate in 9, the influence then receding and producing the 8 of the smaller Yin. The Yin numbers culminate in 6, and the next advance

produces the 7 of the smaller Yang; so that 7 and 8 are the numbers indicating the first birth of what is Yin and what is Yang.' 'If we go to seek,' they add, 'any other explanation of the phraseology of the Text, and such expressions as "3 days," "3 years," "10 years," &c., we make them unintelligible.' Lin is the hexagram of the twelfth month.

Line 1 is a strong line in its proper place. The danger is that its subject may be more strong than prudent, hence the caution in requiring firm correctness.

Line 2, as strong, should be in an odd place; but this is more than counterbalanced by the central position, and its correlate in line 5.

Line 3 is weak, and neither central, nor in its correct position. Hence its action will not be advantageous; but being at the top of the trigram Tui, which means being pleased, its subject is represented as 'well pleased to advance.' Anxious reflection will save him from error.

Line 4, though weak, is in its proper place, and has for its correlate the strong 1. Hence its advance is 'in the highest style.'

Line 5 is the position of the ruler. It is weak, but being central, and having for its correlate the strong and central 2, we have in it a symbol of authority distrustful of itself, and employing fit agents; — characteristic of the wise ruler.

Line 6 is the last of the trigram Khwăn, the height therefore of docility. Line 2 is not its correlate, but it belongs to the Yin to seek for the Yang; and it is so emphatically in this case. Hence the characteristic and issue as assigned.

XX. THE KWÂN HEXAGRAM

Kwân shows (how he whom it represents should be like) the worshipper who has washed his hands, but not (yet) presented his offerings; — with sincerity and an appearance of dignity (commanding reverent regard).

1. The first SIX, divided, shows the looking of a lad; — not blamable in men of inferior rank, but matter for regret in superior men.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows one peeping out from a door. It would be advantageous if it were (merely) the firm correctness of a female.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows one looking at (the course of) his own life, to advance or recede (accordingly).

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows one contemplating the glory of the kingdom. It will be advantageous for him, being such as he is, (to seek) to be a guest of the king.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject contemplating his own life(-course). A superior man, he will (thus) fall into no error.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows its subject contemplating his character to see if it be indeed that of a superior man. He will not fall into error.

FOOTNOTES

XX The Chinese character Kwân, from which this hexagram is named, is used in it in two senses. In the Thwan, the first paragraph of the treatise on the Thwan, and the paragraph on the Great Symbolism, it denotes showing, manifesting; in all other places it denotes contemplating, looking at. The subject of the hexagram is the sovereign and his subjects, how he manifests himself to them, and how they contemplate him. The two upper, undivided, lines belong to the sovereign; the four weak lines below them are his subjects, — ministers and others who look up at him. Kwân is the hexagram of the eighth month.

In the Thwan king Wăn symbolises the sovereign by a worshipper when he is most solemn in his religious service, at the commencement of it, full of sincerity and with a dignified carriage.

Line 1 is weak, and in the lowest place, improper also for it; — the symbol of a thoughtless lad, who cannot see far, and takes only superficial views.

Line 2 is also weak, but in its proper place, showing a woman, living retired, and only able to peep as from her door at the subject of the fifth line. But ignorance and retirement are proper in a woman.

Line 3, at the top of the lower trigram Khwăn, and weak, must belong to a subject of the utmost docility, and will wish to act only according to the exigency of time and circumstances.

Line 4, in the place proper to its weakness, is yet in immediate proximity to 5, representing the sovereign. Its subject is moved accordingly, and stirred to ambition.

Line 5 is strong, and in the place of the ruler. He is a superior man, but this does not relieve him from the duty of self-contemplation or examination.

There is a slight difference in the 6th paragraph from the 5th, which can hardly be expressed in a translation. By making a change in the punctuation, however, the different significance may be brought out. Line 6 is strong, and should be considered out of the work of the hexagram, but its subject is still possessed by the spirit of its idea, and is led to self-examination.

XXI. THE SHIH HO HEXAGRAM

Shih Ho indicates successful progress (in the condition of things which it supposes). It will be advantageous to use legal constraints.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows one with his feet in the stocks and deprived of his toes. There will be no error.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows one biting through the soft flesh, and (going on to) bite off the nose. There will be no error.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows one gnawing dried flesh, and meeting with what is disagreeable. There will be occasion for some small regret, but no (great) error.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows one gnawing the flesh dried on the bone, and getting the pledges of money and arrows. It will be advantageous to him to realise the difficulty of his task and be firm, — in which case there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows one gnawing at dried flesh, and finding the yellow gold. Let him be firm and correct, realising the peril (of his position). There will be no error.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows one wearing the cangue, and deprived of his cars. There will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

XXI Shih Ho means literally ‘Union by gnawing.’ We see in the figure two strong lines in the first and last places, while all the others, with the exception of the fourth, are divided. This suggests the idea of the jaws and the mouth between them kept open by something in it. Let that be gnawed through and the mouth will close and the jaws come together. So in the body politic. Remove the obstacles to union, and high and low will come together with a good understanding. And how are those obstacles to be removed? By force, emblemed by the gnawing; that is, by legal constraints. And these are sure to be successful. The auspice of the figure is favourable. There will be success.

Lines 1 and 6 are much out of the game or action described in the figure. Hence they are held to represent parties receiving punishment, while the other lines represent parties inflicting it. The punishment in line 1 is that of the stocks, administered for a small offence, and before crime has made much way. But if the ‘depriving’ of the toes is not merely keeping them in restraint, but cutting them off, as the Chinese character suggests, the punishment appears to a western reader too severe.

Line 2 is weak, appropriately therefore in an even place, and it is central besides. The action therefore of its subject should be effective; and this is shown by the 'biting through the soft flesh,' an easy thing. Immediately below, however, is a strong offender represented by the strong line, and before he will submit it is necessary to 'bite off his nose;' for punishment is the rule it must be continued and increased till the end is secured.

Line 3 is weak, and in an even place. The action of its subject will be ineffective; and is emblemed by the hard task of gnawing through dried flesh, and encountering, besides, what is distasteful and injurious in it. But again comes in the consideration that here punishment is the rule, and the auspice is not all bad.

Of old, in a civil case, both parties, before they were heard, brought to the court an arrow (or a bundle of arrows), in testimony of their rectitude, after which they were heard; in a criminal case, they in the same way deposited each thirty pounds of gold, or some other metal. See the Official Book of *K*au, 27. 14, 15. The subject of the fourth line's getting those pledges indicates his exercising his judicial functions; and what he gnaws through indicates their difficulty. Moreover, though the line is strong, it is in an even place; and hence comes the lesson of caution.

The fifth line represents 'the lord of judgment.' As it is a weak line, he will be disposed to leniency; and his judgments will be correct. This is declared by his finding the 'yellow metal;' for yellow is one of the five 'correct' colours. The position is in the centre and that of rule; but the line being weak, a caution is given, as under the previous line.

The action of the figure has passed, and still we have, in the subject of line 6, one persisting in wrong, a strong criminal, wearing the cangue, and deaf to counsel. Of course the auspice is evil.

XXII. THE PÎ HEXAGRAM

Pî indicates that there should be free course (in what it denotes). There will be little advantage (however) if it be allowed to advance (and take the lead).

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows one adorning (the way of) his feet. He can discard a carriage and walk on foot.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows one adorning his beard.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject with the appearance of being adorned and bedewed (with rich favours). But let him ever maintain his firm correctness, and there will be good fortune.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows one looking as if adorned, but only in white. As if (mounted on) a white horse, and furnished with wings, (he seeks union with the subject of the first line), while (the intervening third pursues), not as a robber, but intent on a matrimonial alliance.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows its subject adorned by (the occupants of) the heights and gardens. He bears his roll of silk, small and slight. He may appear stingy; but there will be good fortune in the end.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows one with white as his (only) ornament. There will be no error.

FOOTNOTES

XXII The character Pî is the symbol of what is ornamental and of the act of adorning. As there is ornament in nature, so should there be in society; but its place is secondary to that of what is substantial. This is the view of king Wăn in his Thwan. The symbolism of the separate lines is sometimes fantastic.

Line 1 is strong, and in an odd place. It is at the very bottom of the hexagram, and is the first line of Lî, the trigram. For fire or light, and suggesting what is elegant and bright. Its subject has nothing to do but to attend to himself. Thus he cultivates — adorns — himself in his humble position; but if need be, righteousness requiring it, he can give up every luxury and indulgence.

Line 2 is weak and in its proper place, but with no proper correlate above. The strong line 3 is similarly situated. These two lines therefore keep together, and are as the beard and the chin. Line 1 follows 2. What is substantial commands and rules what is merely ornamental.

Line 3 is strong, and between two weak lines, which adorn it, and bestow their favours on it. But this happy condition is from the accident of place. The subject of the line must be always correct and firm to ensure its

continuance.

Line 4 has its proper correlate in 1, from whose strength it should receive ornament, but 2 and the strong 3 intervene and keep them apart, so that the ornament is only white, and of no bright colour. Line 4, however, is faithful to 1, and earnest for their union. And finally line 3 appears in a good character, and not with the purpose to injure, so that the union of 1 and 4 takes place. All this is intended to indicate how ornament recognises the superiority of solidity. Compare the symbolism of the second line of Kun (3), and that of the topmost line of Khwei (38).

Line .5 is in the place of honour, and has no proper correlate in 2. It therefore associates with the strong 6, which is symbolised by the heights and gardens round a city, and serving both to protect and to beautify it. Thus the subject of the line receives adorning from without, and does not of itself try to manifest it. Moreover, in his weakness, his offerings of ceremony are poor and mean. But, as Confucius said, ‘In ceremonies it is better to be sparing than extravagant.’ Hence that stinginess does not prevent a good auspice.

Line 6 is at the top of the hexagram. Ornament has had its course, and here there is a return to pure, ‘white,’ simplicity. Substantiality is better than ornament.

XXIII. THE PO HEXAGRAM

Po indicates that (in the state which it symbolises) it will not be advantageous to make a movement in any direction whatever.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows one overturning the couch by injuring its legs. (The injury will go on to) the destruction of (all) firm correctness, and there will be evil.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows one overthrowing the couch by injuring its frame. (The injury will go on to) the destruction of (all) firm correctness, and there will be evil.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject among the overthrowers; but there will be no error.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject having overthrown the couch, and (going to injure) the skin (of him who lies on it). There will be evil.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows (its subject leading on the others like) a string of fishes, and (obtaining for them) the favour that lights on the inmates of the palace. There will be advantage in every way.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject (as) a great fruit which has not been eaten. The superior man finds (the people again) as a chariot carrying him. The small men (by their course) overthrow their own dwellings.

FOOTNOTES

XXIII Po is the symbol of falling or of causing to fall, and may be applied, both in the natural and political world, to the process of decay, or that of overthrow. The figure consists of five divided lines, and one undivided, which last thus becomes the prominent and principal line in the figure. Decay or overthrow has begun at the bottom of it, and crept up to the top. The hexagram is that of the ninth month, when the beauty and glory of summer have disappeared, and the year is ready to fall into the arms of sterile winter. In the political world, small men have gradually displaced good men and great, till but one remains; and the lesson for him is to wait. The power operating against him is too strong; but the fashion of political life passes away. If he wait, a change for the better will shortly appear.

The lesser symbolism is chiefly that of a bed or couch with its occupant. The idea of the hexagram requires this occupant to be overthrown, or at least that an attempt be made to overthrow him. Accordingly the attempt in line 1 is made by commencing with the legs of the couch. The symbolism goes on to explain itself. The object of the evil worker is the overthrow of all firm correctness. Of course there will be evil.

Line 2 is to the same effect as 1; only the foe has advanced from the legs to the frame of the couch.

Line 3 also represents an overthrower; but it differs from the others in being the correlate of 6. The subject of it will take part with him. His association is with the subject of 6, and not, as in the other weak lines, with one of its own kind.

From line 4 the danger is imminent. The couch has been overthrown. The person of the occupant is at the mercy of the destroyers.

With line 5 the symbolism changes. The subject of 5 is 'lord of all the other weak lines,' and their subjects are at his disposal. He and they are represented as fishes, following one another as if strung together. All fishes come under the category of yin. Then the symbolism changes again. The subject of 5, representing and controlling all the yin lines, is loyal to the subject of the yang sixth line. He is the rightful sovereign in his palace, and 5 leads all the others there to enjoy the sovereign's favours.

We have still different symbolism under line 6. Its strong subject, notwithstanding the attempts against him, survives, and acquires fresh vigour. The people again cherish their sovereign, and the plotters have wrought to their own overthrow.

XXIV. THE FÛ HEXAGRAM

Fû indicates that there will be free course and progress (in what it denotes). (The subject of it) finds no one to distress him in his exits and entrances; friends come to him, and no error is committed . He will return and repeat his (proper) course. In seven days comes his return. There will be advantage in whatever direction movement is made.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject returning (from an error) of no great extent, which would not proceed to anything requiring repentance. There will be great good fortune.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows the admirable return (of its subject). There will be good fortune.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows one who has made repeated returns. The position is perilous, but there will be no error.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject moving right in the centre (among those represented by the other divided lines), and yet returning alone (to his proper path).

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows the noble return of its subject. There will be no ground for repentance.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject all astray on the subject of returning. There will be evil. There will be calamities and errors. If with his views he put the hosts in motion, the end will be a great defeat, whose issues will extend to the ruler of the state. Even in ten years he will not be able to repair the disaster.

FOOTNOTES

XXIV Fû symbolises the idea of returning, coming back or over again. The last hexagram showed us inferior prevailing over superior men, all that is good in nature and society yielding before what is bad. But change is the law of nature and society. When decay has reached its climax, recovery will begin to take place. In Po we had one strong topmost line, and five weak lines below it; here we have one strong line, and five weak lines above it. To illustrate the subject from what we see in nature, — Po is the hexagram of the ninth month, in which the triumph of cold and decay in the year is nearly complete. It is complete in the tenth month, whose hexagram is Khwăn; then follows our hexagram Fû, belonging to the eleventh month, in which was the winter solstice when the sun turned back in his course, and moved with a constant regular progress towards the summer solstice. In harmony with these changes of nature are the changes in the

political and social state of a nation. There is nothing in the Yî to suggest the hope of a perfect society or kingdom that cannot be moved.

The strong bottom line is the first of *K*ăn, the trigram of movement, and the upper trigram is Khwăn, denoting docility and capacity. The strong returning line will meet with no distressing obstacle, and the weak lines will change before it into strong, and be as friends. The bright quality will be developed brighter and brighter from day to day, and month to month.

The sentence, 'In seven days comes his return,' occasions some perplexity. If the reader will refer to hexagrams 44, 33, 12, 20, 23, and 2, he will see that during the months denoted by those figures, the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, the yin lines have gradually been prevailing over the yang, until in Khwăn (2) they have extruded them entirely from the lineal figure. Then comes our Fû, as a seventh figure, in which the yang line begins to reassert itself, and from which it goes on to extrude the yin lines in their turn. Explained therefore of the months of the year, we have to take a day for a month. And something analogous — we cannot say exactly what — must have place in society and the state.

The concluding auspice or oracle to him who finds this Fû by divination is what we might expect.

The subject of line 1 is of course the undivided line, meaning here, says *Kh*ăng-žze, 'the way of the superior man.' There must have been some deviation from that, or 'returning' could not be spoken of.

Line 2 is in its proper place, and central; but it is weak. This is more than compensated for, however, by its adherence to line 1, the fifth line not being a proper correlate. Hence the return of its subject is called excellent or admirable.

Line 3 is weak, and in the uneven place of a strong line. It is the top line, moreover, of the trigram whose attribute is movement. Hence the symbolism; but any evil issue may be prevented by a realisation of danger and by caution.

Line 4 has its proper correlate in i; different from all the other weak lines; and its course is different accordingly.

Line 5 is in the central place of honour, and the middle line of Khwăn, denoting docility. Hence its auspice.

Line 6 is weak; and being at the top of the hexagram, when its action of returning is all concluded, action on the part of its subject will lead to evils such as are mentioned. 'Ten years' seems to be a round number, signifying a long time, as in hexagram 3. 2.

XXV. THE WÛ WANG HEXAGRAM

Wû Wang indicates great progress and success, while there will be advantage in being firm and correct. If (its subject and his action) be not correct, he will fall into errors, and it will not be advantageous for him to move in any direction.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject free from all insincerity. His advance will be accompanied with good fortune.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows one who reaps without having ploughed (that he might reap), and gathers the produce of his third year's fields without having cultivated them the first year for that end. To such a one there will be advantage in whatever direction he may move.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows calamity happening to one who is free from insincerity; — as in the case of an ox that has been tied up. A passer by finds it (and carries it off), while the people in the neighbourhood have the calamity (of being accused and apprehended).

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows (a case) in which, if its subject can remain firm and correct, there will be no error.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows one who is free from insincerity, and yet has fallen ill. Let him not use medicine, and he will have occasion for joy (in his recovery).

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject free from insincerity, yet sure to fall into error, if he take action. (His action) will not be advantageous in any way.

FOOTNOTES

XXV Wang is the symbol of being reckless, and often of being insincere; Wû Wang is descriptive of a state of entire freedom from such a condition; its subject is one who is entirely simple and sincere. The quality is characteristic of the action of Heaven, and of the highest style of humanity. In this hexagram we have an essay on this noble attribute. An absolute rectitude is essential to it. The nearer one comes to the ideal of the quality, the more powerful will be his influence, the greater his success. But let him see to it that he never swerve from being correct.

The first line is strong; at the commencement of the inner trigram denoting movement, the action of its subject will very much characterise all the action set forth, and will itself be fortunate.

Line 2 is weak, central, and in its correct place. The quality may be predicated of it in its highest degree. There is an entire freedom in its subject from selfish or mercenary motive. He is good simply for goodness' sake. And things are so constituted that his action will be successful.

But calamity may also sometimes befal the best, and where there is this freedom from insincerity; and line 3 being weak, and in the place of an even line, lays its subject open to this misfortune. 'The people of the neighbourhood' are of course entirely innocent.

Line 4 is the lowest in the trigram of strength, and 1 is not a proper correlate, nor is the fourth the place for a strong line. Hence the paragraph must be understood as a caution.

Line 5 is strong, in the central place of honour, and has its proper correlate in 2. Hence its subject must possess the quality of the hexagram in perfection. And yet he shall he sick or in distress. But he need not be anxious. Without his efforts a way of escape for him will be opened.

Line 6 is at the top of the hexagram, and comes into the field when the action has run its course. He should be still, and not initiate any fresh movement.

XXVI. THE TÂ KHÛ HEXAGRAM

Under the conditions of Tâ *Kh*û it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. (If its subject do not seek to) enjoy his revenues in his own family (without taking service at court), there will be good fortune. It will be advantageous for him to cross the great stream.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject in a position of peril. It will be advantageous for him to stop his advance.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows a carriage with the strap under it removed.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject urging his way with good horses. It will be advantageous for him to realise the difficulty (of his course), and to be firm and correct, exercising himself daily in his charioteering and methods of defence;

then there will be advantage in whatever direction he may advance.

4. The fourth six, divided, shows the young bull, (and yet) having the piece of wood over his horns. There will be great good fortune.

5. The fifth six, divided, shows the teeth of a castrated hog. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows its subject (as) in command of the firmament of heaven. There will be progress.

FOOTNOTES

XXVI *Kh*û has two meanings. It is the symbol of restraint, and of accumulation. What is repressed and restrained accumulates its strength and increases its volume. Both these meanings are found in the treatise on the Thwan; the exposition of the Great Symbolism has for its subject the accumulation of virtue. The different lines are occupied with the repression or restraint of movement. The first three lines receive that repression, the upper three exercise it. The accumulation to which all tends is that of virtue; and hence the name of Tâ *Kh*û, 'the Great Accumulation.'

What the Thwan teaches, is that he who goes about to accumulate his virtue must be firm and correct, and may then, engaging in the public service, enjoy the king's grace, and undertake the most difficult enterprises.

Line 1 is subject to the repression of 4, which will be increased if he try to advance. It is better for him to halt.

Line 2 is liable to the repression of 5, and stops its advance of itself, its subject having the wisdom to do so through its position in the central place. The strap below, when attached to the axle, made the carriage stop; he himself acts that part.

Line 3 is the last of *Kh*ien, and responds to the sixth line, the last of Kăn, above. But as they are both strong, the latter does not exert its repressive force. They advance rapidly together; but the position is perilous for 3. By firmness and caution, however, its subject will escape the peril, and the issue will be good.

The young bull in line 4 has not yet got horns. The attaching to their rudiments the piece of wood to prevent him from goring is an instance of extraordinary precaution; and precaution is always good.

A boar is a powerful and dangerous animal. Let him be castrated, and though his tusks remain, he cares little to use them. Here line 5 represents the ruler in the hexagram, whose work is to repress the advance of evil. A conflict with the subject of the strong second line in its advance would be perilous; but 5, taking early precaution, reduces it to the condition of the castrated pig. Not only is there no evil, but there is good fortune.

The work of repression is over, and the strong subject of line 6 has now the amplest scope to carry out the idea of the hexagram in the accumulation of virtue.

XXVII. THE I HEXAGRAM

Î indicates that with firm correctness there will be good fortune (in what is denoted by it). We must look at what we are seeking to nourish, and by the exercise of our thoughts seek for the proper aliment.

1. The first NINE, undivided, (seems to be thus addressed), 'You leave your efficacious tortoise, and look at me till your lower jaw hangs down.' There will be evil.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows one looking downwards for nourishment, which is contrary to what is proper; or seeking it from the height (above), advance towards which will lead to evil.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows one acting contrary to the method of nourishing. However firm he may be, there will be evil. For ten years let him not take any action, (for) it will not be in any way advantageous.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows one looking downwards for (the power to) nourish. There will be good fortune. Looking with a tiger's downward unwavering glare, and with his desire that impels him to spring after spring, he will fall into no error.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows one acting contrary to what is regular and proper; but if he abide in firmness, there will be good fortune. He should not, (however, try to) cross the great stream.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows him from whom comes the nourishing. His position is perilous, but there will be good fortune. It will be advantageous to cross the great stream.

FOOTNOTES

XXVII Î is the symbol of the upper jaw, and gives name to the hexagram; but the whole figure suggests the appearance of the mouth. There are the two undivided lines at the bottom and top, and the four divided lines between them. The first line is the first in the trigram *K*ăn, denoting movement; and the sixth is the third in Kăn, denoting what is solid. The former is the lower jaw, part of the mobile chin; and the other the more fixed upper jaw. The open lines are the cavity of the mouth. As the name of the hexagram, Î denotes nourishing, — one's body or mind, one's self or others. The nourishment in both the matter and method will differ according to the object of it; and every one must determine what to employ and do in every case by exercising his own thoughts, only one thing being premised, — that in both respects the nourishing must be correct, and in harmony with what is right. The auspice of the whole hexagram is good.

The first line is strong, and in its proper place; its subject might suffice for the nourishing of himself, like a tortoise, which is supposed to live on air, without more solid nourishment. But he is drawn out of himself by desire for the weak 4, his proper correlate, at whom he looks till his jaw hangs down, or, as we say, his mouth waters. Hence the auspice is bad. The symbolism takes the form of an expostulation addressed, we must suppose, by the fourth line to the first.

The weak 2, insufficient for itself, seeks nourishment first from the strong line below, which is not proper, and then from the strong 6, not its proper correlate, and too far removed. In either case the thing is evil.

Line 3 is weak, in an odd place; and as it occupies the last place in the trigram of movement, all that quality culminates in its subject. Hence he considers himself sufficient for himself, without any help from without, and the issue is bad.

With line 4 we pass into the upper trigram. It is next to the ruler's place in 5 moreover, and bent on nourishing and training all below. Its proper correlate is the strong 1; and though weak in himself, its subject looks with intense desire to the subject of that for help; and there is no error.

The subject of line 5 is not equal to the requirements of his position; but with a firm reliance on the strong 6, there will be good fortune. Let him not, however, engage in the most difficult undertakings.

The topmost line is strong, and 5 relies on its subject; but being penetrated with the idea of the hexagram, he feels himself in the position of master or tutor to all under heaven. The task is hard and the responsibility great; but realising these things, he will prove himself equal to them.

XXVIII. THE TÂ KWO HEXAGRAM

Tâ Kwo suggests to us a beam that is weak. There will be advantage in moving (under its conditions) in any direction whatever; there will be success.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows one placing mats of the white mâo grass under things set on the ground. There will be no error.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows a decayed willow producing shoots, or an old husband in possession of his young wife. There will be advantage in every way.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows a beam that is weak. There will be evil.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows a beam curving upwards. There will be good fortune. If (the subject of it) looks for other (help but that of line one), there will be cause for regret.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows a decayed willow producing flowers, or an old wife in possession of her young husband. There will be occasion neither for blame nor for praise.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject with extraordinary (boldness) wading through a stream, till the water hides the crown of his head. There will be evil, but no ground for blame.

FOOTNOTES

XXVIII Very extraordinary times require very extraordinary gifts in the conduct of affairs in them. This is the text on which king Wăn and his son discourse after their fashion in this hexagram. What goes, in their view, to constitute anything extraordinary is its greatness and difficulty. There need not be about it what is not right.

Looking at the figure we see two weak lines at the top and bottom, and four strong lines between them, giving us the idea of a great beam unable to sustain its own weight. But the second and fifth lines are both strong and in the centre; and from this and the attributes of the component trigrams a good auspice is obtained.

Line 1 being weak, and at the bottom of the figure, and of the trigram Sun, which denotes flexibility and humility, its subject is distinguished by his carefulness, as in the matter mentioned; and there is a good auspice.

Line 2 has no proper correlate above. Hence he inclines to the weak 1 below him; and we have the symbolism of the line. An old husband with a young wife will yet have children; the action of the subject of 2 will be successful.

Line 3 is strong, and in an odd place. Its subject is confident in his own strength, but his correlate in 6 is weak. Alone, he is unequal to the extraordinary strain on him, and has for his symbol the weak beam.

Line 4 is near 5, the ruler's place. On its subject devolves the duty of meeting the extraordinary exigency of the time; but he is strong; and, the line being in an even place, his strength is tempered. He will be equal to his task. Should he look out for the help of the subject of 1, that would affect him with another element of weakness; and his action would give cause for regret.

Line 5 is strong and central. Its subject should be equal to achieve extraordinary merit. But he has no proper correlate below, and as 2 inclined to 1, so does this to 6. But here the willow only produces flowers, not shoots; — its decay will soon reappear. An old wife will have no children. If the subject of the line is not to be condemned as that of 3, his action does not deserve praise.

The subject of 6 pursues his daring course, with a view to satisfy the extraordinary exigency of the time, and benefit all under the sky. He is unequal to the task, and sinks beneath it; but his motive modifies the judgment on his conduct.

XXIX. THE KHAN HEXAGRAM

Khan, here repeated, shows the possession of sincerity, through which the mind is penetrating. Action (in accordance with this) will be of high value.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject in the double defile, and (yet) entering a cavern within it. There will be evil.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject in all the peril of the defile. He will, however, get a little (of the deliverance) that he seeks.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject, whether he comes or goes (=descends or ascends), confronted by a defile. All is peril to him and unrest. (His endeavours) will lead him into the cavern of the pit. There should be no action (in such a case).

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject (at a feast), with (simply) a bottle of spirits, and a subsidiary basket of rice, while (the cups and bowls) are (only) of earthenware. He introduces his important lessons (as his ruler's) intelligence admits. There will in the end be no error.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows the water of the defile not yet full, (so that it might flow away); but order will (soon) be brought about. There will be no error.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject bound with cords of three strands or two strands, and placed in the thicket of thorns. But in three years he does not learn the course for him to pursue. There will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

XXIX The trigram Khan, which is doubled to form this hexagram, is the lineal symbol of water. Its meaning, as a character, is 'a pit,' 'a perilous cavity, or defile;' and here and elsewhere in the Yî it leads the reader to think of a dangerous defile, with water flowing through it. It becomes symbolic of danger, and what the authors of the Text had in mind was to show how danger should be encountered, its effect on the mind, and how to get out of it.

The trigram exhibits a strong central line, between two divided lines. The central represented to king Wăn the sincere honesty and goodness of the subject of the hexagram, whose mind was sharpened and made penetrating by contact with danger, and who acted in a manner worthy of his character. It is implied, though the Thwan does not say it, that he would get out of the danger,

Line 1 is weak, at the bottom of the figure, and has no correlate above, no helper, that is, beyond itself. All these things render the case of its subject hopeless. He will by his efforts only involve himself more deeply in danger.

Line 2 is strong, and in the centre. Its subject is unable, indeed, to escape altogether from the danger, but he does not involve himself more deeply in it like the subject of 1, and obtains some ease.

Line 3 is weak, and occupies the place of a strong line. Its subject is in an evil case.

Line 4 is weak, and will get no help from its correlate in 1. Its subject is not one who can avert the danger threatening himself and others. But his position is close to that of the ruler in 5, whose intimacy he cultivates with an unostentatious sincerity, symbolled by the appointments of the simple feast, and whose intelligence he cautiously enlightens. In consequence, there will be no error.

The subject of line 5 is on the eve of extrication and deliverance. The waters of the defile will ere long have free vent and disappear, and the ground will be levelled and made smooth. The line is strong, in a proper place, and in the place of honour.

The case of the subject of line 6 is hopeless. When danger has reached its highest point, there he is, represented by a weak line, and with no proper correlate below. The ‘thicket of thorns’ is taken as a metaphor for a prison; but if the expression has a history, I have been unable to find it.

XXX. THE LÎ HEXAGRAM

Lî indicates that, (in regard to what it denotes), it will be advantageous to be firm and correct, and that thus there will be free course and success.

Let (its subject) also nourish (a docility like that of) the cow, and there will be good fortune.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows one ready to move with confused steps. But he treads at the same time reverently, and there will be no mistake.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject in his place in yellow. There will be great good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject in a position like that of the declining sun. Instead of playing on his instrument of earthenware, and singing to it, he utters the groans of an old man of eighty. There will be evil.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows the manner of its subject's coming. How abrupt it is, as with fire, with death, to be rejected (by all)!

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows its subject as one with tears flowing in torrents, and groaning in sorrow. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows the king employing its subject in his punitive expeditions. Achieving admirable (merit), he breaks (only) the chiefs (of the rebels). Where his prisoners were not their associates, he does not punish. There will be no error.

FOOTNOTES

XXX Lî is the name of the trigram representing fire and light, and the sun as the source of both of these. Its virtue or attribute is brightness, and by a natural metaphor intelligence. But Lî has also the meaning of inhering in, or adhering to, being attached to. Both these significations occur in connexion with the hexagram, and make it difficult to determine what was the subject of it in the minds of the authors. If we take the whole figure as expressing the subject, we have, as in the treatise on the Thwan, 'a double brightness,' a phrase which is understood to denominate the ruler. If we take the two central lines as indicating the subject, we have weakness, dwelling with strength above and below. In either case there are required from the subject a strict adherence to what is correct, and a docile humility. On the second member of the Thwan Khăng-žze says:— 'The nature of the ox is docile, and that of the cow is much more so. The subject of the hexagram adhering closely to what is correct, he must be able to act in obedience to it, as docile as a cow, and then there will be good fortune.'

Line 1 is strong, and at the bottom of the trigram for fire, the nature of which is to ascend. Its subject therefore will move upwards, and is in danger of doing so coarsely and vehemently. But the lowest line has hardly entered into the action of the figure, and this consideration operates to make him reverently careful of his movements; and there is no error.

Line 2 is weak, and occupies the centre. Yellow is one of the five correct colours, and here symbolises the correct course to which the subject of the line adheres.

Line 3 is at the top of the lower trigram, whose light may be considered exhausted, and suggests the symbol of the declining sun. The subject of the line should accept the position, and resign himself to the ordinary amusements which are mentioned, but he groans and mourns instead. His strength interferes with the lowly contentment which he should cherish.

The strength of line 4, and its being in an even place, make its subject appear in this unseemly manner, disastrous to himself.

Line 5 is in the place of honour, and central. But it is weak; as is its correlate. Its position between the strong 4 and 6 fills its subject with anxiety and apprehension, that express themselves as is described. But such demonstrations are a proof of his inward adherence to right and his humility. There will be good fortune.

Line 6, strong and at the top of the figure, has the intelligence denoted by its trigrams in the highest degree, and his own proper vigour. Through these his achievements are great, but his generous consideration is equally conspicuous, and he falls into no error.

TEXT SECTION II

XXXI. THE HSIEN HEXAGRAM

Hsien indicates that, (on the fulfilment of the conditions implied in it), there will be free course and success. Its advantageousness will depend on the being firm and correct, (as) in marrying a young lady. There will be good fortune.

1. The first six, divided, shows one moving his great toes.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows one moving the calves of his leg. There will be evil. If he abide (quiet in his place), there will be good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows one moving his thighs, and keeping close hold of those whom he follows. Going forward (in this way) will cause regret.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows that firm correctness whi.ch will lead to good fortune, and prevent all occasion for repentance. If its subject be unsettled in his movements, (only) his friends will follow his purpose.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows one moving the flesh along the spine above the heart. There will be no occasion for repentance.

6. The sixth six, divided, shows one moving his jaws and tongue.

FOOTNOTES

XXXI With the 31st hexagram commences the Second Section of the Text. It is difficult to say why any division of the hexagrams should be made here, for the student tries in vain to discover any continuity in the thoughts of the author that is now broken. The First Section does not contain a class of subjects different from those which we find in the Second. That the division was made, however, at a very early time, appears from the sixth Appendix on the Sequence of the Hexagrams, where the writer sets forth an analogy between the first and second figures, representing heaven and earth, as the originators of all things, and this figure and the next, representing (each of them) husband and wife, as the originators of all the social relations. This, however, is far from carrying conviction to my mind. The division of the Text of the Yî into two sections is a fact of which I am unable to give a satisfactory account.

Hsien, as explained in the treatise on the Thwan, has here the meaning of mutual influence, and the duke of Kâu, on the various lines, always uses Kan for it in the sense of ‘moving’ or ‘influencing to movement or action.’ This is to my mind the subject of the hexagram considered as an essay,— ‘Influence; the different ways of bringing it to bear, and their issues.’

The Chinese character called hsien is, the graphic symbol for ‘all, together, jointly.’ Kan, the symbol for ‘influencing,’ has hsien in it as its phonetic constituent (though the changes in pronunciation make it hard for an English reader to appreciate this), with the addition of hsin, the symbol for the heart.’ Thus kan, ‘to

affect or influence,' = + ; and it may have been that while the name or word was used with the significance of 'influencing,' the was purposely dropt from it, to indicate the most important element in the thing, — the absence of all purpose or motive. I venture to think that this would have been a device worthy of a diviner.

With regard to the idea of husband and wife being in the teaching of the hexagram, it is derived from the more recent symbolism of the eight trigrams ascribed to king Wăn, and exhibited on and plate III. The more ancient usage of them is given in the paragraph on the Great Symbolism of Appendix II. The figure consists of Kăn 'the youngest son,' and over it Tui (), 'the youngest daughter.' These are in 'happy union.' No influence, it is said, is so powerful and constant as that between husband and wife; and where these are young, it is especially active. Hence it is that Hsien is made up of Kăn and Tui. All this is to me very doubtful. I can dimly apprehend why the whole line () was assumed as the symbol of strength and authority, and the broken line as that of weakness and submission. Beyond this I cannot follow Fû-hsî in his formation of the trigrams; and still less can I assent to the more recent symbolism of them ascribed to king Wăn.

Coming now to the figure, and its lines, the subject is that of mutual influence; and the author teaches that that influence, correct in itself, and for correct ends, is sure to be effective. He gives an instance, — the case of a man marrying a young lady, the regulations for which have been laid down in China from the earliest times with great strictness and particularity. Such influence will be effective and fortunate.

Line 1 is weak, and at the bottom of the hexagram. Though 4 be a proper correlate, yet the influence indicated by it must be ineffective. However much a man's great toes may be moved, that will not enable him to walk.

The calves cannot move of themselves. They follow the moving of the feet. The moving of them indicates too much anxiety to move. Line 2, moreover, is weak. But it is also the central line, and if its subject abide quiet, till he is acted on from above, there will be good fortune.

Neither can the thighs move of themselves. The attempt to move them is inauspicious. Its subject, however, the line being strong, and in an odd place, will wish to move, and follows the subject of 4, which is understood to be the seat of the mind. He exercises his influence therefore with a mind and purpose, which is not good.

Line 4 is strong, but in an even place. It is the seat of the mind. Its subject therefore is warned to be firm and correct in order to a good issue. If he be wavering and uncertain, his influence will not extend beyond the circle of his friends.

The symbolism of line 5 refers to a part of the body behind the heart, and is supposed therefore to indicate an influence, ineffective indeed, but free from selfish motive, and not needing to be repented of.

Line 6 is weak, and in an even place. It is the topmost line also of the trigram of satisfaction. Its influence by means of speech will only be that of loquacity and flattery, the evil of which needs not to be pointed out.

XXXII. THE HĂNG HEXAGRAM

Hăng indicates successful progress and no error (in what it denotes). But the advantage will come from being firm and correct; and movement in any direction whatever will be advantageous.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject deeply (desirous) of long continuance. Even with firm correctness there will be evil; there will be no advantage in any way.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows all occasion for repentance disappearing.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows one who does not continuously maintain his virtue. There are those who will impute this to him as a disgrace. However firm he may be, there will be ground for regret.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows a field where there is no game.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows its subject continuously maintaining the virtue indicated by it. In a wife this will be fortunate; in a husband, evil.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject exciting himself to long continuance. There will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

XXXII The subject of this hexagram may be given as perseverance in well doing, or in continuously acting out the law of one's being. The sixth Appendix makes it a sequel of the previous figure. As that treats, it is said, of the relation between husband and wife, so this treats of the continuous observance of their respective duties. Hsien, we saw, is made up of Kăn, the symbol of the youngest son, and Tui, the symbol of the youngest daughter, attraction and influence between the sexes being strongest in youth. Hăng consists of Sun, 'the oldest daughter,' and *K*ăn, the oldest son. The couple are more staid. The wife occupies the lower place; and the relation between them is marked by her submission. This is sound doctrine, especially from a Chinese point of view; but I doubt whether such application of his teaching was in the mind of king Wăn. Given two parties, an inferior and superior in correlation. If both be continuously observant of what is correct, the inferior being also submissive, and the superior firm, good fortune and progress may be predicated of their course.

Line 1 has a proper correlate in 4; but between them are two strong lines; and it is itself weak. These two conditions are against its subject receiving much help from the subject of 4. He should be quiet, and not forward for action.

Line 2 is strong, but in the place of a weak line. Its position, however, being central, and its subject holding fast to the due mean, the unfavourable condition of an even place is more than counteracted.

Line 3 is strong, and in its proper place; but being beyond the centre of the trigram, its subject is too strong, and coming under the attraction of his correlate in 6, he is supposed to be ready to abandon his place and virtue. He may try to be firm and correct, but circumstances are adverse to him.

Line 4 is strong in the place of a weak line, and suggests the symbolism of the duke of *K*âu.

The weak 5th line responds to the strong 2nd, and may be supposed to represent a wife conscious of her weakness, and docilely submissive; which is good. A husband, however, and a man generally, has to assert himself, and lay down the rule of what is right.

In line 6 the principle of perseverance has run its course; the motive power of *K*ăn is exhausted. The line itself is weak. The violent efforts of its subject can only lead to evil.

XXXIII. THE THUN HEXAGRAM

Thun indicates successful progress (in its circumstances). To a small extent it will (still) be advantageous to be firm and correct.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows a retiring tail. The position is perilous. No movement in any direction should be made.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject holding (his purpose) fast as if by a (thong made from the) hide of a yellow ox, which cannot be broken.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows one retiring but bound, — to his distress and peril. (If he were to deal with his binders as in) nourishing a servant or concubine, it would be fortunate for him.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject retiring notwithstanding his likings. In a superior man this will lead to good fortune; a small man cannot attain to this.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject retiring in an admirable way. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows its subject retiring in a noble way. It will be advantageous in every respect.

FOOTNOTES

XXXIII Thun is the hexagram of the sixth month; the yin influence is represented by two weak lines, and has made good its footing in the year. The figure thus suggested to king Wăn the growth of small and unprincipled men in the state, before whose advance superior men were obliged to retire. This is the theme of his essay, — how, I when small men multiply and increase in power, the necessity of the time requires superior men to withdraw before them.' Yet the auspice of Thun is not all bad. By firm correctness the threatened evil may be arrested to a small extent.

'A retiring tail' seems to suggest the idea of the subject of the lines hurrying away, which would only aggravate the evil and danger of the time.

'His purpose' in line 2 is the purpose to withdraw. The weak 2 responds correctly to the strong 5, and both are central. The purpose therefore is symbolled as in the text. The 'yellow' colour of the ox is introduced because of its being 'correct,' and of a piece with the central place of the line.

Line 3 has no proper correlate in 6 and its subject allows himself to be entangled and impeded by the subjects of 1 and 2. He is too familiar with them, and they presume, and fetter his movements; — compare Analects, 17. 25. He should keep them at a distance.

Line 4 has a correlate in 1, and is free to exercise the decision belonging to its subject. The line is the first in Khien, symbolic of strength.

In the Shû IV, v, Section 2. 9, the worthy Î Yin is made to say, ‘The minister will not for favour or gain continue in an office whose work is done;’ and the Khang-hsî editors refer to his words as an illustration of what is said on line 5. It has its correlate in 2, and its subject carries out the purpose to retire ‘in an admirable way.’

Line 6 is strong, and with no correlate to detain it in 3. Its subject vigorously and happily carries out the idea of the hexagram.

XXXIV. THE TÂ KWANG HEXAGRAM

Tâ *K*wang indicates that (under the conditions which it symbolises) it will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject manifesting his strength in his toes. But advance will lead to evil, — most certainly.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows that with firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows, in the case of a small man, one using all his strength; and in the case of a superior man, one whose rule is not to do so. Even with firm correctness the position would be perilous. (The exercise of strength in it might be compared to the case of) a ram butting against a fence, and getting his horns entangled.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows (a case in which) firm correctness leads to good fortune, and occasion for repentance disappears. (We see) the fence opened without the horns being entangled. The strength is like that in the wheel-spokes of a large waggon.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows one who loses his ram(-like strength) in the ease of his position. (But) there will be no occasion for repentance.

6. The sixth SIX, divided, shows (one who may be compared to) the ram butting against the fence, and unable either to retreat, or to advance as he would fain do. There will not be advantage in any respect; but if he realise the difficulty (of his position), there will be good fortune.

FOOTNOTES

XXXIV The strong lines predominate in Tâ *K*wang. It suggested to king Wăn a state or condition of things in which there was abundance of strength and vigour. Was strength alone enough for the conduct of affairs? No. He saw also in the figure that which suggested to him that strength should be held in subordination to the idea of right, and exerted only in harmony with it.

This is the lesson of the hexagram, as sententiously expressed in the Thwan.

Line 1 is strong, in its correct place, and also the first line in *Kh*ien, the hexagram of strength, and the first line in Tâ Kwang. The idea of the figure might seem to be concentrated in it; and hence we have it

symbolised by ‘strength in the toes,’ or ‘advancing.’ But such a measure is too bold to be undertaken by one in the lowest place, and moreover there is no proper correlate in 4. Hence comes the evil auspice.

Line 2 is strong, but the strength is tempered by its being in an even place, instead of being excited by it, as might be feared. Then the place is that in the centre. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

Line 3 is strong, and in its proper place. It is at the top moreover of *Kh*ien. A small man so symbolled will use his strength to the utmost; but not so the superior man. For him the position is beyond the safe middle, and he will be cautious; and not injure himself, like the ram, by exerting his strength.

Line 4 is still strong, but in the place of a weak line; and this gives occasion to the cautions with which the symbolism commences. The subject of the line going forward thus cautiously, his strength will produce good effects, such as are described.

Line 5 is weak, and occupies a central place. Its subject will cease therefore to exert his strength; but this hexagram does not forbid the employment of strength, but would only control and direct it. All that is said about him is that he will give no occasion for repentance.

Line 6 being at the top of *K*ăn, the symbol of movement, and at the top of Tâ *K*wang, its subject may be expected to be active in exerting his strength; and through his weakness, the result would be as described. But he becomes conscious of his weakness, reflects and rests, and good fortune results, as he desists from the prosecution of his unwise efforts.

XXXV. THE ŽIN HEXAGRAM

In Žin we see a prince who secures the tranquillity (of the people) presented on that account with numerous horses (by the king), and three times in a day received at interviews.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows one wishing to advance, and (at the same time) kept back. Let him be firm and correct, and there will be good fortune. If trust be not reposed in him, let him maintain a large and generous mind, and there will be no error.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject with the appearance of advancing, and yet of being sorrowful. If he be firm and correct, there will be good fortune. He will receive this great blessing from his grandmother.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject trusted by all (around him). All occasion for repentance will disappear.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject with the appearance of advancing, but like a marmot. However firm and correct he may be, the position is one of peril.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows how all occasion for repentance disappears (from its subject). (But) let him not concern himself about whether he shall fail or succeed. To advance will be fortunate, and in every way advantageous.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows one advancing his horns. But he only uses them to punish the (rebellious people of his own) city. The position is perilous, but there will be good fortune. (Yet) however firm and correct he may be, there will be occasion for regret.

FOOTNOTES

XXXV The Thwan of this hexagram expresses its subject more fully and plainly than that of any of the previous thirty-four. It is about a feudal prince whose services to the country have made him acceptable to his king. The king's favour has been shown to him by gifts and personal attentions such as form the theme of more than one ode in the Shih; see especially III, iii, 7. The symbolism of the lines dimly indicates the qualities of such a prince. Žin means to advance.' Hexagrams 46 and 53 agree with this in being called by names that indicate progress and advance. The advance in Žin is like that of the sun, 'the shining light, shining more and more to the perfect day.'

Line 1 is weak, and in the lowest place, and its correlate in 4 is neither central nor in its correct position. This indicates the small and obstructed beginnings of his subject. But by his firm correctness he pursues the way to good fortune; and though the king does not yet believe in him, he the more pursues his noble course.

Line 2 is weak, and its correlate in 5 is also weak. Its subject therefore has still to mourn in obscurity. But his position is central and correct, and he holds on his way, till success comes ere long. The symbolism says he receives it 'from his grandmother;' and readers will be startled by the extraordinary statement, as I was when I first read it. Literally the Text says 'the king's mother,' as P. Regis rendered it,— 'Istam magnam felicitatem a matre regis recipit.' He also tries to give the name a historical reference; — to ThâiKiang, the grandmother of king Wăn; ThâiZăn, his mother; or to Thâi-sze, his wife, and the mother of king Wû and the duke of *K*âu, all famous in Chinese history, and celebrated in the Shih. But 'king's father' and 'king's mother' are well-known Chinese appellations for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother.' This is the view given on the passage, by *Kh*ăng-žze, *K*û Hsî, and the Khang-hsî editors, the latter of whom, indeed, account for the use of the name, instead of 'deceased mother,' which we find in hexagram 62, by the regulations observed in the ancestral temple. These authorities, moreover, all agree in saying that the name points us to line 5, the correlate of 2, and 'the lord of the hexagram.' Now the subject of line 5 is the sovereign, who at length acknowledges the worth of the feudal lord, and gives him the great blessing. The 'New Digest of Comments on the Yî (1686),' in its paraphrase of the line, has, 'He receives at last this great blessing from the mild and compliant ruler.' I am not sure that 'motherly king' would not be the best and fairest translation of the phrase.

Canon McClatchie has a very astonishing note on the name, which he renders 'Imperial Mother' ():— 'That is, the wife of Imperial Heaven (Juno), who occupies the "throne of the diagram," *viz.* the fifth stroke, which is soft and therefore feminine. She is the Great Ancestress of the human race. See Imp. Ed. vol. iv, Sect. v, , Com.' Why such additions to the written word?

Line 3 is weak, and in an odd place; but the subjects of 1 and 2 are possessed by the same desire to advance as the subject of this. A common trust and aim possess them; and hence the not unfavourable auspice.

Line 4 is strong, but it is in an even place, nor is it central. It suggests the idea of a marmot (? or rat), stealthily advancing. Nothing could be more opposed to the ideal of the feudal lord in the hexagram.

In line 5 that lord and his intelligent sovereign meet happily. He holds on his right course, indifferent as to results, but things are so ordered that he is, and will continue to be, crowned with success.

Line 6 is strong, and suggests the idea of its subject to the last continuing his advance, and that not only with firm correctness, but with strong force. The 'horns' are an emblem of threatening strength, and though he uses them only in his own state, and against the rebellious there, that such a prince should have any occasion to use force is matter for regret.

XXXVI. THE MING Î HEXAGRAM

Ming Î indicates that (in the circumstances which it denotes) it will be advantageous to realise the difficulty (of the position), and maintain firm correctness.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject, (in the condition indicated by) Ming Î, flying, but with drooping wings. When the superior man (is revolving) his going away, he may be for three days without eating. Wherever he goes, the people there may speak (derisively of him).

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject, (in the condition indicated by) Ming Î, wounded in the left thigh. He saves himself by the strength of a (swift) horse; and is fortunate.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject, (in the condition indicated by) Ming Î, hunting in the south, and taking the great chief (of the darkness). He should not be eager to make (all) correct (at once).

4. The fourth six, divided, shows its subject (just) entered into the left side of the belly (of the dark land). (But) he is able to carry out the mind appropriate (in the condition indicated by) Ming Î, quitting the gate and courtyard (of the lord of darkness).

5. The fifth six, divided, shows how the count of *K*î fulfilled the condition indicated by Ming Î. It will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

6. The sixth six, divided, shows the case where there is no light, but (only) obscurity. (Its subject) had at first ascended to (the top of) the sky; his future shall be to go into the earth.

FOOTNOTES

XXXVI In this hexagram we have the representation of a good and intelligent minister or officer going forward in the service of his country, notwithstanding the occupancy of the throne by a weak and unsympathising sovereign. Hence comes its name of Ming Î, or ‘Intelligence Wounded,’ that is, injured and repressed. The treatment of the subject shows how such an officer will conduct himself, and maintain his purpose. The symbolism of the figure is treated of in the same way in the first and second Appendixes. Appendix VI merely says that the advance set forth in 35 is sure to meet with wounding, and hence Žin is followed by Ming Î.

Line 1 is strong, and in its right place; — its subject should be going forward. But the general signification of the hexagram supposes him to be wounded. The wound, however, being received at the very commencement of its action, is but slight. And hence conies the emblem of a bird hurt so as to be obliged to droop its wings. The subject then appears directly as 'the superior man.' He sees it to be his course to desist from the struggle for a time, and is so rapt in the thought that he can fast for three days and not think of it. When he does withdraw, opposition follows him; but it is implied that he holds on to his own good purpose.

Line 2 is weak, but also in its right place, and central; giving us the idea of an officer, obedient to duty and the right. His wound in the left thigh may impede his movements, but does not disable him. He finds means to save himself, and maintains his good purpose.

Line 3, strong and in a strong place, is the topmost line of the lower trigram. It responds also to line 6, in which the idea of the sovereign, emblemed by the upper trigram, is concentrated. The lower trigram is the emblem of light or brightness, the idea of which again is expressed by the south, to which we turn when we look at the sun in its meridian height. Hence the subject of the line becomes a hunter pursuing his game, and successfully. The good officer will be successful in his struggle; but let him not be over eager to put all things right at once.

Line 4 is weak, but in its right place. *K*û Hsî says he does not understand the symbolism, as given in the Text. The translation indicates the view of it commonly accepted. The subject of the line evidently escapes from his position of danger with little damage.

Line 5 should be the place of the ruler or sovereign in the hexagram; but 6 is assigned as that place in Ming Î. The officer occupying 5, the centre of the upper trigram, and near to the sovereign, has his ideal in the count of *K*î, whose action appears in the Shû, III, p, 127, 128. He is a historical personage.

Line 6 sets forth the fate of the ruler, who opposes himself to the officer who would do him good and intelligent service. Instead of becoming as the sun, enlightening all from the height of the sky, he is as the sun hidden below the earth. I can well believe that the writer had the last king of Shang in his mind.

XXXVII. THE KIÂ ZĂN HEXAGRAM

For (the realisation of what is taught in) *K*iâ *Z*ăn, (or for the regulation of the family), what is most advantageous is that the wife be firm and correct.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject establishing restrictive regulations in his household Occasion for repentance will disappear.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject taking nothing on herself, but in her central place attending to the preparation of the food. Through her firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject (treating) the members of the household with stern severity. There will be occasion for repentance, there will be peril, (but) there will (also) be good fortune. If the wife and children were to be smirking and chattering, in the end there would be occasion for regret.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject enriching the family. There will be great good fortune.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows the influence of the king extending to his family. There need be no anxiety; there will be good fortune.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject possessed of sincerity and arrayed in majesty. In the end there will be good fortune.

FOOTNOTES

XXXVII *K*iâ *Z*ăn, the name of the hexagram, simply means ‘a household,’ or ‘the members of a family.’ The subject of the essay based on the figure, however, is the regulation of the family, effected mainly by the co-operation of husband and wife in their several spheres, and only needing to become universal to secure the good order of the kingdom. The important place occupied by the wife in the family is seen in the short sentence of the Thwan. That she be firm and correct, and do her part well, is the first thing necessary to its regulation.

Line 1 is strong, and in a strong place. It suggests the necessity of strict rule in governing the family. Regulations must be established, and their observance strictly insisted on.

Line 2 is weak, and in the proper place for it, — the centre, moreover, of the lower trigram. It fitly represents the wife, and what is said on it tells us of her special sphere and duty; and that she should be unassuming in regard to all beyond her sphere; always being firm and correct. See the Shih, III, 350.

Line 3 is strong, and in an odd place. If the place were central, the strength would be tempered; but the subject of the line, in the topmost place of the trigram, may be expected to exceed in severity. But severity is not a bad thing in regulating a family; — it is better than laxity and indulgence.

Line 4 is weak, and in its proper place. The wife is again suggested to us, and we are told, that notwithstanding her being confined to the internal affairs of the household, she can do much to enrich the family.

The subject of the strong fifth line appears as the king. This may be the husband spoken of as also a king; or the real king whose merit is revealed first in his family, as often in the Shih, where king Wăn is the theme. The central place here tempers the display of the strength and power.

Line 6 is also strong, and being in an even place, the subject of it might degenerate into stern severity, but he is supposed to be sincere, complete in his personal character and self-culture, and hence his action will only lead to good fortune.

XXXVIII. THE KHWEI HEXAGRAM

*Kh*wei indicates that, (notwithstanding the condition of things which it denotes), in small matters there will (still) be good success.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows that (to its subject) occasion for repentance will disappear. He has lost his horses, but let him not seek for them; — they will return of themselves. Should he meet with bad men, he will not err (in communicating with them).

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject happening to meet with his lord in a bye-passage. There will be no error.

3. In the third SIX, divided, we see one whose carriage is dragged back, while the oxen in it are pushed back, and he is himself subjected to the shaving of his head and the cutting off of his nose. There is no good beginning, but there will be a good end.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject solitary amidst the (prevailing) disunion. (But) he meets with the good man (represented by the first line), and they blend their sincere desires together. The position is one of peril, but there will be no mistake.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows that (to its subject) occasion for repentance will disappear. With his relative (and minister he unites closely and readily) as if he were biting through a piece of skin. When he goes forward (with this help), what error can there be?

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject solitary amidst the (prevailing) disunion. (In the subject of the third line, he seems to) see a pig bearing on its back a load of mud, (or fancies) there is a carriage full of ghosts. He first bends his bow against him, and afterwards unbends it, (for he discovers) that he is not an assailant to injure, but a near relative. Going forward, he shall meet with (genial) rain, and there will be good fortune.

FOOTNOTES

XXXVIII *Kh*wei denotes a social state in which division and mutual alienation prevail, and the hexagram teaches how in small matters this condition may be healed, and the way prepared for the cure of the whole system. The writer or writers of Appendixes I and II point out the indication in the figure of division and

disunion according to their views. In Appendix VI those things appear as a necessary sequel to the regulation of the family; while it is impossible to discover any allusion to the family in the Text.

Line 1 is strong, and in an odd place. A successful course might be auspiced for its subject; but the correlate in line 4 is also strong; and therefore disappointment and repentance are likely to ensue. In the condition, however, indicated by Khwei, where people have a common virtue, they will help one another. Through the good services of 4, the other will not have to repent. His condition may be emblemed by a traveller's loss of his horses, which return to him of themselves.

Should he meet with bad men, however, let him not shrink from them. Communication with them will be of benefit. His good may overcome their evil, and at least it will help to silence their slanderous tongues.

Line 5 is weak, and its subject is the proper correlate of the strong 2. They might meet openly; but for the separation and disunion that mark the time. A casual, as it were a stolen, interview, as in a bye-lane or passage, however will be useful, and may lead on to a better understanding.

Line 3 is weak, where it ought to be strong. Its correlate, however, in 6 is strong, and the relation between them might seem what it ought to be. But the weak 3 is between the strong lines in 2 and 4; and in a time of disunion there ensue the checking and repulsion emblemed in the Text. At the same time the subject of line 6 inflicts on that of 3 the punishments which are mentioned. It is thus bad for 3 at first, but we are told that in the end it will be well with him; and this will be due to the strength of the sixth line. The conclusion grows out of a conviction in the mind of the author that what is right and good is destined to triumph over what is wrong and bad. Disorder shall in the long run give place to order, and disunion to union.

Line 4 has no proper correlate, and might seem to be solitary. But, as we saw on line 1, in this hexagram, correlates of the same class help each other. Hence the subjects of 4 and 1, meeting together, work with good will and success.

The place of 5 is odd, but the line itself is weak, so that there might arise occasion for repentance. But the strong 2 is a proper correlate to the weak 5. Five being the sovereign's place, the subject of 2 is styled the sovereign's relative, of the same surname with him, and head of some branch of the descendants of the royal house. It is as easy for 5, so supported, to deal with the disunion of the time, as to bite through a piece of skin.

Line 6 is an even place, and yet the line is strong; — what can its subject effect? He looks at 3, which, as weak, is a proper correlate; but he looks with the evil eye of disunion. The subject of 3 appears no better than a filthy pig, nor more real than an impossible carriage-load of ghosts. He bends his bow against him, but he unbends it, discovering a friend in 3, as x did in 4, and 5 in 2. He acts and with good luck, comparable to the falling rain, which results from the happy union of the yang and yin in nature.

XXXIX. THE KIEN HEXAGRAM

In (the state indicated by) *K*ien advantage will be found in the southwest, and the contrary in the north-east. It will be advantageous (also) to meet with the great man. (In these circumstances), with firmness and correctness, there will be good fortune.

1. From the first SIX, divided, we learn that advance (on the part of its subject) will lead to (greater) difficulties, while remaining stationary will afford ground for praise.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows the minister of the king struggling with difficulty on difficulty, and not with a view to his own advantage.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject advancing, (but only) to (greater) difficulties. He remains stationary, and returns (to his former associates).

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject advancing, (but only) to (greater) difficulties. He remains stationary, and unites (with the subject of the line above).

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject struggling with the greatest difficulties, while friends are coming to help him.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject going forward, (only to increase) the difficulties,

while his remaining stationary will be (productive of) great (merit). There will be good fortune, and it will be advantageous to meet with the great man.

FOOTNOTES

XXXIX Kien is the symbol for incompetency in the feet and legs, involving difficulty in walking; hence it is used in this hexagram to indicate a state of the kingdom which makes the government of it an arduous task. How this task may be successfully performed, now by activity on the part of the ruler, and now by a discreet inactivity: — this is what the figure teaches, or at least gives hints about. For the development of the meaning of the symbolic character from the structure of the lineal figure, see Appendixes I and II.

The Thwan seems to require three things — attention to place, the presence of the great man, and the firm observance of correctness — in order to cope successfully with the difficulties of the situation. The first thing is enigmatically expressed, and the language should be compared with what we find in the Thwan of hexagrams 2 and 40. Referring to Figure 2, in Plate III, we find that, according to Win's arrangement of the

trigrams, the southwest is occupied by Khwăn (), and the north-east by *K*ăn (). The former represents the champaign country; the latter, the mountainous region. The former is easily traversed and held; the latter, with difficulty. The attention to place thus becomes transformed into a calculation of circumstances; those that promise success in an enterprise, which should be taken advantage of, and those that threaten difficulty and failure, which should be shunned.

This is the generally accepted view of this difficult passage. The Khang-hsî editors have a view of their own. I have been myself inclined to find less symbolism in it, and to take the southwest as the regions in the south and west of the kingdom, which we know from the Shih were more especially devoted to Wăn and his house, while the strength of the kings of Shang lay in the north and east.

'The idea of "the great man," Mencius's "minister of Heaven,"' is illustrated by the strong line in the fifth place, having for its correlate the weak line in 2. But favourableness of circumstances and place, and the presence of the great man do not dispense from the observance of firm correctness. Throughout these essays of the Yî this is always insisted on.

Line 1 is weak, whereas it ought to be strong as being in an odd place. If its subject advance, he will not be able to cope with the difficulties of the situation, but be overwhelmed by them. Let him wait for a more favourable time.

Line 2 is weak, but in its proper place. Its correlation with the strong 5, and consequent significance, are well set forth.

Line 3 is strong, and in a place of strength; but its correlate in 6 is weak, so that the advance of its subject would be unsupported. He waits therefore for a better time, and cherishes the subjects of the two lines below, who naturally cling to him.

Line 4 is weak, and, though in its proper place, its subject could do little of himself. He is immediately below the king or great man, however, and cultivates his loyal attachment to him, waiting for the time when he shall be required to act.

Line 5 is the king, the man great and strong. He can cope with the difficulties, and the subjects of 2 and the other lines of the lower trigram give their help.

The action of the hexagram is over; where can the weak 6 go forward to? Let him abide where he is, and serve the great man immediately below him. So shall he also be great; — in meritorious action at least.

XL. THE KIEH HEXAGRAM

In (the state indicated by) *K*ieh advantage will be found in the south-west. If no (further) operations be called for, there will be good fortune in coming back (to the old conditions). If some operations be called for, there will be good fortune in the early conducting of them.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows that its subject will commit no error.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject catch, in hunting, three foxes, and obtain the yellow (= golden) arrows. With firm correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows a porter with his burden, (yet) riding in a carriage. He will (only) tempt robbers to attack him. However firm and correct he may (try to) be, there will be cause for regret.

4. (To the subject of) the fourth NINE, undivided, (it is said), 'Remove your toes. Friends will (then) come, between you and whom there will be mutual confidence.'

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows (its subject), the superior man (= the ruler), executing his function of removing (whatever is injurious to the idea of the hexagram), in which case there will he good fortune, and confidence in him will be shown even by the small men.

6. In the sixth SIX, divided, we see a feudal prince (with his bow) shooting at a falcon on the top of a high wall, and hitting it. (The effect of his action) will be in every way advantageous.

FOOTNOTES

XL *K*ieh is the symbol of loosing, — untying a knot or unravelling a complication; and as the name of this hexagram, it denotes a condition in which the obstruction and difficulty indicated by the preceding *K*ieh have been removed. The object of the author is to show, as if from the lines of the figure, how this new and better state of the kingdom is to be dealt with. See what is said on the Thwan of *K*ien for 'the advantage to be found in the south-west.' If further active operations be not necessary to complete the subjugation of the country, the sooner things fall into their old channels the better. The new masters of the kingdom should not be anxious to change all the old manners and ways. Let them do, as the duke of *K*âu actually did do with the subjugated people of Shang. If further operations be necessary, let them be carried through without delay. Nothing is said in the Thwan about the discountenancing and removal of small men, — unworthy ministers or officers; but that subject appears in more! than one of the lines.

There is a weak line, instead of a strong, in the first place; but this is compensated for by its strong correlate in 4.

*K*û Hsî says he does not understand the symbolism under line 2. The place is even, but the line itself is strong; the strength therefore is modified or tempered. And 2 is the correlate of the ruler in 5. We are to look to its subject therefore for a minister striving to realise the idea of the hexagram, and pacify the subdued kingdom. He becomes a hunter, and disposes of unworthy men, represented by 'the three foxes.' He also gets the yellow arrows, the instruments used in war or in hunting, whose colour is 'correct,' and whose form is 'straight.' His firm correctness will be good.

Line 3 is weak, when it should be strong; and occupying, as it does, the topmost place of the lower trigram, it suggests the symbolism of a porter in a carriage. People will say, 'How did he get there? The things cannot be his own.' And robbers will attack and plunder him. The subject of the line cannot protect himself, nor accomplish anything good.

What is said on the fourth line appears in the form of an address to its subject. The line is strong in an even place, and 1, its correlate, is weak in an odd place. Such a union will not be productive of good. In the symbolism 1 becomes the toe of the subject of 4. How the friend or friends, who are to come to him on the removal of this toe, are represented, I do not perceive.

Line 5 is weak in an odd place; but the place is that of the ruler, to whom it belongs to perfect the idea of the hexagram by removing all that is contrary to the peace and good order of the kingdom. It will be his duty to remove especially all the small men represented by the divided lines, which he can do with the help of his strong correlate in 2. Then even the small men will change their ways, and repair to him.

Line 6 is the highest line in the figure, but not the place of the ruler. Hence it appears as occupied by a feudal duke, who carries out the idea of the figure against small men, according to the symbolism employed.

XLI. THE SUN HEXAGRAM

In (what is denoted by) Sun, if there be sincerity (in him who employs it), there will be great good fortune: — freedom from error; firmness and correctness that can be maintained; and advantage in every movement that shall be made. In what shall this (sincerity in the exercise of Sun) be employed? (Even) in sacrifice two baskets of grain, (though there be nothing else), may be presented.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject suspending his own affairs, and hurrying away (to help the subject of the fourth line). He will commit no error, but let him consider how far he should contribute of what is his (for the other).

2 . The second NINE, undivided, shows that it will be advantageous for its subject to maintain a firm correctness, and that action on his part will be evil. He can give increase (to his correlate) without taking from himself

3. The third SIX, divided, shows how of three men walking together, the number is diminished by one; and how one, walking, finds his friend.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject diminishing the ailment under which he labours by making (the subject of the first line) hasten (to his help), and make him glad. There will be no error.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows parties adding to (the stores of) its subject ten pairs of tortoise shells, and accepting no refusal. There will be great good fortune.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject giving increase to others without taking from himself. There will be no error. With firm correctness there will be good fortune. There will be advantage in every movement that shall be made. He will find ministers more than can be counted by their clans.

FOOTNOTES

XLI The interpretation of this hexagram is encompassed with great difficulties. Sun is the symbol for the idea of diminishing or diminution; and what is said in Appendix I has made it to be accepted as teaching the duty of the subject to take of what is his and contribute to his ruler, or the expenses of the government under which he lives; in other words, readily and cheerfully to pay his taxes. P. Regis says, Sun seu (vectigalis causa) minuere . . . est valde utile;' and Canon McClatchie in translating Appendix I has:— 'Diminishing (by taxation for instance) .... is very lucky.' Possibly, king Wăn may have seen in the figures the subject of

taxation; but the symbolism of his son takes a much wider range. My own reading of the figure and Text comes near to the view of *Kh*ăng-žze, that ‘every diminution and repression of what we have in excess to bring it into accordance with right and reason is comprehended under Sun.’

Let there be sincerity in doing this, and it will lead to the happiest results. It will lead to great success in great things; and if the correction, or it may be a contribution towards it, appear to be very small, yet it will be accepted; — as in the most solemn religious service. This is substantially the view of the hexagram approved by the Khang-hsî editors.

Line 1 is strong, and its correlate in 4 is weak. Its subject will wish to help the subject of 4; but will not leave anything of his own undone in (loin. so. Nor will he diminish of his own for the other without due deliberation.

Line 2 is strong, and in the central place. But it is in the place of a weak line, and its subject should maintain his position without moving to help his correlate in 5. Maintaining his own firm correctness is the best way to help him.

Paragraph 3 is to my mind full of obscurity. *K*û Hsî, adopting the view in Appendix I, says that the lower trigram was originally *Kh*ien, three undivided lines, like ‘three men walking together,’ and that the third line, taken away and made to be the topmost line, or the third, in what was originally Khwăn, three divided lines, was ‘the putting away of one man;’ and that then the change of place by 3 and 6, while they continued their proper correlation, was, one going away, and finding his friend. I cannot lay hold of any thread of reason in this.

Line 4 is weak, and in an even place; like an individual ailing and unable to perform his proper work. But the correlate in 1 is strong; and is made to hasten to its relief. The ‘joy’ of the line shows the desire of its subject to do his part in the work of the hexagram.

Line 5 is the seat of the ruler, who is here humble, and welcomes the assistance of his correlate, the subject of 2. He is a ruler whom all his subjects of ability will rejoice to serve in every possible way; and the result will be great good fortune.

Line 6 has been changed from a weak into a strong line from line 3; has received therefore the greatest increase, and will carry out the idea of the hexagram in the highest degree and style. But he can give increase to others without diminishing his own resources, and of course the benefit he will confer will be incalculable. Ministers will come to serve him; and not one from each clan merely, but many. Such is the substance of what is said on this last paragraph. I confess that I only discern the meaning darkly.

XLII. THE YÎ HEXAGRAM

Yî indicates that (in the state which it denotes) there will be advantage in every movement which shall be undertaken, that it will be advantageous (even) to cross the great stream.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows that it will be advantageous for its subject in his position to make a great movement. If it be greatly fortunate, no blame will be imputed to him.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows parties adding to the stores of its subject ten pairs of tortoise shells whose oracles cannot be opposed. Let him persevere in being firm and correct, and there will be good fortune. Let the king, (having the virtues thus distinguished), employ them in presenting his offerings to God, and there will be good fortune.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows increase given to its subject by means of what is evil, so that he shall (be led to good), and be without blame. Let him be sincere and pursue the path of the Mean, (so shall he secure the recognition of the ruler, like) an officer who announces himself to his prince by the symbol of his rank.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject pursuing the due course. His advice to his prince is followed. He can with advantage be relied on in such a movement as that of removing the capital.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject with sincere heart seeking to benefit (all below). There need be no question about it; the result will be great good fortune. (All below) will with sincere heart acknowledge his goodness.

6. In the sixth NINE, undivided, we see one to whose increase none will contribute, while many will seek to assail him. He observes no regular rule in the ordering of his heart. There will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

XLII Yî has the opposite meaning to Sun, and is the symbol of addition or increasing. What king Wăn had in his mind, in connexion with the hexagram, was a ruler or a government operating so as to dispense benefits to, and increase the resources of all the people. Two indications are evident in the lines; — the strong line in the ruler’s seat, or the fifth line, and the weak line in the correlative place of 2. Whether there be other indications in the figure or its component trigrams will be considered in dealing with the

Appendixes. The writer might well say, on general grounds, of the ruler whom he had in mind, that he would be successful in his enterprises and overcome the greatest difficulties.

Line 1 is strong, but its low position might seem to debar its subject from any great enterprise. Favoured as he is, however, according to the general idea of the hexagram, and specially responding to the proper correlate in 4, it is natural that he should make a movement; and great success will make his rashness be forgotten.

With paragraph 2 compare paragraph 5 of the preceding hexagram. Line 2 is weak, but in the centre, and is the correlate of 5. Friends give its subject the valuable gifts mentioned; 'that is,' says Kwo Yung (Sung dynasty), 'men benefit him; the oracles of the divination are in his favour, — spirits, that is, benefit him; and finally, when the king sacrifices to God, He accepts. Heaven confers benefit from above.'

Line 3 is weak, neither central, nor in its correct position. It would seem therefore that its subject should have no increase given to him. But it is the time for giving increase, and the idea of his receiving it by means of evil things is put into the line. That such things serve for reproof and correction is well known to Chinese moralists. But the paragraph goes on also to caution and admonish.

Line 4 is the place for a minister, near to that of the ruler. Its subject is weak, but his place is appropriate, and as he follows the due course, his ruler will listen to him, and he will be a support in the most critical movements. Changing the capital from place to place was frequent in the feudal times of China. That of Shang, which preceded *K*âu, was changed five times.

Line 5 is strong, in its fitting position, and central. It is the seat of the ruler, who has his proper correlate in 2. Everything good, according to the conditions of the hexagram, therefore, may be said of him; — as is done.

Line 6 is also strong; but it should be weak. Occupying the topmost place of the figure, its subject will concentrate his powers in the increase of himself, and not think of benefiting those below him; and the consequence will be as described.

XLIII. THE KWÂI HEXAGRAM

Kwâi requires (in him who would fulfil its meaning) the exhibition (of the culprit's guilt) in the royal court, and a sincere and earnest appeal (for sympathy and support), with a consciousness of the peril (involved in cutting off the criminal). He should (also) make announcement in his own city, and show that it will not be well to have recourse at once to arms. (In this way) there will be advantage in whatever he shall go forward to.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject in (the pride of) strength advancing with his toes. He goes forward, but will not succeed. There will be ground for blame.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject full of apprehension and appealing (for sympathy and help). Late at night hostile measures may be (taken against him), but he need not be anxious about them.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject (about to advance) with strong (and determined) looks. There will be evil. (But) the superior man, bent on cutting off (the criminal), will walk alone and encounter the rain, (till he be hated by his proper associates) as if he were contaminated (by the others). (In the end) there will be no blame against him.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows one from whose buttocks the skin has been stripped, and who walks slowly and with difficulty. (If he could act) like a sheep led (after its companions), occasion for repentance would disappear. But though he hear these words, he will not believe them.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows (the small men like) a bed of purslain, which ought to be uprooted with the utmost determination. (The subject of the line having such determination), his action, in harmony with his central position, will lead to no error or blame.

6. The sixth SIX, divided, shows its subject without any (helpers) on whom to call. His end will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

XLIII In Kwâi we have the hexagram of the third month, when the last remnant, cold and dark, of winter, represented by the sixth line, is about to disappear before the advance of the warm and bright days of the approaching summer. In the yin line at the top king Wăn saw the symbol of a small or bad man, a feudal

prince or high minister, lending his power to maintain a corrupt government, or, it might be, a dynasty that was waxen old and ready to vanish away; and in the five undivided lines he saw the representatives of good order, or, it might be, the dynasty which was to supersede the other. This then is the subject of the hexagram, — how bad men, statesmen corrupt and yet powerful, are to be put out of the way. And he who would accomplish the task must do so by the force of his character more than by force of arms, and by producing a general sympathy on his side.

The Thwan says that he must openly denounce the criminal in the court, seek to awaken general sympathy, and at the same time go about his enterprise, conscious of its difficulty and danger. Among his own adherents, moreover, as if it were in his own city, he must make it understood how unwillingly he takes up arms. Then let him go forward, and success will attend him.

Line 1 is strong, the first line of that trigram, which expresses the idea of strength. But it is in the lowest place. The stage of the enterprise is too early, and the preparation too small to make victory certain. Its subject had better not take the field.

Line 2 is strong, and central, and its subject is possessed with the determination to do his part in the work of removal. But his eagerness is tempered by his occupancy of an even place; and he is cautious, and no attempts, however artful, to harm him will take effect.

Line 3 is strong, and its subject displays his purpose too eagerly. Being beyond the central position, moreover, gives an indication of evil. Lines 3 and 6 are also proper correlates; and, as elsewhere in the Yî, the meeting of yin and yang lines is associated with falling rain. The subject of 3, therefore, communicates with 6, in a way that annoys his associates; but nevertheless he commits no error, and, in the end, incurs no blame.

Line 4 is not in the centre, nor in an odd place, appropriate to it as undivided. Its subject therefore will not be at rest, nor able to do anything to accomplish the idea of the hexagram. He is symbolised by a culprit, who, according to the ancient and modern custom of Chinese courts, has been bastinadoed till he presents the appearance in the Text. Alone he can do nothing; if he could follow others, like a sheep led along, he might accomplish something, but he will not listen to advice.

Purslain grows in shady places, and hence we find it here in close contiguity to the topmost line, which is yin. As 5 is the ruler’s seat, evil may come to him from such contiguity, and strenuous efforts must be made to prevent such an evil. The subject of the line, the ruler in the central place, will commit no error. It must be allowed that the symbolism in this line is not easily managed.

The subject of the 6th line, standing alone, may be easily disposed of.

XLIV. THE KÂU HEXAGRAM

Kâu shows a female who is bold and strong. It will not be good to marry (such) a female.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows how its subject should be kept (like a carriage) tied and fastened to a metal drag, in which case with firm correctness there will be good fortune. (But) if he move in any direction, evil will appear. He will be (like) a lean pig, which is sure to keep jumping about.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject with a wallet of fish. There will be no error. But it will not be well to let (the subject of the first line) go forward to the guests.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows one from whose buttocks the skin has been stripped so that he walks with difficulty. The position is perilous, but there will be no great error.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject with his wallet, but no fish in it. This will give rise to evil.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, (shows its subject as) a medlar tree overspreading the gourd (beneath it). If he keep his brilliant qualities concealed, (a good issue) will descend (as) from Heaven.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows its subject receiving others on his horns. There will be occasion for regret, but there will be no error.

FOOTNOTES

XLIV The single, divided, line at the top of Kwâi, the hexagram of the third month, has been displaced, and *Kh*ien has ruled over the fourth month of the year. But the innings of the divided line commence again; and here we have in Kâu the hexagram of the fifth month, when light and heat are supposed both to begin to be less.

In that divided line Wăn saw the symbol of the small or unworthy man, beginning to insinuate himself into the government of the country. His influence, if unchecked, would go on to grow, and he would displace one good man after another, and fill the vacant seats with others like-minded with himself. The object of Wăn in his Thwan, therefore, was to enjoin resistance to the encroachment of this bad man.

*K*âu is defined as giving the idea of suddenly and casually encountering or meeting with. So does the divided line appear all at once in the figure. And this significance of the name rules in the interpretation of the lines, so as to set on one side the more common interpretation of them according to the correlation;

showing how the meaning of the figures was put into them from the minds of Wăn and Tan in the first place. The sentiments of the Text are not learned from them; but they are forced and twisted, often fantastically, and made to appear to give those sentiments forth of themselves.

Here the first line, divided, where it ought to be the contrary, becomes the symbol of a bold, bad woman, who appears unexpectedly on the scene, and wishes to subdue or win all the five strong lines to herself. No one would contract a marriage with such a female; and every good servant of his country will try to repel the entrance into the government of every officer who can be so symbolised.

Line 1 represents the bête noire of the figure. If its subject can be kept back, the method of firm government and order will proceed. If he cannot be restrained, he will become disgusting and dangerous. It is not enough for the carriage to be stopt by the metal drag; it is also tied or bound to some steadfast object. Internal and external restraints should be opposed to the bad man.

The 'wallet of fish' under line 2 is supposed to symbolise the subject of line r. It has come into the possession of the subject of 2, by virtue of the meaning of the name Kâu, which I have pointed out. With his strength therefore he can repress the advance of 1. He becomes in fact 'the lord of the hexagram,' and all the other strong lines are merely guests; and especially is it important that he should prevent 1 from approaching them. This is a common explanation of what is said under this second line. It seems farfetched; but I can neither find nor devise anything better.

With what is said on line 3, compare the fourth paragraph of the duke's Text on the preceding hexagram. Line 3 is strong, but has gone beyond the central place; has no correlate above; and is cut off from 1 by the intervening 2. It cannot do much therefore against 1; but its aim being to repress that, there will be no great error.

Line 1 is the proper correlate of 4; but it has already met and associated with 2. The subject of 4 therefore stands alone; and evil to him may be looked for.

Line 5 is strong, and in the ruler's place. Its relation to 1 is like that of a forest tree to the spreading gourd. But let not its subject use force to destroy or repress the growth of 1; but let him restrain himself and keep his excellence concealed, and Heaven will set its seal to his virtue.

The symbolism of line 6 is difficult to understand, though the meaning of what is said is pretty clear. The Khang-hsî editors observe:— 'The subject of this line is like an officer who has withdrawn from the world. He can accomplish no service for the time; but his person is removed from the workers of disorder.'

XLV. THE ŽHUI HEXAGRAM

In (the state denoted by) Žhui, the king will repair to his ancestral temple. It will be advantageous

(also) to meet with the great man; and then there will be progress and success, though the advantage must come through firm correctness. The use of great victims will conduce to good fortune; and in whatever direction movement is made, it will be advantageous.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject with a sincere desire (for union), but unable to carry it out, so that disorder is brought into the sphere of his union. If he cry out (for help to his proper correlate), all at once (his tears) will give place to smiles. He need not mind (the temporary difficulty); as he goes forward, there will be no error.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject led forward (by his correlate). There will be good fortune, and freedom from error. There is entire sincerity, and in that case (even the small offerings of) the vernal sacrifice are acceptable.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject striving after union and seeming to sigh, yet nowhere finding any advantage. If he go forward, he will not err, though there may be some small cause for regret.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject in such a state that, if he be greatly fortunate, he will receive no blame.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows the union (of all) under its subject in the place of dignity. There will be no error. If any do not have confidence in him, let him see to it that (his virtue) be great, long-continued, and firmly correct, and all occasion for repentance will disappear.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject sighing and weeping; but there will be no error.

FOOTNOTES

XLV Žhui denotes collecting together, or things so collected and hence this hexagram concerns the state of the kingdom when a happy union prevails between the sovereign and his ministers, between high and low; and replies in a vague way to the question how this state is to be preserved; by the influence of religion, and the great man, who is a sage upon the throne.

He, ‘the king,’ will repair to his ancestral temple, and meet in spirit there with the spirits of his ancestors. Whatever he does, being correct and right, will succeed. His religious services will be distinguished by their dignity and splendour. His victims will he the best that can be obtained, and other things will be in harmony with them.

Line 1 is weak, and in the place of a strong line. It has a proper correlate in 4, but is separated from him by the intervention of two weak lines. The consequence of these things is supposed to be expressed in the first part of the symbolism; but the subject of the line is possessed by the desire for union, which is the theme of the hexagram. Calling out to his correlate for help, he obtains it, and his sorrow is turned into joy.

Line 2 is in its proper place, and responds to the strong ruler in 5, who encourages and helps the advance of its subject. He possesses also the sincerity, proper to him in his central position; and though he were able to offer only the sacrifice of the spring, small compared with the fulness of the sacrifices in summer and autumn, it would be accepted.

Line 3 is weak, in the place of a strong line, and advanced from the central place. The topmost line, moreover, is no proper correlate. But its subject is possessed by the desire for union; and though 2 and 4 decline to associate with him, he presses on to 6, which is also desirous of union. That common desire brings them together, notwithstanding 3 and 6 are both divided lines; and with difficulty the subject of 3 accomplishes his object.

[But that an ordinary rule for interpreting the lineal indications may be thus overruled by extraordinary considerations shows how much of fancy there is in the symbolism or in the commentaries on it.]

Line 4 has its correlate in 1, and is near to the ruling line in 5. We may expect a good auspice for it; but its being strong in an odd place, calls for the caution which is insinuated.

Line 5 is strong, central, and in its correct position. Through its subject there may be expected the full realisation of the idea of the hexagram.

Line 6, weak, and at the extremity of the figure, is still anxious for union; but he has no proper correlate, and all below are united in 5. Its subject mourns his solitary condition; and his good feeling will preserve him from error and blame.

XLV. THE SHĂNG HEXAGRAM

Shăng indicates that (under its conditions) there will be great progress and success. Seeking by

(the qualities implied in it) to meet with the great man, its subject need have no anxiety. Advance to the south will be fortunate.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject advancing upwards with the welcome (of those above him). There will be great good fortune.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject with that sincerity which will make even the (small) offerings of the vernal sacrifice acceptable. There will be no error.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject ascending upwards (as into) an empty city.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject employed by the king to present his offerings on mount *Khî*. There will be good fortune; there will be no mistake.

5. The fifth six, divided, shows its subject firmly correct, and therefore enjoying good fortune. He ascends the stairs (with all due ceremony).

6. The sixth six, divided, shows its subject advancing upwards blindly. Advantage will be found in a ceaseless maintenance of firm correctness.

FOOTNOTES

XLVI The character Shăng is used of advancing in an upward direction, 'advancing and ascending.' And here, as the name of the hexagram, it denotes the advance of a good officer to the highest pinnacle of distinction. The second line, in the centre of the lower trigram, is strong, but the strength is tempered by its being in an even place. As the representative of the subject of the hexagram, it shows him to be possessed of modesty and force. Then the ruler's seat, the fifth place, is occupied by a divided line, indicating that he will welcome the advance of 2. The officer therefore both has the qualities that fit him to advance, and a favourable opportunity to do so. The result of his advance will be fortunate.

It is said that after he has met with the ruler, 'the great man' in 5, 'advance to the south will be fortunate.' *K*û Hsî and other critics say that 'advancing to the south' is equivalent simply to 'advancing forwards.' The south is the region of brightness and warmth; advance towards it will be a joyful progress. As P. Regis explains the phrase, the traveller will proceed 'via recta simillima illi qua itur ad austrates felicesque plagas.'

Line 1 is weak, where it should be strong; its subject, that is, is humble and docile. Those above him, therefore, welcome his advance. Another interpretation of the line is suggested by Appendix I; which deserves consideration. As the first line of Sun, moreover, it may be supposed to concentrate in itself its attribute of docility, and be the lord of the trigram.

See on the second line of Žhui. Line 2 is strong, and the weak 5 is its proper correlate. We have a strong officer serving a weak ruler; he could not do so unless he were penetrated with a sincere and devoted loyalty.

Paragraph 3 describes the boldness and fearlessness of the advance of the third line. According to the Khang-hsî editors, who, I think, are right, there is a shade of condemnation in the line. Its subject is too bold.

Line 4 occupies the place of a great minister, in immediate contiguity to his ruler, who confides in him, and raises him to the highest distinction as a feudal prince. The mention of mount *Kh*î, at the foot of which was the capital of the lords of *K*âu, seems to take the paragraph out of the sphere of symbolism into that of history. 'The king' in it is the last sovereign of Shang; the feudal prince in it is Wăn.

In line 5 the advance has reached the highest point of dignity, and firm correctness is specially called for. 'Ascending the steps of a stair' may intimate, as *K*û Hsî says, the ease of the advance; or according to others (the Khang-hsî editors among them), its ceremonious manner.

What can the subject of the hexagram want more? He has gained all his wishes, and still he is for going onwards. His advance is blind and foolish; and only the most exact correctness will save him from the consequences.

XLVII. THE KHWĂN HEXAGRAM

In (the condition denoted by) Khwăn there may (yet be) progress and success. For the firm and correct, the (really) great man, there will be good fortune. He will fall into no error. If he make speeches, his words cannot be made good.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject with bare buttocks straitened under the stump of a tree. He enters a dark valley, and for three years has no prospect (of deliverance).

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject straitened amidst his wine and viands. There come to him anon the red knee-covers (of the ruler). It will be well for him (to maintain his sincerity as) in sacrificing. Active operations (on his part) will lead to evil, but he will be free from blame.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject straitened before a (frowning) rock. He lays hold of thorns. He enters his palace, and does not see his wife. There will be evil.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided shows its subject proceeding very slowly (to help the subject of the first line), who is straitened by the carriage adorned with metal in front of him. There will be occasion for regret, but the end will be good.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject with his nose and feet cut off. He is straitened by (his ministers in their) scarlet aprons. He is leisurely in his movements, however, and is satisfied. It will be well for him to be (as sincere) as in sacrificing (to spiritual beings).

6. The sixth SIX, divided, shows its subject straitened, as if bound with creepers; or n a high and dangerous position, and saying (to himself), ‘If I move, I shall repent it.’ If he do repent of former errors, there will be good fortune in his going forward.

FOOTNOTES

XLVII The character Khwăn presents us with the picture of a tree within an enclosure; ‘a plant,’ according to Williams, ‘fading for want of room;’ ‘a tree,’ according to Tai Tung, ‘not allowed to spread its branches.’ However this be, the term conveys the idea of being straitened and distressed; and this hexagram indicates a state of things in which the order and government that would conduce to the well-being of the country can hardly get the development, which, by skilful management on the part of ‘the great man’ and others, is finally secured for them.

Looking at the figure we see that the two central places are occupied by strong lines; but 2 is confined between 1 and 3, both of which are weak, and 5 (the ruler), as well as 4 (his minister), is covered by the weak 6; all which peculiarities are held to indicate the repression or straitening of good men by bad. For the way in which the same view is derived from the great symbolism, see Appendix II, in loc.

The concluding sentence of the Thwan is literally, 'If he speak, he will not be believed;' but the Khang-hsî editors give sufficient reasons for changing one character so as to give the meaning in the translation. 'Actions,' not words, are what are required in the case.

The symbolism of 'buttocks' is rather a favourite with the duke of *K*âu;— 'chacun à son goût.' The poor subject of line 1 sitting on a mere stump, which affords him no shelter, is indeed badly off. The line is at the bottom of the trigram indicating peril, and 4, which is its proper correlate, is so circumstanced as not to be able to render it help; hence comes the unfavourable auspice. 'Three years' is used, as often, for a long time.

The three strong lines in the figure (2, 4, and 5) are all held to represent 'superior men;' and their being straitened is not in their persons or estates, but in their principles which are denied development. Hence the subject of 2 is straitened while he fares sumptuously. His correlate in 5, though not quite proper, occupies the ruler's place, and comes to his help. That it is the ruler who comes appears from his red or vermillion knee-covers, different from the scarlet knee-covers worn by nobles, as in paragraph 5. Let 2 cultivate his sincerity and do the work of the hexagram as if he were sacrificing to spiritual beings; and then, if he keep quiet, all will be well.

For I a full explanation' of paragraph 3 *K*û Hsî refers his readers to what Confucius is made to say on it in Appendix III, ii, 35. The reader, however, will probably not find much light in that passage. The Khang-hsî editors say here:— 'The subjects of the three divided lines (1, 3, and 6) are all unable to deal aright with the straitened state indicated by the figure. The first is at the bottom, sitting and distressed. The second, occupies the third place, where he may either advance or retreat; and he advances and is distressed. Wounded abroad, he returns to his family, and finds none to receive him; so graphically is there set forth the distress which reckless action brings.'

Line 4 is the proper correlate of 1, but it is a strong line in an even place, and its assistance is given dilatorily. Then 1 is overridden by 2, which is represented by 'a chariot of metal.' It is difficult for the subjects of 1 and 4 to come together, and effect much; but 4 is near 5, which is also a strong line. Through a common sympathy, the subject of 5 will have a measure of success. So the symbolism of this line has been explained, — not very satisfactorily.

Line 5 is repressed by 6, and pressed on by 4. Above and below its subject is wounded. Especially is he straitened by the minister in 4, with his scarlet knee-covers. But the upper trigram is Tui, with the quality of complacent satisfaction. And this indicates, it is said, that the subject of 5 gets on notwithstanding his straits, especially by his sincerity. This explanation is not more satisfactory than the last.

Line 6 is at the top of the figure, where the distress may be supposed to reach its height. Its subject appears bound and on a perilous summit. But his extremity is also his opportunity. He is moved to think of repenting; and if he do repent, and go forward, his doing so will be fortunate.

XLVIII. THE ŽING HEXAGRAM

(Looking at) Žing, (we think of) how (the site of) a town may be changed, while (the fashion of) its wells undergoes no change. (The water of a well) never disappears and never receives (any great) increase, and those who come and those who go can draw and enjoy the benefit. If (the drawing) have nearly been accomplished, but, before the rope has quite reached the water, the bucket is broken, this is evil.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows a well so muddy that men will not drink of it; or an old well to which neither birds (nor other creatures) resort.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows a well from which by a hole the water escapes and flows away to the shrimps (and such small creatures among the grass), or one the water of which leaks away from a broken basket.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows a well, which has been cleared out, but is not used. Our hearts are sorry for this, for the water might be drawn out and used. If the king were (only) intelligent, both he and we might receive the benefit of it.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows a well, the lining of which is well laid. There will be no error.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows a clear, limpid well, (the waters from) whose cold spring are (freely) drunk.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows (the water from) the well brought to the top, which is not allowed to be covered. This suggests the idea of sincerity. There will be great good fortune.

FOOTNOTES

XLVIII Žing, which gives its name to this hexagram, is the symbol of a well. The character originally was pictorial (), intended to represent a portion of land, divided into nine parts, the central portion belonging to the government, and being cultivated by the joint labour of the eight families settled on the other divisions. In the centre of it, moreover, was a well, which was the joint property of all the occupants.

What is said on Žing might be styled ‘Moralisings on a well,’ or Lessons to be learned from a well for the good order and government of a country.’ What a well is to those in its neighbourhood, and indeed to men in general, that is government to a people. If rulers would only rightly appreciate the principles of

government handed down from the good ages of the past, and faithfully apply them to the regulation of the present, they would be blessed themselves and their people with them.

In the Thwan we have the well, substantially the same through many changes of society; a sure source of dependance to men, for their refreshment and for use in their cultivation of the ground. Its form is what I have seen in the plains of northern China; what may be seen among ourselves in many places in Europe. It is deep, and the water is drawn up by a vessel let down from the top; and the value of the well depends on the water being actually raised. And so the principles of government must be actually carried out.

Line 1, being weak, and at the very bottom of the figure, suggests, or is made to suggest, the symbolism of it. Many men in authority are like such a well; corrupt, useless, unregarded.

Line 2 is strong, and might very well symbolise an active spring, ever feeding the well and, through it, the ground and its cultivators; but it is in an inappropriate place, and has no proper correlate. Its cool waters cannot be brought to the top. So important is it that the ministers of a country should be able and willing rightly to administer its government. In the account of the ancient Shun it is stated that he once saved his life by an opening in the lining of a well.

Line 3 is a strong line, in its proper place; and must represent an able minister or officer. But though the well is clear, no use is made of it. I do not find anything in the figure that can be connected with this fact. The author was wise beyond his lines. After the first sentence of the paragraph, the duke of *K*âu ceases from his function of making emblems; reflects and moralises.

Line 4 is weak, but in its proper place. Its subject is not to be condemned, but neither is he to be praised. He takes care of himself, but does nothing for others.

Line 5 is strong, and in its right place. The place is that of the ruler, and suggests the well, full of clear water, which is drawn up, and performs its useful work. Such is the good Head of government to his people.

Line 6 is in its proper place, but weak. If the general idea of the figure was different, a bad auspice might be drawn from it. But here we see in it the symbol of the water drawn up, and the top uncovered so that the use of the well is free to all. Then the mention of ‘sincerity’ suggests the inexhaustibleness of the elemental supply.

XLIX. THE KO HEXAGRAM

(What takes place as indicated by) Ko is believed in only after it has been accomplished. There will be great progress and success. Advantage will come from being firm and correct. (In that case) occasion for repentance will disappear.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject (as if he were) bound with the skin of a yellow ox.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject making his changes after some time has passed. Action taken will be fortunate. There will be no error.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows that action taken by its subject will be evil. Though he be firm and correct, his position is perilous. If the change (he contemplates) have been three times fully discussed, he will be believed in.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows occasion for repentance disappearing (from its subject). Let him be believed in; and though he change (existing) ordinances, there will be good fortune.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows the great man (producing his changes) as the tiger (does when he) changes (his stripes). Before he divines (and proceeds to action), faith has been reposed in him.

6. The sixth SIX, divided, shows the superior man producing his changes as the leopard (does when he) changes (his spots), while small men change their faces (and show their obedience). To go forward (now) would lead to evil, but there will be good fortune in abiding firm and correct.

FOOTNOTES

XLIX The character called Ko or Keh is used here in the sense of changing. Originally used for the skin of an animal or bird, alive or dead, it received the significance of changing at a very early time. Its earliest appearance, indeed, in the first Book of the Shû, is in that sense. How the transition was made from the idea of a skin or hide to that of change is a subject that need not be entered on here. The author has before him the subject of changes occurring — called for — in the state of the country; it may be on the greatest scale. The necessity of them is recognised, and hints are given as to the spirit and manner in which they should be brought about.

For the way in which the notion of change is brought out of the trigrams of the figure, see Appendixes I and II. It is assumed in the Thwan that change is viewed by people generally with suspicion and dislike, and should not be made hastily. When made as a necessity, and its good effects appear, the issues will be great

and good. A proved necessity for them beforehand; and a firm correctness in the conduct of them: — these are the conditions by which changes should be regulated.

Line 1, at the bottom of the figure, may be taken as denoting change made at too early a period. It has no proper correlate or helper, moreover, above. Hence its subject is represented as tied up, unable to take any action.

Line 2, though weak, is in its correct place. It is in the centre also of the trigram Lî, signifying brightness and intelligence, and has a proper correlate in the strong 5. Let its subject take action in the way of change.

The symbolism of paragraph 3 is twofold. The line is strong, and in the correct position, but it has passed the centre of Sun and is on its outward verge. These conditions may dispose its subject to reckless and violent changing which would be bad. But if he act cautiously and with due deliberation, he may take action, and he will be believed in.

Line 4 is strong, but in the place of a weak line. This might vitiate any action of its subject in the way of change, and give occasion for repentance. But other conditions are intimated that will have a contrary effect; and if he have further secured general confidence, he may proceed to the greatest changes, even to change the dynasty,— 'with good fortune.' The conditions favourable to his action are said to be such as these: — The line has passed from the lower trigram into the upper; water and fire come in it into contact; the fourth place is that of the minister immediately below the ruler's seat. All these considerations demand action from the subject of 4 in harmony with the idea of the hexagram.

Line 5 has every quality proper to 'the lord of the hexagram,' and his action will be in every way beneficial. He is symbolled by the tiger; and the changes which he makes by the bright stripes of the tiger when he has changed his coat.

Line 6 is weak, but its subject is penetrated with the spirit of the hexagram. If its subject be a superior man, only inferior to 'the great man,' immediately below, the changes he makes will be inferior only to his. If he be a small man, he will be compliant and submissive. The lesson for him, however, is to abide firm and correct without taking any action of his own.

L. THE TING HEXAGRAM

Ting gives the intimation of great progress and success.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows the caldron overthrown and its feet turned up. (But) there will be advantage in its getting rid of what was bad in it. (Or it shows us) the concubine (whose position is improved) by means of her son. There will be no error.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows the caldron with the things (to be cooked) in it. (If its subject can say), 'My enemy dislikes me, but he cannot approach me,' there will be good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows the caldron with (the places of) its ears changed. The progress (of its subject) is (thus) stopped. The fat flesh of the pheasant (which is in the caldron) will not be eaten. But the (genial) rain will come, and the grounds for repentance will disappear. There will be good fortune in the end.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows the caldron with its feet broken; and its contents, designed for the ruler's use, overturned and spilt. Its Subject will be made to blush for shame. There will be evil.

5. The fifth six, divided, shows the caldron with yellow ears and rings of metal in them. There will be advantage through being firm and correct.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows the caldron with rings of jade. There will be great good fortune, and all action taken will be in every way advantageous.

FOOTNOTES

L Ting was originally a pictorial character, representing a caldron with three feet and two ears, used for cooking and preparing food for the table (the mat in old times) and the altar. The picture has disappeared from the character, but it is said that in the hexagram we have an outline from which fancy may construct the vessel. The lower line, divided, represents its feet; lines 2, 3, 4, all undivided, represent the body of it; line 5, divided, represents its two ears; and line 6, undivided, the handle by which it was carried, or suspended from a hook. Appendix VI makes Ting follow Ko in the order of the hexagrams, because there is no changer of the appearance and character of things equal to the furnace and caldron!

Ting and Žing (48) are the only two hexagrams named from things in ordinary use with men; and they are both descriptive of the government's work of nourishing. There are three hexagrams of which that is the theme, Î (27), under which we are told in Appendix I that 'the sages nourished men of worth, by means of

them to reach to the myriads of the people.' Žing treats of the nourishment of the people generally by the government through its agricultural and other methods; Ting treats of the nourishment of men of talents and virtue; and that being understood, it is said, without more ado, that it 'intimates great progress and success.' The Text that follows, however, is more difficult to interpret than that of Žing.

Line 1 is weak, and little or nothing can be expected from its subject. But it has a proper correlate in the strong 4; and the disastrous overthrow, causing the feet to be directed towards 4, is understood to be lucky, as accelerating the co-operation of their two lines! The overturned caldron is thereby emptied of bad stuff that had accumulated in it!! The writer uses another illustration, which comes to the same thing. A concubine is less honourable than a wife, — like the overthrown caldron. But if she have a son, while the proper wife has none, he will be his father's heir, and the mother, the concubine, will share in the honour of his position. Thus the issue of what was so unpromising is good. At least 'there is no mistake.' The above is what is found in the best commentaries on the paragraph. I give it, but am myself dissatisfied with it.

Line 2 is strong. 'The enemy' is the first line, which solicits 1. One, however, is able to resist the solicitation; and the whole paragraph gives a good auspice. The personal pronoun seems to show that the whole was, or was intended to be, understood as an oracular response in divination. This paragraph is rhymed, moreover, as are also 1, 3, and 4

'In the caldron is good fare,
See my foe with angry glare;
But touch me he does not dare.'

Line 3 is also strong, and in the proper place; and if its correlate were the divided 5, its auspice would be entirely good. But instead of 5, its correlate is the strong 6. The place of the ears at 5 has been changed. Things promise badly. The advance of 3 is stopped. The good meat in the caldron which it symbolises will not be eaten. But 3 keeping firm 5 will by and by seek its society! The yin and the yang will mingle, and their union will be followed by genial rain. The issue will he good.

Line 4 is in the place of a great minister, who is charged with the most difficult duties, which no single man can sustain. Then the strength of 4 is weakened by being in an even place, and its correlate is the weak 1 in the lowest place. Its subject is insufficient of himself for his work, and he has no sufficient help; and the result will be evil.

'Paragraph 5,' says the Daily Lecture, 'praises the ruler as condescending to the worthy with his humble virtue.' 'Yellow' has occurred repeatedly as 'a correct colour;' and here 'the yellow ears and strong rings of metal' are intended to intensify our appreciation of the occupant of 5. As the line is divided, a caution is added about being firm and correct.

Line 6 is strong, but the strength is tempered by its being in an even place. It is this which makes the handle to be of jade, which, though very hard, is supposed to have a peculiar and rich softness of its own. The auspice of the line is very good. 'The great minister,' it is said, 'the subject of 6,' performs for the ruler, the subject of 5, in helping his government and nourishing the worthy, the part which the handle does for the caldron.

LI. THE KĂN HEXAGRAM

*K*ăn gives the intimation of ease and development. When (the time of) movement (which it indicates) comes, (the subject of the hexagram) will be found looking out with apprehension, and yet smiling and talking cheerfully. When the movement (like a crash of thunder) terrifies all within a hundred lî, he will be (like the sincere worshipper) who is not (startled into) letting go his ladle and (cup of) sacrificial spirits.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject, when the movement approaches, looking out and around with apprehension, and afterwards smiling and talking cheerfully. There will be good fortune.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject, when the movement approaches, in a position of peril. He judges it better to let go the articles (in his possession), and to ascend a very lofty height. There is no occasion for him to pursue after (the things he has let go); in seven days he will find them.

3. The third six, divided, shows its subject distraught amid the startling movements going on. If those movements excite him to (right) action, there will be no mistake.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject, amid the startling movements, supinely sinking (deeper) in the mud.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows its subject going and coming amidst the startling movements (of the time), and always in peril; but perhaps he will not incur loss, and find business (which he can accomplish).

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject, amidst the startling movements (of the time), in breathless dismay and looking round him with trembling apprehension. If he take action, there will be evil. If, while the startling movements have not reached his own person and his neighbourhood, (he were to take precautions), there would be no error, though his relatives might (still) speak against him.

FOOTNOTES

LI *K*ăn among the trigrams represents thunder, and, according to Wăn's arrangement and significance of them, 'the oldest son.' It is a phonetic character in which the significant constituent is Yü, meaning rain, and with which are formed most characters that denote atmospherical phenomena. The hexagram is formed

of the trigram *K*ăn redoubled, and may be taken as representing the crash or peal of thunder; but we have seen that the attribute or virtue of the trigram is 'moving, exciting power;' and thence, symbolically, the character is indicative of movement taking place in society or in the kingdom. This is the meaning of the hexagram; and the subject is the conduct to be pursued in a time of movement — such as insurrection or revolution — by the party promoting, and most interested in, the situation. It is shown how he ought to be aware of the dangers of the time, and how by precaution and the regulation of himself he may overcome them.

The indication of a successful issue given by the figure is supposed to be given by the undivided line at the bottom of the trigram. The subject of it must be superior to the subjects of the two divided lines above. It is in the idea of the hexagram that he should be moving and advancing; — and what can his movement be but successful?

The next sentence shows him sensible of the danger of the occasion, but confident and self-possessed. The concluding sentence shows him rapt in his own important affairs, like a sincere worshipper, thinking only of the service in which he is engaged. Such a symbol is said to be suggested by Wăn's significance of *K*ăn as 'the oldest son (page 33).' It is his to succeed to his father, and the hexagram, as following Ting, shows him presiding over the sacrifices that have been prepared in the caldron. This is too fanciful.

What is said on line 1 is little more than a repetition of the principal part of the Thwan. The line is undivided, and gives the auspice of good fortune.

'The position of peril' to the subject of line 2 is suggested, as Appendix II says, by its position, immediately above 1. But the rest of the symbolism is obscure, and *K*û Hsî says he does not understand it. The common interpretation appears in the version. The subject of the line does what he can to get out of danger; and finally, as is signified by the central position of the line, the issue is better than could have been expected. On the specification of 'seven days,' see what is said in the treatise on the Thwan of hexagram 24. On its use here *Kh*ăng-žze says:— 'The places of a diagram amount to 6. The number 7 is the first of another. When the movement symbolised by *K*ăn is gone by, things will be as they were before.'

Line 3 is divided, and where an undivided line should be; but if its subject move on to the fourth place, which would be right for him, the issue will not be bad.

The 4th line, however, has a bad auspice of its own. It is undivided in an even place, and it is pressed by the divided line on either side, hence its subject is represented as supinely sinking in the mud.

Line 5 is divided, in an odd place, and that in which the action of the hexagram may be supposed to be concentrated. Hence its subject is always in peril; but his central position indicates safety in the end.

Line 6 is weak, and has to abide the concluding terrors of the movement. Action on the part of its subject is sure to be evil. If, however, he were to take precautions, he might escape with only the censures of his relatives. But I do not see anything in the figure to indicate this final symbolism. The writer, probably, had a case in his mind, which it suited; but what that was we do not know.

LII. THE KĂN HEXAGRAM

When one's resting is like that of the back, and he loses all consciousness of self; when he walks in his courtyard, and does not see any (of the persons) in it, — there will be no error.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject keeping his toes at rest. There will be no error; but it will be advantageous for him to be persistently firm and correct.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject keeping the calves of his legs at rest. He cannot help (the subject of the line above) whom he follows, and is dissatisfied in his mind.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject keeping his loins at rest, and separating the ribs (from the body below). The situation is perilous, and the heart glows with suppressed excitement.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject keeping his trunk at rest. There will be no error.

S. The fifth SIX, divided, shows its subject keeping his jawbones at rest, so that his words are (all) orderly. Occasion for repentance will disappear.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows its subject devotedly maintaining his restfulness. There will be good fortune.

FOOTNOTES

LII The trigram Kăn represents a mountain. Mountains rise up grandly from the surface of the earth, and their masses rest on it in quiet and solemn majesty; and they serve also to arrest the onward progress of the traveller. Hence the attribute ascribed to Kăn is twofold; it is both active and passive-resting and arresting. The character is used in this hexagram with both of those significations. As the name of the figure, it denotes the mental characteristic of resting in what is right; especially resting, as it is expressed by Chinese critics, 'in principle,' — that which is light, on the widest scale, and in the absolute conception of the mind; and that which is right in every different position in which a man can be placed. We find this treated of in the Great Learning (Commentary, chapter 3), and in the Doctrine of the Mean, chapter 14, and other places. This is the theme of the hexagram; and the symbolism of it is all taken from different parts of the human body, as in hexagram 31, and the way in which they are dealt with. Several of the paragraphs are certainly not easy to translate and interpret.

The other parts of the body, such as the mouth, eyes, and ears, have their appetencies, which lead them to what is without themselves. The back alone has nothing to do with anything beyond itself-hardly with itself

even; all that it has to do is to stand straight and strong. So should it be with, us, resting in principle, free from the intrusion of selfish though s and external objects. Amidst society, he who realises the idea of the hexagram is still alone, and does not allow himself to be distracted from the contemplation and following of principle. He is not a recluse, however, who keeps aloof from social life; but his distinction is that he maintains a supreme regard to principle, when alone, and when mingling with others.

In the symbolism the author rises from one part of the body to the other. The first line at the bottom of the figure fitly suggests 'the toes.' The lesson is that from the first men should rest in, and be anxious to do, what is right in all their affairs. The weakness of the line and its being in an odd place give occasion for the caution, with which the paragraph concludes.

Above the toes are the calves, represented by the second line, weak, but in its proper place. Above this, again, are the loins, represented by 3, strong, and in danger of being violent. Line 2 follows 3, and should help it; but is unable to do so; and there results dissatisfaction.

When the calves are kept at rest, advance is stopped, but no other harm ensues. Not so when the loins are kept at rest, and unable to bend, for the connexion between the upper and lower parts of the body is then broken. The dissatisfaction increases to an angry heat. Paragraph 3 is unusually difficult. For 'loins' P. Regis has scapulae, and for ribs renes; Canon McClatchie says:— 'Third Nine is stopping at a limit, and separating what is in continued succession (i.e. the backbone); thus the mind,' &c.

Line 4 is a weak line resting in a proper place; hence it gives a good auspice. The Khang-hsî editors, however, call attention to the resting of the trunk as being inferior to the resting of the back in the Thwan.

The place of the weak fifth line is not proper for it; and this accounts for the mention of its subject 'repenting,' for which, however, there is not occasion.

The third line of the trigrams, and the sixth of the hexagram, is what makes Kăn what it is, — the symbol of a mountain. The subject of it therefore will carry out the resting required by the whole figure in the highest style.

LIII. THE KIEN HEXAGRAM

*K*ien suggests to us the marriage of a young lady, and the good fortune (attending it). There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows the wild geese gradually approaching the shore. A young officer (in similar circumstances) will be in a position of danger, and be spoken against; but there will be no error.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows the geese gradually approaching the large rocks, where they eat and drink joyfully and at ease. There will be good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows them gradually advanced to the dry plains. (It suggests also the idea of) a husband who goes on an expedition from which he does not return, and of a wife who is pregnant, but will not nourish her child. There will be evil. (The case symbolised) might be advantageous in resisting plunderers.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows the geese gradually advanced to the trees. They may light on the flat branches. There will be no error.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows the geese gradually advanced to the high mound. (It suggests the idea of) a wife who for three years does not become pregnant; but in the end the natural issue cannot be prevented. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows the geese gradually advanced to the large heights (beyond). Their feathers can be used as ornaments. There will be good fortune.

FOOTNOTES

LIII *K*ien is ordinarily used in the sense of gradually; but there is connected with that the idea also of progress or advance. The element of meaning in the character is the symbol of water; and the whole of it denotes gradual advance, like the soaking in of water. Three hexagrams contain in them the idea of advance, Žin (35), Shăng (46), and this *K*ien; but each has its peculiarity of meaning, and that of *K*ien is the gradual manner in which the advance takes place. The subject then of the hexagram is the advance of men to offices in the state, how it should take place gradually and by successive steps, as well as on certain other conditions that may be gathered from the Text. P. Regis gives this exposition of the subject, as taken by him from the symbolism, which he ascribes to Confucius:— ‘Viri probi, seu republica digni, in virtutis soliditate instituendi sunt a sapiente, bonisque regulis ut altis radicibus firmandi, nec alii ad rempublicam tractandam promovendi, nisi qui paulatim per varios minoresque gradus ad magnum hoc regimen periculo facto

ascendere digni sint.' He then illustrates this sentiment by the words of Pliny:— 'Eligetur multis experimentis eruditus, et qui futura possit ex praeteritis praevidere.'

But how does the lineal figure give the idea of a gradual advance? We shall see how it is attempted in the Great Symbolism to get this from the component trigrams. The account there is not satisfactory; and still less so is what else I have been able to find on the subject. E. g., the trigrams were originally Khwăn and *Kh*ien; but the third line of Khwăn and the first of *Kh*ien have changed places; and the trigrams now denote 'the youngest son,' and 'the eldest daughter.' If all this, which is a mere farrago, were admitted, it would not help us to the idea of an advance.

Again, the lines 2, 3, 4, 5 are all in the places proper to them as strong or weak; we ascend by them as by regular steps to the top of the hexagram; and this, it is said, gives the notion of the gradual steps of the advance. But neither does this carry conviction with it to the mind. We must leave the question. King Wăn, for reasons which we cannot discover, or without such reasons, determined that the hexagram *K*ien should denote the gradual advance of men to positions of influence and office.

The marriage of a young lady is mentioned in the Thwan as an illustration of an important event taking place with various preliminary steps, continued from its initiation to its consummation. But all must he done in an orderly and correct manner. And so must it be with the rise of a man in the service of the state.

The goose from the most ancient times played an important part in the marriage ceremonies of the Chinese; and this may have suggested the use of it in the symbolism of the different lines. Its habits as a bird of passage, and flying in processional order, admirably suited the writer's purpose. In paragraph 1 it appears for the first time in the season approaching the shore. Then comes the real subject of the line; and the facts of its being weak, and without a proper correlate, agree with, if they do not suggest, what is said about him, and the caution added.

The geese have advanced in line 2, and so has the officer, though he is not mentioned. The line is weak or humble, and central, and has a proper correlate in 5. Hence comes the good auspice.

Line 3 is strong, and has passed the central place, to the top of the lower trigram, and has not a proper correlate in 6. Its subject is likely to be violent and at the same time unsuccessful in his movements. He is like a husband who does not care for his wife, or a wife who does not care for her child. But in the case supposed, his strength in the end would be useful.

The web-footed goose is not suited for taking hold on the branches; but on flat branches it can rest. Line 4, weak, but in an even place, does not promise a good auspice for its subject; but it is the first line in the trigram of humility, and it is concluded that he will not fall into error.

Line 5 is a strong line in the ruler's seat; and yet it appears here as the symbol of a wife. Somehow its subject has been at variance with, and kept in disgrace by, calumniating enemies such as the plunderers of paragraph 3; but things come right in the end. The wife, childless for three years, becomes at last a mother; and there is good fortune.

The subject of line 6 has reached the top of the hexagram. There is no more advance for him; and he has no correlate. But he may still do some good work for the state, and verify the auspice derived from the ornamental plumes of the geese.

LIV. THE KWEI MEI HEXAGRAM

Kwei Mei indicates that (under the conditions which it denotes) action will be evil, and in no wise advantageous.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows the younger sister married off in a position ancillary to the real wife. (It suggests the idea of) a person lame on one leg who yet manages to tramp along. Going forward will be fortunate.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows her blind of one eye, and yet able to see. There will be advantage in her maintaining the firm correctness of a solitary widow.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows the younger sister who was to be married off in a mean position. She returns and accepts an ancillary position.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows the younger sister who is to be married off protracting the time. She may be late in being married, but the time will come.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, reminds us of the marrying of the younger sister of (king) Tî-yî, when the sleeves of her the princess were not equal to those of the (still) younger sister who accompanied her in an inferior capacity. (The case suggests the thought of) the moon almost full. There will be good fortune.

6. The sixth SIX, divided, shows the young lady bearing the basket, but without anything in it, and the gentleman slaughtering the sheep, but without blood flowing from it. There will be no advantage in any way.

FOOTNOTES

LIV Mei Kwei is a common way of saying that a young lady is married, or, literally, 'is going home.' If the order of the characters be reversed, the verb kwei will be transitive, and the phrase will signify 'the marrying away of a daughter,' or 'the giving the young lady in marriage.' In the name of this hexagram, Kwei is used with this transitive force. But Mei means 'a younger sister,' and not merely a young lady or a daughter. Kwei Mei might be equivalent to our 'giving in marriage;' but we shall find that the special term has a special appropriateness. The Thwan makes the hexagram give a bad auspice concerning its subject; and for this the following reasons are given: — According to Win's symbolism of the trigrams, Tui, the lower trigram here, denotes the youngest daughter, and *K*ăn, the upper trigram, the oldest son. And as the action of the hexagram begins with that of the lower trigram, we have in the figure two violations of propriety. First, the marriage represented is initiated by the lady and her friends. She goes to her future home instead of the bridegroom coming to fetch her. Second, the parties are unequally matched. There ought not to be such disparity of age between them. Another reason assigned for the bad auspice is that

lines 2, 3, 4, and 5 are all in places not suited to them, quite different from the corresponding lines in the preceding hexagram.

Is then such a marriage as the above, or marriage in general, the theme of the hexagram? I think not. The marriage comes in, as in the preceding essay, by way of illustration. With all the abuses belonging to it as an institution of his country, as will immediately appear, the writer acknowledged it without saying a word in deprecation or correction of those abuses; but from the case he selected he wanted to set forth some principles which should obtain in the relation between a ruler and his ministers. This view is insisted on in Wan King's 'New Collection of Comments on the Yî (A. D. 1686).'

A feudal prince was said to marry nine ladies at once. The principal of them was the bride who was to be the proper wife, and she was attended by two others, virgins from her father's harem; a cousin, and a half-sister, a daughter of her father by another mother of inferior rank. Under line 1 the younger sister of the hexagram appears in the inferior position of this half-sister. But the line is strong, indicative in a female of firm virtue. The mean condition and its duties are to be deplored, and give the auspice of lameness; but notwithstanding, the secondary wife will in a measure discharge her service. There will be good fortune. Notwithstanding apparent disadvantages, an able officer may do his ruler good service.

Line 2 is strong, and in the centre. The proper correlate is 5, which, however, is weak, and in the place of a strong line. With such a correlate, the able lady in 2 cannot do much in the discharge of her proper work. But if she think only of her husband, like the widow who will die rather than marry again, such devotion will have its effect and its reward. Though blind of one eye, she yet manages to see. And so devoted loyalty in an officer will compensate for many disadvantages.

Line 3 is weak, where it should be strong; and the attribute of pleased satisfaction belonging to Tui culminates in its subject. She turns out to be of so mean a character and such a slave of passion that no one will marry her. She returns and accepts the position of a concubine.

Line 4 is strong, where it should be weak; but in the case of a female the indication is not bad. The subject of the line, however, is in no haste. She waits, and the good time will come.

King Tî-yî has been already mentioned under the fifth line of hexagram 11, and in connexion with some regulation which he made about the marriage of daughters of the royal house. His sister here is honourably mentioned, so as to suggest that the adorning which she preferred was 'the ornament of the hidden man of the heart.' The comparison of her to 'the moon almost full' I am ready to hail as an instance where the duke of *K*âu is for once poetical. *Kh*ăng-žze, however, did not see poetry, but a symbol in it. 'The moon is not full,' he says, 'but only nearly full. A wife ought not to eclipse her husband!' However, the sister of Tî-yî gets happily married, as she deserved to do, being represented by the line in the place of honour, having its proper correlate in 2.

Line 6 is weak, at the top of the hexagram, and without a proper correlate. Hence its auspice is evil. The marriage-contract is broken, according to *K*û Hsî, and does not take effect. The parties mentioned in the paragraph appear engaged in the temple, offering or sacrificing to the spirits of their ancestors. But the woman's basket which should contain her offerings (The Shih, I, ii, ode 4) is empty, and the man attempts to perform his part in slaying the victim (The Shih, II, vi, ode 6. 5) without effect.

LV. THE FĂNG HEXAGRAM

Făng intimates progress and development. When a king has reached the point (which the name denotes)

there is no occasion to be anxious (through fear of a change). Let him be as the sun at noon.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject meeting with his mate. Though they are both of the same character, there will be no error. Advance will call forth approval.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject surrounded by screens so large and thick that at midday he can see from them the constellation of the Bushel. If he go (and try to enlighten his ruler who is thus emblemed), he will make himself to be viewed with suspicion and dislike. Let him cherish his feeling of sincere devotion that he may thereby move (his ruler's mind), and there will be good fortune.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject with an (additional) screen of a large and thick banner, through which at midday he can see (the small) Mei star. (In the darkness) he breaks his right arm; but there will be no error.

4. T he fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject in a tent so large and thick that at midday he can see from it the constellation of the Bushel. But he meets with the subject of the (first) line, undivided like himself. There will be good fortune.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows its subject bringing around him the men of brilliant ability. There will be occasion for congratulation and praise. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject with his house made large, but only serving as a screen to his household. When he looks at his door, it is still, and there is nobody about it. For three years no one is to be seen. There will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

LV The character Făng is the symbol of being large and abundant, and, as the name of this hexagram, denotes a condition of abundant prosperity. In the changes of human affairs a condition of prosperity has often given place to one of an opposite character. The lesson of the hexagram is to show to rulers how they

may preserve the prosperity of their state and people. The component trigrams have the attributes of intelligence and of motive force, and the second is under the direction of the first. A ruler with these attributes is not likely to fail in maintaining his crown and prosperity, and it may well be said that the figure intimates progress and development. The king is told not to be anxious, but to study how he may always be like the sun in his meridian height, cheering and enlightening all.

The explanation of the Thwan is thus natural and easy. It will be found that a change is introduced in explaining the symbolism of the lines, which it is as well to point out here. Thus far we have found that to constitute a proper correlation between two lines, one of them must be whole, and the other divided. Here two undivided lines make a correlation. The law, evidently made for the occasion, goes far to upset altogether the doctrine of correlated lines. I have been surprised that the rules about the lines stated in the Introduction, p, 16, have held good so often. There have been various deviations from them, but none so gross as that in this hexagram.

Line 1 is strong, and in an odd place. Its correlate is 4, which would in other figures be deemed unfortunate. But here even the Text calls 4 (for the reference must be to it) the mate of 1, and makes their belonging to different categories of no account. The lesson taught is that mutual helpfulness is the great instrument for the maintenance of prosperity. The subject of line 1 is encouraged to go forward.

Line 2 is divided, and in its proper place. Occupying the centre of the trigram of brightness, the intelligence of it should be concentrated in its subject; but his correlate is the weak 5, weak and in an improper place, so that he becomes the benighted ruler, and darkness is shed from him down on 2, which is strangely symbolised. The subject of 2 therefore, if he advance, will not be acceptable to his ruler, and will not be employed. The only way in which he can be useful by developing the light that is in him is pointed out in the conclusion. The constellation of the Bushel corresponds to our Ursa Major, or perhaps part of Sagittarius.

Line 3 is strong, in its proper place. It is the last line moreover of the trigram of Brightness. All these conditions are favourable to the employment of its subject; but its correlate is the weak 6, which is at the extremity of the trigram of movement. There is no more power therefore in 6, and the subject of 3 has no one to co-operate with him. His symbolism and auspice are worse than those of 2; but his own proper goodness and capacity will save him from error. Mei is a small star in or near the Bushel.

The symbolism of line 4 is the same as that of 2, till we come to the last sentence. Then there is the strange correlation of the two strong lines in 4 and 1; and the issue is good.

The subject of line 5 is in the ruler's place, himself weak, but 'the lord' of the trigram of movement. He can do little unhelped, but if he can bring into the work and employ in his service the talents of 1, 3, and 4, and even of 2, his correlate, the results will be admirable. Nothing consolidates the prosperity of a country so much as the co-operation of the ruler and able ministers.

All the conditions of line 6 are unfavourable, and its subject is left to himself without any helpers. He is isolated for long, and undone. The issue is only evil.

LVI. THE LÜ HEXAGRAM

Lü intimates that (in the condition which it denotes) there may be some little attainment and progress. If the stranger or traveller be firm and correct as he ought to be, there will be good fortune.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows the stranger mean and meanly occupied. It is thus that he brings on himself (further) calamity.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows the stranger, occupying his lodging-house, carrying with him his means of livelihood, and provided with good and trusty servants.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows the stranger, burning his lodging-house, and having lost his servants. However firm and correct he (try to) be, he will be in peril.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows the traveller in a resting-place, having (also) the means of livelihood and the axe, (but still saying), 'I am not at ease in my mind.'

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows its subject shooting a pheasant. He will lose his arrow, but in the end he will obtain praise and a (high) charge.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, suggests the idea of a bird burning its nest. The stranger, (thus represented), first laughs and then cries out. He has lost his ox(-like docility) too readily and easily. There will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

LVI The name Lü denotes people travelling abroad, and is often translated by 'strangers.' As early as the time of king Wăn, there was a class of men who went about from one state to another, pursuing their business as pedlars or travelling merchants; but in Mencius II, i, cha. 3, it is used for travellers generally, whatever it was that took them out of their own states. Confucius himself is adduced as a travelling stranger; and in this hexagram king Wăn is supposed to have addressed himself to the class of such men, and told them how they ought to comport themselves. They ought to cultivate two qualities, — those of humility and integrity (firm correctness). By means of these they would escape harm, and would make some little attainment and progress. Their rank was too low to speak of great things in connexion with them. It is interesting to find travellers, strangers in a strange land, having thus a place in the Yî.

For the manner in which the component trigrams are supposed to give the idea that is in Lü, see Appendix II. In Appendix I there is an endeavour to explain the Thwan by means of the lines and their relation to one another.

Line 1 is weak, in an odd place, and at the very bottom or commencement of the hexagram, These conditions are supposed to account for the unfavourable symbolism and auspice.

Line 2 is weak, but in its proper place. That place, moreover, is the central. Hence the traveller — and he might here very well be a travelling merchant — is represented in the symbolism as provided with everything he can require; and though the auspice is not mentioned, we must understand it as being good.

Line 3 is strong, and in an even place. But it occupies the topmost place in the lower trigram; and its strength may be expected to appear as violence. So it does in the symbolism, and extraordinary violence as well. It seems unreasonable to suppose, as in the conclusion, that one so described could be in any way correct. The Khang-hsî editors remark that the subjects of 2 and 3 are represented as having 'lodging-houses,' and not any of those of the other lines, because these are the only two lines in the places proper to them!

Line 4 is strong, but in an even place. Hence its subject has not a lodging-house;' but has found a situation where he has shelter, though he is exposed to perils. Hence he is represented as having an axe, which may be available for defence. Still he is not at peace in his mind. The Khang-hsî editors observe well that the mention of an axe makes us think of caution as a quality desirable in a traveller.

Line 5, though weak, is in the centre of the upper trigram, which has the quality of brightness and elegance. It is held to be the lord of the trigram Lî; and lines 4 and 6 are on either side in loyal duty to defend and help. Then the shooting a pheasant is supposed to be suggested; an elegant bird, — by the trigram of elegance. When an officer was travelling abroad in ancient times, his gift of introduction at any feudal court was a pheasant. The traveller here emblemed is praised by his attached friends, and exalted to a place of dignity by the ruler to whom he is acceptable. It will be seen how the idea of the fifth line being the ruler's seat is dropt here as being alien from the idea of the hexagram, so arbitrary is the interpretation of the symbolism.

Line 6 is strong, in an even place, at the extremity of Lî and of the whole hexagram. Its subject will be arrogant and violent; the opposite of what a traveller should be; and the issue will be evil. The symbolism must be allowed to be extravagant. What bird ever burned its nest? And the character for 'ox' is strangely used for 'ox-like docility.'

LVII. THE SUN HEXAGRAM

Sun intimates that (under the conditions which it denotes) there will be some little attainment and progress. There will be advantage in movement onward in whatever direction. It will be advantageous (also) to see the great man.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject (now) advancing, (now) receding. It would be advantageous for him to have the firm correctness of a brave soldier.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows the representative of Sun beneath a couch, and employing diviners and exorcists in a way bordering on confusion. There will be good fortune and no error.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject penetrating (only) by violent and repeated efforts. There will be occasion for regret.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows all occasion for repentance (in its subject) passed away. He takes game for its threefold use in his hunting.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows that with firm correctness there will be good fortune (to its subject). All occasion for repentance will disappear, and all his movements will be advantageous. There may have been no (good) beginning, but there will be a (good) end. Three days before making any changes, (let him give notice of them); and three days after, (let him reconsider them). There will (thus) be good fortune.

6. The sixth NINE, undivided, shows the representative of penetration beneath a couch, and having lost the axe with which he executed his decisions. However firm and correct he may (try to) be, there will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

LVII With Sun as the fifth of the Fû-hsî trigrams we have become familiar. It symbolises both wind and wood; and has the attributes of flexibility (nearly allied to docility) and penetration. In this hexagram we are to think of it as representing wind with its penetrating power, finding its way into every corner and cranny.

Confucius once said (Analects 12. 19):— ‘The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows upon it.’ In accordance with this, the subject of the hexagram must be understood as the influence and orders of government designed to remedy what is wrong in the people. The ‘Daily Lecture’ says that the upper trigram denotes the orders issuing from the ruler, and the lower the obedience rendered to them by the people; but this view is hardly borne out by the Text.

But how is it that the figure represents merely 'some little attainment?' This is generally explained by taking the first line of the trigram as indicating what the subject of it can do. But over the weak first line are two strong lines, so that its subject can accomplish but little. The Khang-hsî editors, rejecting this view, contend that, the idea of the whole figure being penetration, line 1, the symbol of weakness and what is bad, will not be able to offer much resistance to the subjects of the other lines, which will enter and dispel its influence. They illustrate this from processes of nature, education, and politics; the effect they say is described as small, because the process is not to revolutionise or renew, but only to correct and improve. Such as it is, however, it requires the operation of the strong and virtuous, 'the great man.' Even all this criticism is not entirely satisfactory.

Line 1 is weak, where it should be strong. The movements of its subject are expressive of perplexity. He wants vigour and decision.

Line 2 is strong, and in the right place, and has a good auspice. Things are placed or hidden beneath a couch or bed; and the subject of the line appears as searching for them. He calls in divination to assist his judgment, and exorcists to expel for him what is bad. The work is great and difficult, so that he appears almost distracted by it; but the issue is good. For this successful explanation of the line, I am indebted to the Khang-hsî editors. The writer of the Text believed of course in divination and exorcism; which was his misfortune rather than his fault or folly.

Line 3 is in the right place for a strong line. But its position at the top of the lower trigram is supposed to indicate the restlessness, and here the vehemence, of its subject. And 6 is no proper correlate. All the striving is ineffective, and there is occasion for regret.

Line 4 is weak, as is its correlate in 1. But 4 is a proper place for a weak line, and it rests under the shadow of the strong and central 5. Hence the omens of evil are counteracted; and a good auspice is obtained. The game caught in hunting was divided into three portions: — the first for use in sacrifices; the second for the entertainment of visitors; and the third for the kitchen generally. A hunt which yielded enough for all these purposes was deemed very successful.

On line 5 *Kh*ăng-žze says:— 'It is the seat of honour, and the place for the lord of Sun, from whom there issue all charges and commands. It is central and correct; we must find in its subject the qualities denoted by Sun in their greatest excellence. But those qualities are docility and accordance with what is right; and the advantage of firm correctness is insisted on. With this all will be right.' With the concluding sentence compare the conclusion of the Thwan of hexagram 18.

The evil that paragraph 6 concludes with would arise from the quality of Sun being carried to excess. I have followed the Khang-hsî editors in adopting a change of one character in the received Text.

LVIII. THE TUI HEXAGRAM

Tui intimates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and attainment. (But) it will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows the pleasure of (inward) harmony. There will be good fortune.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows the pleasure arising from (inward) sincerity. There will be good fortune. Occasion for repentance will disappear.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject bringing round himself whatever can give pleasure. There will be evil.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject deliberating about what to seek his pleasure in, and not at rest. He borders on what would be injurious, but there will be cause for joy.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject trusting in one who would injure him. The situation is perilous.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows the pleasure of its subject in leading and attracting others.

FOOTNOTES

LVIII The trigram Tui symbolises water as collected in a marsh or lake; and its attribute or virtus is pleasure or complacent satisfaction. It is a matter of some difficulty to determine in one's mind how this attribute came to be connected with the trigram. The Khang-hsî editors say:— 'When the airs of spring begin to blow, from the collections of water on the earth the moistening vapours rise up (and descend again); so, when the breath of health is vigorous in a man's person, the hue of it is displayed in his complexion. Akin to this is the significance of the hexagram Tui representing a marsh, as denoting pleasure. Although the yin lines give it its special character they owe their power and effect to the yang; so when the qualities of mildness and harmony prevail in a man, without true-heartedness and integrity to control and direct them, they will fail to be correct, and may degenerate into what is evil. Hence it is said that it will be advantageous to be firm and correct!'

The feeling then of pleasure is the subject of this hexagram. The above quotation sufficiently explains the concluding characters of the Thwan; but where is the intimation in Tui of progress and attainments? It is supposed to be in the one weak line surmounting each trigram and supported by the two strong lines. Fancy sees in that mildness and benignity energised by a double portion of strength.

Line 1, strong in the place of strength, with no proper correlate above, is thus confined to itself. But its subject is sufficient for himself. There will be good fortune.

Line 2, by the rule of place, should be weak, but it is strong. Without any proper correlate, and contiguous to the weak 3, the subject of it might be injuriously affected, and there would be cause for repentance. But the sincerity natural in his central position counteracts all this.

The view of the third paragraph that appears in the translation is derived from the Khang-hsî editors. The evil threatened in it would be a consequence of the excessive devotion of its subject to pleasure.

'The bordering on what is injurious' in paragraph 4 has reference to the contiguity of line 4 to the weak 3. That might have an injurious effect; but the subject of 4 reflects and deliberates before he will yield to the seduction of pleasure, and there is cause for joy.

The danger to the subject of line 5 is from the weak 6 above, in whom he is represented as 'trusting.' Possibly his own strength and sincerity of mind may be perverted into instruments of evil; but possibly, they may operate beneficially.

The symbolism of paragraph 6 is akin to that of 3, though no positive auspice is expressed. The subject of line 3 attracts others round itself for the sake of pleasure; the subject of this leads them to follow himself in quest of it.

LIX. THE HWÂN HEXAGRAM

Hwân intimates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and success. The king goes to his ancestral temple; and it will be advantageous to cross the great stream. It will be advantageous to be firm and correct.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject engaged in rescuing (from the impending evil) and having (the assistance of) a strong horse. There will be good fortune.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject, amid the dispersion, hurrying to his contrivance (for security). All occasion for repentance will disappear.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject discarding any regard to his own person. There will be no occasion for repentance.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject scattering the (different) parties (in the state); which leads to great good fortune. From the dispersion (he collects again good men standing out, a crowd) like a mound, which is what ordinary men would not have thought of.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject amidst the dispersion issuing his great announcements as the perspiration (flows from his body).

He scatters abroad (also) the accumulations in the royal granaries. There will be no error.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject disposing of (what may be called) its bloody wounds, and going and separating himself from its anxious fears. There will be no error.

FOOTNOTES

LIX Hwân, the name of this hexagram, denotes a state of dissipation or dispersion. It is descriptive primarily of men's minds alienated from what is right and good. This alienation is sure to go on to disorder in the commonwealth; and an attempt is made to show how it should be dealt with and remedied.

The figure is made up of one of the trigrams for water and over it that for wind. Wind moving over water seems to disperse it, and awakes naturally in the beholder the idea of dissipation.

The intimation of progress and success is supposed to be given by the strong lines occupying the central places. The king goes to the ancestral temple, there to meet with the spirits of his ancestors. His filial piety

moves them by the sincerity of its manifestation. Those spirits come and are present. Let filial piety — in our language, let sincere religion — rule in men's minds, and there will be no alienation in them from what is right and good or from one another. And if the state of the country demand a great or hazardous enterprise, let it be undertaken. But whatever is done, must be done with due attention to what is right, firmly and correctly.

Line 1, at the commencement of the hexagram, tells us that the evil has not yet made great progress, and that dealing with it will be easy. But the subject of the line is weak, and in an odd place. He cannot cope with the evil himself. He must have help, and he finds that in a strong horse, which description is understood to be symbolical of the subject of the strong second line.

'Line 2 is strong, but in an even place. That place is, indeed, the central, but the attribute of the lower trigram Khan is peril. These conditions indicate evil, and action will be dangerous; but the subject of 2 looks to 1 below him, and takes shelter in union with its subject. Since the commentary of *Kh*ăng-žze, this has been the interpretation of the line.

Line 3 is weak, and in an odd place. A regard for himself that would unfit its subject for contributing any service to the work of the hexagram might be feared; but he discards that regard, and will do nothing to be repented of. There is a change of style in the Chinese text at this point. As Wang Shăn-žze (Yüan dynasty) says:— 'Here and henceforth the scattering is of what should be scattered, that what should not be scattered may be collected.'

Line 4, though weak, is in its correct place, and adjoins the strong 5, which is in the ruler's seat. The subject of 4, therefore, will fitly represent the minister, to whom it belongs to do a great part in remedying the evil of dispersion. And this he does. He brings dissentient partizanship to an end; and not satisfied with that, he collects multitudes of those who had been divided into a great body so that they stand out conspicuous like a hill.

Line 5 gives us the action of the ruler himself; — by his proclamations, and by his benevolence. *K*û Hsî and other critics enlarge on the symbolism of the perspiration, which they think much to the point. P. Regis avoids it, translating— 'Ille, magnas leges dissipans, facit ut penetrent(ur?).' Canon McClatchie has an ingenious and original, so far as my Chinese reading goes, note upon it:— 'As sweat cures fevers, so do proclamations cure rebellions.' Both of these translators miss the meaning of the other instance of the king's work.

Line 6 is occupied by a strong line, which has a proper correlate in 3; but 3 is at the top of the trigram of peril. The subject of 6 hurries away from association with the subject of it, but does so in the spirit of the hexagram, so that there is no error or blame attaching to him.

LX. THE KIEH HEXAGRAM

*K*ieh intimates that (under its conditions) there will be progress and attainment. (But) if the regulations (which it prescribes) be severe and difficult, they cannot be permanent.

1. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject not quitting the courtyard outside his door. There will be no error.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject not quitting the courtyard inside his gate. There will be evil.

3. . The third SIX, divided, shows its subject with no appearance of observing the (proper) regulations, in which case we shall see him lamenting. But there will be no one to blame (but himself).

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject quietly and naturally (attentive to all) regulations. There will be progress and success.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject sweetly and acceptably enacting his regulations. There will be good fortune. The onward progress with them will afford ground for admiration.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject enacting regulations severe and difficult. Even with firmness and correctness there will be evil. But though there will be cause for repentance, it will (by and by) disappear.

FOOTNOTES

LX The primary application of the character *K*ieh was to denote the joints of the bamboo; it is used also for the joints of the human frame; and for the solar and other terms of the year. Whatever makes regular division may be denominated a *K*ieh; there enter into it the ideas of regulating and restraining; and the subject of this hexagram is the regulations of government enacted for the guidance and control of the people. How the constituent trigrams are supposed to suggest or indicate this meaning will be seen in Appendix II.

*K*û Hsî anticipates that symbolism in trying to account for the statement that the figure gives the promise of success and attainment; but the ground of this is generally made out by referring to the equal division of the undivided and divided lines and our having in 2 and 5, the central places, two undivided lines. An important point concerning ‘regulations’ is brought out in the conclusion of the Thwan, — that they must be adapted to circumstances, and not made too strict and severe.

Line 1 is strong, and in its correct place. Its subject therefore would not be wanting in power to make his way. But he is supposed to be kept in check by the strong 2, and the correlate 4 is the first line in the trigram of peril. The course of wisdom therefore is to keep still. The character here rendered door is that belonging to the inner apartments, leading from the hall into which entrance is found by the outer gate, mentioned under line 2. The courtyard outside the door and that inside the gate is one and the same. The 'Daily Lecture' says that the paragraph tells an officer not to take office rashly, but to exercise a cautious judgment in his measures.

Line 2 is strong, in the wrong place; nor has it a proper correlate. Its subject keeps still, when he ought to be up and doing. There will be evil.

Line 3 should be strong, but it is weak. It is neither central nor correct. It has no proper correlate, and it is the topmost line in the trigram of complacent satisfaction. Its subject will not receive the yoke of regulations; and he will find out his mistake, when it is too late.

Line 4 is weak, as it ought to be, and its subject has respect to the authority of the strong ruler in 5. Hence its good symbolism and auspice.

Line 5 is strong, and in its correct place. Its subject regulates himself, having no correlate; but he is lord of the hexagram, and his influence is everywhere beneficially felt.

Line 6 is weak, in its proper place. The subject of the topmost line must be supposed to possess an exaggerated desire for enacting regulations. They will be too severe, and the effect will be evil. But as Confucius (Analects 3. 3) says, that is not so great a fault as to be easy and remiss. It may be remedied, and cause for repentance will disappear.

LXI. THE KUNG FÛ HEXAGRAM

*K*ung Fû (moves even) pigs and fish, and leads to good fortune. There will be advantage in crossing the great stream. There will be advantage in being firm and correct.

I. The first NINE, undivided, shows its subject resting (in himself). There will be good fortune. If he sought to any other, he would not find rest.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject (like) the crane crying out in her hidden retirement, and her young ones responding to her. (It is as if it were said), 'I have a cup of good spirits,' (and the response were), 'I will partake of it with you.'

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject having met with his mate. Now he beats his drum, and now he leaves off. Now he weeps, and now he sings.

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject (like) the moon nearly full, and (like) a horse (in a chariot) whose fellow disappears. There will be no error.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject perfectly sincere, and linking (others) to him in closest union. There will be no error.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject in chanticleer (trying to) mount to heaven. Even with firm correctness there will be evil.

FOOTNOTES

LXI *K*ung Fû, the name of this hexagram, may be represented in English by 'Inmost Sincerity.' It denotes the highest quality of man, and gives its possessor power so that he prevails with spiritual beings, with other men, and with the lower creatures. It is the subject of the 'Doctrine of the Mean' from the 21st chapter onwards, where Remusat rendered it by 'la perfection,' 'la perfection morale,' and Intorcetta and his coadjutors by 'vera solidaque perfectio.' The lineal figure has suggested to the Chinese commentators, from the author of the first Appendix, two ideas in it which deserve to be pointed out. There are two divided lines in the centre and two undivided below them and above them. The divided lines in the centre are held to represent the heart or mind free from all pre-occupation, without any consciousness of self; and the undivided lines, on each side of it, in the centre of the constituent trigrams are held to denote the solidity of the virtue of one so free from selfishness. There is no unreality in it, not a single flaw.

The 'Daily Lecture' at the conclusion of its paraphrase of the Thwan refers to the history of the ancient Shun, and the wonderful achievements of his virtue. The authors give no instance of the affecting, of 'pigs and fishes' by sincerity, and say that these names are symbolical of men, the rudest and most unsusceptible of being acted on. The Text says that the man thus gifted with sincerity will succeed in the most difficult enterprises. Remarkable is the concluding sentence that he must be firm and correct. Here, as elsewhere

throughout the Yî, there comes out the practical character which has distinguished the Chinese people and their best teaching all along the line of history.

The translation of paragraph 1 is according to the view approved by the Khang-hsî editors. The ordinary view makes the other to whom the subject of line 1 looks or might look to be the subject of 4; but they contend that, excepting in the case of 3 and 6, the force of correlation should be discarded from the study of this hexagram; for the virtue of sincerity is all centred in itself, thence derived and thereby powerful.

For paragraph 2, see Appendix III, Section i, 42. It is in rhyme, and I have there rendered it in rhyme. The 'young ones of the crane' are represented by line 1. In the third and fourth sentences we have the symbolism of two men brought together by their sympathy in virtue. The subject of the paragraph is the effect of sincerity.

The 'mate' of line 3 is 6. The principle of correlation comes in. Sincerity, not left to itself, is influenced from without, and hence come the changes and uncertainty in the state and moods of the subject of the line.

Line 4 is weak, and in its correct place. The subject of it has discarded the correlate in 1, and hastens on to the confidence of the ruler in 5, being symbolised as the moon nearly full. The other symbol of the horse whose fellow has disappeared has reference to the discarding of the subject of 1. Anciently chariots and carriages were drawn by four horses, two outsides and two insides. Lines 1 and 4 were a pair of these; but 1 disappears here from the team, and 4 goes on and joins 5.

Line 5 is strong and central, in the ruler's place. Its subject must be the sage on the throne, whose sincerity will go forth and bind all in union with himself.

Line 6 should be divided, but is undivided; and coming after 5, what can the subject of it do? His efforts will be ineffectual, and injurious to himself. He is symbolised by a cock — literally, 'the plumaged voice.' But a cock is not fitted to fly high, and in attempting to do so will only suffer hurt.

LXII. THE HSIÂO KWO HEXAGRAM

Hsiâo Kwo indicates that (in the circumstances which it implies) there will be progress and attainment.

But it will be advantageous to be firm and correct. (What the name denotes) may be done in small affairs, but not in great affairs. (It is like) the notes that come down from a bird on the wing; — to descend is better than to ascend. There will (in this way) be great good fortune.

1. The first SIX, divided, suggests (the idea of) a bird flying, (and ascending) till the issue is evil.

2. The second SIX, divided, shows its subject passing by his grandfather, and meeting with his grandmother; not attempting anything against his ruler, but meeting him as his minister. There will be no error.

3. The third NINE, undivided, shows its subject taking no extraordinary precautions against danger; and some in consequence finding opportunity to assail and injure him. There will be evil.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject falling into no error, but meeting (the exigency of his situation), without exceeding (in his natural course). If he go forward, there will be peril, and he must be cautious. There is no occasion to be using firmness perpetually.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, (suggests the idea) of dense clouds, but no rain, coming from our borders in the west. It also (shows) the prince shooting his arrow, and taking the bird in a cave.

6. The sixth SIX, divided, shows its subject not meeting (the exigency of his situation), and exceeding (his proper course). (It suggests the idea of) a bird flying far aloft. There will be evil. The case is what is called one of calamity and self-produced injury.

FOOTNOTES

LXII The name Hsiâo Kwo is explained both by reference to the lines of the hexagram, and to the meaning of the characters. The explanation from the lines appears immediately on comparing them with those of Tâ Kwo, the 28th hexagram. There the first and sixth lines are divided, and between are four undivided lines; here the third and fourth lines are undivided, and outside each of them are two divided lines. The undivided or yang lines are great, the divided or yin lines are called small. In Hsiâo Kwo the divided or small lines predominate. But this peculiar structure of the figure could be of no interest to the student, if it were not for

the meaning of the name, which is ‘small excesses’ or ‘exceeding in what is small.’ The author, accepted by us as king Wăn, had in his mind our distinction of essentials and nonessentials. Is it ever good to deviate from what is recognised as the established course of procedure? The reply is — never in the matter of right but in what is conventional and ceremonial — in what is nonessential — the deviation may be made, and will be productive of good. The form may be given up, but not the substance. But the thing must be done very carefully, — humbly and reverently, and in small matters.

The symbolism of the bird is rather obscure. The whole of it is intended to teach humility. It is better for the bird to descend, keeping near to where it can perch and rest, than to hold on ascending into the homeless regions of the air.

Line 1 is weak, in an odd place, and possessed by the ‘idea of exceeding,’ which belongs to the hexagram. Its correlate is the strong 4, belonging to the trigram *K*ăn, the attribute of which is movement. There is nothing to repress the tendency of i; rather it is stimulated; and hence the symbolism.

Line 2 is weak, but in its proper place, and in the centre. Its correlate is 5, which is also a weak line. The lines 3 and 4 between them are both strong; and are supposed to represent the father and grandfather of the subject of 2; but he or she goes past them, and meets with the grandmother in 5. Again, 5 is the ruler’s seat. The subject of 2 moves on to him, but not as an enemy; but humbly and loyally, as his minister according to the attributes of a weak line in the central place. It must be allowed that this view of the symbolism and its interpretation is obscure and strained.

The subject of line 3 is too confident in his own strength, and too defiant of the weak and small enemies that seek his hurt. Line 4 is also strong, but the exercise of his strength by its subject is tempered by the position in an even place. He is warned, however, to continue quiet and restrain himself.

Line 5, though in the ruler’s seat, is weak, and incapable of doing anything great. Its subject is called king or duke because of the ruler’s seat; and the one whom in the concluding sentence he is said to capture is supposed to be the subject of 2.

The first part of the symbolism is the same as that of the Thwan under hexagram 9, q.v. I said there that it probably gave a testimony of the merit of the house of *K*âu, as deserving the throne rather than the kings of Shang. That was because the Thwan contained the sentiments of Wăn, while he was yet only lord of *K*âu. But the symbolism here was the work of the duke of *K*âu, after his brother king Wû had obtained the throne. How did the symbolism then occur to him? May we not conclude that at least the hsiang of this hexagram was written during the troubled period of his regency, after the accession of Wû’s son, king *Kh*ăng?

The Khang-hsî editors find in the concluding symbolism an incentive to humility:— ‘The duke, leaving birds on the wing, is content to use his arrows against those in a cave!’

Line 6 is weak, and is at the top of the trigram of movement. He is possessed by the idea of the hexagram in an extreme degree, and is incapable of keeping himself under restraint.

LXIII. THE KÎ ŽÎ HEXAGRAM

*K*î Žî intimates progress and success in small matters. There will be advantage in being firm and correct. There has been good fortune in the beginning; there may be disorder in the end.

1. The first NINE, undivided, (shows its subject as a driver) who drags back his wheel, (or as a fox) which has wet his tail. There will be no error.

2. The second SIX, divided, (shows its subject as) a wife who has lost her (carriage-)screen. There is no occasion to go in pursuit of it. In seven days she will find it.

3. The third NINE, undivided, (suggests the case of) Kâo Žung, who attacked the Demon region, but was three years in subduing it. Small men should not be employed (in such enterprises).

4. The fourth SIX, divided, shows its subject with rags provided against any leak (in his boat), and on his guard all day long.

5. The fifth NINE, undivided, shows its subject (as) the neighbour in the east who slaughters an ox (for his sacrifice); but this is not equal to the (small) spring sacrifice of the neighbour in the west, whose sincerity receives the blessing.

6. The topmost SIX, divided, shows its subject with (even) his head immersed. The position is perilous.

FOOTNOTES

LXIII The character called *K*î is used as a symbol of being past or completed. Žî denotes primarily crossing a stream, and has the secondary meaning of helping and completing. The two characters, combined, will express the successful accomplishment of whatever the writer has in his mind. In dealing with this lineal figure, king Wăn was thinking of the condition of the kingdom, at length at rest and quiet. The vessel of the state has been brought safely across the great and dangerous stream. The distresses of the kingdom have been relieved, and its disorders have been repressed. Does anything remain to be done still? Yes, in small things. The new government has to be consolidated. Its ruler must, without noise or clamour, go on to perfect what has been wrought, with firmness and correctness, and ever keeping in mind the instability of all human affairs. That every line of the hexagram is in its correct place, and has its proper correlate is also supposed to harmonize with the intimation of progress and success.

Line 1, the first of the hexagram, represents the time immediately after the successful achievement of the enterprise it denotes; — the time for resting and being quiet. For a season, at least, all movement should be

hushed. Hence we have the symbolism of a driver trying to stop his carriage, and a fox who has wet his tail, and will not tempt the stream again.

Line 2 is weak, and in its proper place. It also has the strong correlate 5; and might be expected to be forward to act. But it occupies its correct and central place, and suggests the symbol of a lady whose carriage has lost its screen. She will not advance further so soon after success has been achieved; but keep herself hidden and retired. Let her not try to find the screen. When it is said that she will find this 'after seven days,' the meaning seems to be simply this, that the period of *K*î Žî will then have been exhausted, the six lines having been gone through, and a new period, when action will be proper, shall have commenced.

The strong line 3, at the top of the lower trigram, suggests for its subject one undertaking a vigorous enterprise. The writer thinks of *K*âo Žung, the sacrificial title of Wû Ting, one of the ablest sovereigns of the Shang dynasty (B. C. 1364-1324), who undertook an expedition against the barbarous hordes of the cold and bleak regions north of the Middle States. He is mentioned again under the next hexagram. He appears also in the Shû, IV, ix, and in the Shih, IV, iii, ode 5. His enterprise may have been good, and successful, but it was tedious, and the paragraph concludes with a caution.

Line 4 is weak, and has advanced into the trigram for water. Its subject will be cautious, and prepare for evil, as in the symbolism, suggested probably by the nature of the trigram.

'The neighbour in the East' is the subject of line 5, and 'the neighbour in the West' is the subject of the correlate 2, the former quarter being yang and the latter yin. Line 5 is strong, and 2 is weak; but weakness is more likely to be patient and cautious than strength. They are compared to two men sacrificing. The one presents valuable offerings; the other very poor ones. But the second excels in sincerity, and his small offering is the more acceptable.

The topmost line is weak, and on the outmost edge of Khân, the trigram, of peril. His action is violent and perilous, like that one attempting to cross a ford, and being plunged overhead into the water.

LXIV. THE WEI ŽÎ HEXAGRAM

Wei Žî intimates progress and success (in the circumstances which it implies). (We see) a young fox that has nearly crossed (the stream), when its tail gets immersed. There will be no advantage in any way.

1. The first SIX, divided, shows its subject (like a fox) whose tail gets immersed. There will be occasion for regret.

2. The second NINE, undivided, shows its subject dragging back his (carriage-) wheel. With firmness and correctness there will be good fortune.

3. The third SIX, divided, shows its subject, with (the state of things) not yet remedied, advancing on; which will lead to evil. But there will be advantage in (trying to) cross the great stream.

4. The fourth NINE, undivided, shows its subject by firm correctness obtaining good fortune, so that all occasion for repentance disappears. Let him stir himself up, as if he were invading the Demon region, where for three years rewards will come to him (and his troops) from the great kingdom.

5. The fifth SIX, divided, shows its subject by firm correctness obtaining good fortune, and having no occasion for repentance. (We see in him) the brightness of a superior man, and the possession of sincerity. There will be good fortune.

6. The topmost NINE, undivided, shows its subject full of confidence and therefore feasting (quietly). There will be no error. (If he) cherish this confidence,

till he (is like the fox who) gets his head immersed, it will fail of what is right.

FOOTNOTES

LXIV Wei Žî is the reverse of *K*î Žî. The name tells us that the successful accomplishment of whatever the writer had in his mind had not yet been realised. The vessel of the state has not been brought across the great and dangerous stream. Some have wished that the Yî might have concluded with *K*î Žî, and the last hexagram have left us with the picture of human affairs all brought to good order. But this would not have been in harmony with the idea of the Yî, as the book of change. Again and again it has been pointed out that we

find in it no idea of a perfect and abiding state. Just as the seasons of the year change and pursue an ever-recurring round, so is it with the phases of society. The reign of order has been, and has terminated; and this hexagram calls us to see the struggle for its realisation recommenced. It treats of how those engaged in that struggle should conduct themselves with a view to secure the happy consummation.

How the figure sets forth the state of things by its constituent trigrams will appear in Appendix II. A similar indication is supposed to be given by the lines, not one of which is in the correct place; the strong lines being all in even places, and t he weak lines in odd. At the same time each of them has a proper correlate; and so the figure gives an intimation of some successful progress. See also Appendix I.

The symbolism of the young fox suggests a want of caution on the part of those, in the time and condition denoted by the hexagram, who try to remedy prevailing disorders. Their attempt is not successful, and they get themselves into trouble and danger. Whatever can be done must be undertaken in another way.

I suppose a fox to be intended by the symbolism of line 1, bringing that animal on from the Thwan. Some of the commentators understand it of any animal. The line is weak, at the bottom of the trigram of peril, and responds to the strong 4, which is not in its correct place. Its subject attempts to be doing, but finds cause to regret his course.

The subject of line 2, strong, and in the centre, is able to repress himself, and keep back his carriage from advancing and there is good fortune.

The Khang-hsî editors say that it is very difficult to understand what is said under line 3; and many critics suppose that a negative has dropt out, and that we should really read that ‘it will not be advantageous to try and cross the great stream.’

Line 4, though strong, is in an even place; and this might vitiate the endeavours of its subject to bring about a better state of things. But he is firm and correct. He is in the fourth place moreover, and immediately above there is his ruler, represented by a weak line, humble therefore, and prepared to welcome his endeavours. Let him exert himself vigorously and long, as Kâo Žung did in his famous expedition (see last hexagram, line 3), and he will make progress and have success. Expeditions beyond the frontiers in those days were not very remote. Intercourse was kept up between the army and the court. Rewards, distinctions, and whatever was necessary to encourage the army, were often sent to it.

Line 5 is weak, in an odd place. But its subject is the ruler, humble and supported by the subject of the strong 2; and hence the auspice is very good.

The subject of line 6, when the work of the hexagram has been done, appears disposed to remain quiet in the confidence of his own power, but enjoying himself; and thereby he will do right. If, on the contrary, he will go on to exert his powers, and play with the peril of the situation, the issue will be bad.

THE APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

Treatise on the Thwan 1, or king Wăn's Explanations of the entire Hexagrams

SECTION I

I. 1. Vast is the 'great and originating (power)' indicated by *Kh*ien! All things owe to it their beginning: — it contains all the meaning belonging to (the name) heaven.

2. The clouds move and the rain is distributed; the various things appear in their developed forms.

3. (The sages) grandly understand (the connexion between) the end and the beginning, and how (the indications of) the six lines (in the hexagram) are accomplished, (each) in its season. (Accordingly) they mount (the carriage) drawn by those six dragons at the proper times, and drive through the sky.

4. The method of *Kh*ien is to change and transform, so that everything obtains its correct nature as appointed (by the mind of Heaven); and (thereafter the conditions of) great harmony are preserved in union. The result is 'what is advantageous, and correct and firm.

5. (The sage) appears aloft, high above all things, and the myriad states all enjoy repose.

II. 1. Complete is the 'great and originating (capacity)' indicated by Khwăn! All things owe to it their birth; — it receives obediently the influences of Heaven.

2. Khwăn, in its largeness, supports and contains all things. Its excellent capacity matches the unlimited power (of *Kh*ien). Its comprehension is wide, and its brightness great. The various things obtain (by it) their full development.

3. The mare is a creature of earthly kind. Its (power of) moving on the earth is without limit; it is mild and docile, advantageous and firm: — such is the course of the superior man.

4. 'If he take the initiative, he goes astray:' — he misses, that is, his proper course. 'If he follow,' he is docile, and gets into his regular (course). 'In the south-west he will get friends:' — he will be walking with those of his own class. 'In the north-east he will lose friends:' — but in the end there will be ground for congratulation.

5. 'The good fortune arising from resting in firmness' corresponds to the unlimited capacity of the earth.

III. 1. In Kun we have the strong (*Kh*ien) and the weak (Khwăn) commencing their intercourse, and difficulties arising.

2. Movement in the midst of peril gives rise to ‘great progress and success, (through) firm correctness.’

3. By the action of the thunder and rain, (which are symbols of *K*ăn and Khan), all (between heaven and earth) is filled up. But the condition of the time is full of irregularity and obscurity. Feudal princes should be established, but the feeling that rest and peace have been secured should not be indulged (even then).

IV. 1. In Măng we have (the trigram for) a mountain, and below it that of a rugged defile with a stream in it. The conditions of peril and arrest of progress (suggested by these) give (the idea in) Măng.

2. ‘Măng indicates that there will be progress and success:’ — for there is development at work in it, and its time of action is exactly what is right. ‘I do not seek the youthful and inexperienced; he seeks me:’ — so does will respond to will. ‘When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him:’ — for possessing the qualities of the undivided line and being in the central place, (the subject of the second line thus speaks). ‘A second and third application create annoyance, and I do not instruct so as to create annoyance:’ — annoyance (he means) to the ignorant.

(The method of dealing with) the young and ignorant is to nourish the correct (nature belonging to them); — this accomplishes the service of the sage.

V. 1. Hsü denotes waiting. (The figure) shows peril in front; but notwithstanding the firmness and strength (indicated by the inner trigram), its subject does not allow himself to be involved (in the dangerous defile); — it is right he should not be straitened or reduced to extremity.

2. When it is said that, ‘with the sincerity declared in Hsü, there will be brilliant success, and with firmness there will be good fortune,’ this is shown by the position (of the fifth line) in the place assigned by Heaven, and its being the correct position for it, and in the centre. ‘It will be advantageous to go through the great stream;’ — that is, going forward will be followed by meritorious achievement.

VI. 1. The upper portion of Sung is (the trigram representing) strength, and the lower (that representing) peril. (The coming together of) strength and peril gives (the idea in) Sung.

2. ‘Sung intimates how, though there is sincerity in one’s contention, he will yet meet with opposition and obstruction; but if he cherish an apprehensive caution, there will be good fortune:’ — a strong (line) has come and got the central place (in the lower trigram).

‘If he must prosecute the contention to the (bitter) end, there will be evil:’ — contention is not a thing to be carried on to extremity.

‘It will be advantageous to meet with the great man:’ — what he sets a value on is the due mean, and the correct place.

‘It will not be advantageous to cross the great stream:’ — one (attempting to do so) would find himself in an abyss.

VII. 1. (The name) Sze describes the multitude (of the host). The ‘firmness and correctness’ (which the hexagram indicates) refer to (moral) correctness (of aim). When (the mover) is able to use the multitude with such correctness, he may attain to the royal sway.

2. There is (the symbol of) strength in the centre (of the trigram below), and it is responded to (by its proper correlate above). The action gives rise to perils, but is in accordance (with the best sentiments of men). (Its mover) may by such action distress all the country, but the people will follow him; — there will be good fortune, and what error should there be?

VIII. 1. ‘Pî indicates that there is good fortune:’ — (the name) Pî denotes help; (and we see in the figure) inferiors docilely following (their superior).

2. ‘Let (the principal party intended in it) reexamine himself, (as if) by divination, whether his virtue be great, unintermitting, and firm; — if it be so, there will be no error: — all this follows from the position of the strong line in the centre (of the upper trigram). ‘Those who have not rest will come to him:’ — high and low will respond to its subject. ‘With those who are (too) late in coming it will be ill:’ — (for them) the way (of good fortune here indicated) has been exhausted.

IX. 1. In Hsiâo *Kh*û the weak line occupies its (proper) position, and (the lines) above and below respond to it. Hence comes the name of Hsiâo *Kh*û (Small Restraint).

2. (It presents the symbols of) strength and flexibility. Strong lines are in the central places, and the will (of their subjects) will have free course. Thus it indicates that there will be progress and success.

3. ‘Dense clouds but no rain’ indicate the movement (of the strong lines) still going forward. The

‘Commencing at our western border’ indicates that the (beneficial) influence has not yet been widely displayed.

X. 1. In Lî we have (the symbol of) weakness treading on (that of) strength.

2. (The lower trigram) indicates pleasure and satisfaction, and responds to (the upper) indicating strength. Hence (it is said), ‘He treads on the tail of a tiger, which does not bite him; there will be progress and success.’

3. (The fifth line is) strong, in the centre, and in its correct place. (Its subject) occupies the God-(given) position, and falls into no distress or failure; — (his) action will be brilliant.

XI. ‘The little come and the great gone in Thâi, and its indication that there will be good fortune with progress and success’ show to us heaven and earth in communication with each other, and all things in consequence having free course, and (also) the high and the low, (superiors and inferiors), in communication with one another, and possessed by the same aim. The inner (trigram) is made up of the strong and undivided lines, and the outer of the weak and divided; the inner is (the symbol of) strength, and the outer of docility; the inner (represents) the superior man, and the outer the small man. (Thus) the way of the superior man appears increasing, and that of the small man decreasing.

XII. ‘The want of good understanding between the (different classes of) men in Phî, and its indication as unfavourable to the firm and correct course of the superior man; with the intimation that the great are gone and the little come:’ — all this springs from the fact that in it heaven and earth are not in communication with each other, and all things in consequence do not have free course; and that the high and the low (superiors and inferiors) are not in communication with one another, and there are no (well-regulated) states under the sky. The inner (trigram) is made up of the weak and divided lines, and the outer of the strong and undivided: the inner is (the symbol of) weakness, and the outer of strength; the inner (represents) the small man, and the outer the superior man. Thus the way of the small man appears increasing, and that of the superior man decreasing.

XIII. 1. In Thung *Z*ăn the weak (line) has the place (of influence), the central place, and responds to (the corresponding line in) *Kh*ien (above); hence comes its name of Thung *Z*ăn (or ‘Union of men’).

2. Thung *Z*ăn says: —

3. The language, ‘Thung *Z*ăn appears here (as we find it) in (the remote districts of) the country, indicating progress and success, and that it will be advantageous to cross the great stream,’ is moulded by its containing the strength (symbolled) in *Kh*ien. (Then) we have (the trigram indicating) elegance and intelligence, supported by (that indicating) strength; with the line in the central, and its correct, position, and responding (to the corresponding line above): — (all representing) the correct course of the superior man. It is only the superior man who can comprehend and affect the minds of all under the sky.

XIV. 1. In Tâ Yû the weak (line) has the place of honour, is grandly central, and (the strong lines) above and below respond to it. Hence comes its name of Tâ Yû (Having what is Great).

2. The attributes (of its component trigrams) are strength and vigour with elegance and brightness. (The ruling line in it) responds to (the ruling line in the

symbol of) heaven, and (consequently) its action is (all) at the proper times. In this way (it is said to) indicate great progress and success.

XV. 1. *Kh*ien indicates progress and success. It is the way of heaven to send down its beneficial influences below, where they are brilliantly displayed. It is the way of earth, lying low, to send its influences upwards and (there) to act.

2. It is the way of heaven to diminish the full and augment the humble. It is the way of earth to overthrow the full and replenish the humble. Spiritual Beings inflict calamity on the full and bless the humble. It is the way of men to hate the full and love the humble. Humility in a position of honour makes that still more brilliant; and in a low position men will not (seek to) pass beyond it. Thus it is that 'the superior man will have a (good) issue (to his undertakings).'

XVI. 1. In Yü we see the strong (line) responded to by all the others, and the will (of him whom it represents) being carried out; and (also) docile obedience employing movement (for its purposes). (From these things comes) Yü (the Condition of harmony and satisfaction).

2. In this condition we have docile obedience employing movement (for its purposes), and therefore it is so as between heaven and earth; — how much more will it be so (among men) in 'the setting up of feudal princes and putting the hosts in motion!'

3. Heaven and earth show that docile obedience in connexion with movement, and hence the sun and moon make no error (in time), and the four seasons do not deviate (from their order). The sages show such docile obedience in connexion with their movements, and hence their punishments and penalties are entirely just, and the people acknowledge it by their submission. Great indeed are the time and significance indicated in Yü!

XVII. 1. In Sui we see the strong (trigram) come and place itself under the weak; we see (in the two) the attributes of movement and pleasure: — this gives (the idea of) Sui.

2. 'There will be great progress and success; and through firm correctness no error:' — all under heaven will be found following at such a time.

3. Great indeed are the time and significance indicated in Sui.

XVIII. 1. In Kû we have the strong (trigram) above, and the weak one below; we have (below) pliancy, and (above) stopping: — these give the idea of Kû (a Troublous Condition of affairs verging to ruin).

2. 'Kû indicates great progress and success:' — (through the course shown in it), all under heaven, there will be good order. 'There will be advantage in crossing the great stream:' — he who advances will encounter the business to be done. '(He should weigh well, however, the events of) three days before (the

turning-point), and those (to be done) three days after it:' — the end (of confusion) is the beginning (of order); such is the procedure of Heaven.

XIX. 1. In Lin (we see) the strong (lines) gradually increasing and advancing.

2. (The lower trigram is the symbol of) being pleased, and (the upper of) being compliant. The strong (line) is in the central position, and is properly responded to.

3. 'There is great progress and success, along with firm correctness:' — this is the way of Heaven.

4. 'In the eighth month there will be evil:' — (the advancing power) will decay after no long time.

XX. 1. The great Manifester occupies an upper place (in the figure), which consists of (the trigrams whose attributes are) docility and flexibility. He is in the central position and his correct place, and thus exhibits (his lessons) to all under heaven.

2. 'Kwan shows its subject like a worshipper who has washed his hands, but not (yet) presented his offerings; — with sincerity and an appearance of dignity (commanding reverent regard):' — (all) beneath look to him and are transformed.

3. When we contemplate the spirit-like way of Heaven, we see how the four seasons proceed without error. The sages, in accordance with (this) spirit-like way, laid down their instructions, and all under heaven yield submission to them.

XXI. 1. The existence of something between the jaws gives rise to the name Shih Ho (Union by means of biting through the intervening article).

2. The Union by means of biting through the intervening article indicates 'the successful progress (denoted by the hexagram).'

The strong and weak (lines) are equally divided (in the figure). Movement is denoted (by the lower trigram), and bright intelligence (by the upper); thunder and lightning uniting in them, and having brilliant manifestation. The weak (fifth) line is in the centre, and acts in its high position. Although it is not in its proper position, this is advantageous for the use of legal constraints.

XXII. 1. (When it is said that) Pî indicates that there should be free course (in what it denotes): —

2. (We see) the weak line coming and ornamenting the strong lines (of the lower trigram), and hence (it is said that ornament) 'should have free course.' On the other hand, the strong line above ornaments the weak ones (of the upper trigram), and hence (it is said) that 'there will be little advantage, if (ornament) be allowed to advance (and take the lead).' (This is illustrated in the) appearances that ornament the sky.

3. Elegance and intelligence (denoted by the lower trigram) regulated by the arrest (denoted by the upper) suggest the observances that adorn human (society).

4. We look at the ornamental figures of the sky, and thereby ascertain the changes of the seasons. We look at the ornamental observances of society, and understand how the processes of transformation are accomplished all under heaven.

XXIII. 1. Po denotes overthrowing or being overthrown. We see (in the figure) the weak lines (threatening to) change the (last) strong line (into one of themselves).

2. That 'it will not be advantageous to make a movement in any direction whatever' appears from the fact that the small men are (now) growing and increasing. The superior man acts according to (the exigency of the time), and stops all forward movement, looking at the (significance of the) symbolic figures (in the hexagram). He values the processes of decrease and increase, of fulness and decadence, (as seen) in the movements of the heavenly bodies.

XXIV. 1. 'Fû indicates the free course and progress (of what it denotes):' — it is the coming back of what is intended by the undivided line.

2. (Its subject's) actions show movement directed by accordance with natural order. Hence 'he finds no one to distress him in his exits and entrances,' and 'friends come to him, and no error is committed.'

3. 'He will return and repeat his proper course; in seven days comes his return:' — such is the movement of the heavenly (revolution).

4. 'There will be advantage in whatever direction movement is made: — the strong lines are growing and increasing.

5. Do we not see in Fû the mind of heaven and earth?

XXV. In Wû Wang we have the strong (first) line come from the outer (trigram), and become in the inner trigram lord (of the whole figure); we have (the attributes of) motive power and strength; we have the strong line (of the fifth place) in the central position, and responded to (by the weak second): — there will be 'great progress proceeding from correctness; such is the appointment of Heaven.

'If (its subject and his action) be not correct, he will fall into errors, and it will not be advantageous for him to move in any direction:' — whither can he (who thinks he is) free from all insincerity, (and yet is as here described) proceed? Can anything be done (advantageously) by him whom the (will and) appointment of Heaven do not help?

XXVI. 1. In (the trigrams composing) Tâ *Kh*û we have (the attributes) of the greatest strength and of substantial solidity, which emit a brilliant light; and

indicate a daily renewal of his virtue (by the subject of it).

2. The strong line is in the highest place, and suggests the value set on talents and virtue; there is power (in the upper trigram) to keep the strongest in restraint: — all this shows 'the great correctness' (required in the hexagram).

3. 'The good fortune attached to the subject's not seeking to enjoy his revenues in his own family' shows how talents and virtue are nourished.

4. 'It will be advantageous to cross the great stream:' — (the fifth line, representing the ruler,) is responded to by (the second, the central line of *Kh*ien, representing) Heaven.

XXVII. 1. 'Î indicates that with firm correctness there will be good fortune:' — when the nourishing is correct, there will be good fortune. 'We must look at what we are seeking to nourish:' — we must look at those whom we wish to nourish. 'We must by the exercise of our thoughts seek the proper aliment:' — we must look to our own nourishing of ourselves.

2. Heaven and earth nourish all things. The sages nourish men of talents and virtue, by them to reach to the myriads of the people. Great is (the work intended by this) nourishing in its time!

XXVIII. 1. Tâ Kwo shows the great ones (= the undivided lines) in excess.

2. In 'the beam that is weak' we see weakness both in the lowest and the topmost (lines).

3. The strong lines are in excess, but (two of them) are in the central positions. The action (of the hexagram is represented by the symbols of) flexibility and satisfaction. (Hence it is said), 'There will be advantage in moving in any direction whatever; yea, there will be success.'

4. Great indeed is (the work to be done in) this very extraordinary time.

XXIX. 1. Khan repeated shows us one defile succeeding another.

2. This is the nature of water; — it flows on, without accumulating its volume (so as to overflow); it pursues its way through a dangerous defile, without losing its true (nature).

3. That 'the mind is penetrating' is indicated by the strong (line) in the centre. That 'action (in accordance with this) will be of high value' tells us that advance will be followed by achievement.

4. The dangerous (height) of heaven cannot be ascended; the difficult places of the earth are mountains,

rivers, hills, and mounds. Kings and princes arrange by means of such strengths, to maintain their territories. Great indeed is the use of (what is here) taught about seasons of peril.

XXX. Lî means being attached to. The sun and moon have their place in the sky. All the grains, grass, and trees have their place on the earth. The double

brightness (of the two trigrams) adheres to what is correct, and the result is the transforming and perfecting all under the sky.

2. The weak (second line) occupies the middle and correct position, and gives the indication of ‘a free and successful course;’ and, moreover, ‘nourishing (docility like that of) the cow’ will lead to good fortune.

FOOTNOTES

1 The name Thwan, and the meaning of the character so-called, are sufficiently established. The Thwan are king Wăn’s explanations of the entire hexagrams. It seems impossible now to ascertain how the character arose, and how it was named Thwan. The treatise on the Thwan is ascribed to Confucius; and I have considered in the Introduction, , whether the tradition to this effect may to any extent be admitted.

I The hexagram *Kh*ien is made up of six undivided lines, or of the trigram *Kh*ien, Fû-hsî’s symbol for heaven, repeated. The Thwan does not dwell upon this, but starts, in its exposition, from the word ‘heaven,’ supposing that the hexagram represented all the meaning which had ever been intended by that term. In paragraphs 1, 2, 4 the four attributes in Wăn’s Text (2 being occupied with the second, though it is not expressly named) are illustrated by the phenomena taking place in the physical world.

In paragraphs 3 and 5, the subject is the sage. He is not named indeed; and Khung Ying-tâ (A. D. 574-648) does not introduce him till paragraph 5, when the meaning necessitates the presence of a human agent, who rules in the world of men as heaven does in that of nature. The ‘connexion between the end and the beginning,’ which he sees, is that of cause and effect in the operations of nature and the course of human affairs. The various steps in that course are symbolised by the lines of the hexagram; and the ideal sage, conducting his ideal government, taking his measures accordingly, is represented as driving through the sky in a carriage drawn by six dragons. *K*û Hsî extravagantly says that ‘the sage is Heaven, and Heaven is the sage;’ but there is nothing like this in the text.

II As the writer in expounding the Thwan of hexagram 1 starts from the word ‘heaven,’ so here he does so from the symbolic meaning attached to ‘earth.’ What I have said on the Text about the difference with which the same attributes are ascribed to *Kh*ien and Khwăn, appears clearly in paragraph 1. It is the difference expressed by the words that I have supplied,— ‘power’ and ‘capacity.’ *Kh*ien originates; Khwăn produces, or gives birth to what has been originated.

The ‘penetrating,’ or developing ability of Khwăn, as displayed in the processes of growth, is the subject of paragraph 2. ‘The brightness’ refers to the beauty that shines forth in the vegetable and animal worlds.

Paragraph 3 treats of the symbol of the ‘mare,’ to lead the mind to the course of ‘the superior man,’ the good and faithful minister and servant.

See the note, corresponding to paragraph 4, on the Text. ‘Resting in firmness’ is the normal course of Khwăn. Where it is pursued, the good effect will be great, great as the unlimited capacity of the earth.

III *K*un is made up of the trigrams *K*ăn and Khan; but according to the views on king Wăn’s arrangement of the trigrams, as set forth especially in Appendix V, cha, the six others come from *Kh*ien and Khwăn, and are said to be their children. On the first application of Khwăn to *Kh*ien, there results *K*ăn, the first line of *Kh*ien taking the place of the last of Khwăn; and on the second application, there results Khan, the middle line of *Kh*ien taking the place of that of Khwăn. McClatchie renders here:— ‘The Thun (*K*un) diagram represents the hard and the soft (air) beginning to have sexual intercourse, and bringing forth with suffering!’ But there is nothing in the Yî, from the beginning to the end, to justify such an interpretation. Nor do I see how, from any account of the genesis by the component trigrams, the idea of the result as signifying a state of difficulty and distress can be readily made out.

In paragraph 2 there is an attempt from the virtues or attributes assigned to the trigrams to make out the result indicated in the Thwan. To move and excite is the quality of *K*ăn; perilousness is the quality of Khan. The power to move is likely to produce great effects; to do this in perilous and difficult circumstances requires firmness and correctness. But neither is this explanation very satisfactory.

The first part of paragraph 3 depicts a condition of trouble and disorder in the natural world occasioned by the phenomena that are symbols of the significance of *K*ăn and Khan; but this is symbolical again of the disorder and distress, political and social, characteristic of the time. Good princes throughout the nation would help to remedy that; but the supreme authority should not resign itself to indifference, trusting to them.

IV The trigram Kăn has for its symbol in the natural world a mountain, which stands up frowningly, and stops or arrests the progress of the traveller. Stoppage, understood sometimes actively, and sometimes passive]y, is called the virtue or attribute indicated by it. Khan, as I said on , has water for its symbol, and especially in the form of rain. Here, however, the water appears as a stream in a difficult defile, such as ordinarily appears on an approach to a mountain, and

suggesting perilousness as the attribute of such a position. From the combination of these symbols and their attributes the writer thinks that he gets the idea of the character (not the entire hexagram) Măng, as symbolical of ignorance and inexperience. See on 'the Great Symbolism' below.

Down to the last sentence of paragraph 2, all that is said is intended to show how it is that the figure indicates progress and success. The whole representation is grounded on the undivided line's being in the central place. It is the symbol of active effort for the teaching of the ignorant in the proper place and time; this being responded to by the divided fifth line, representing the ignorance to be taught as docile, 'will responds to will.' But the subject of line 2 requires sincerity in the applicant for instruction, and feels that he must make his own teaching acceptable, and agreeable. All this serves to bring out the idea of progress and success.

Then finally in the young and ignorant there is 'a correct nature,' a moral state made for goodness. The efficient teacher directing his efforts to bring out and nourish that, the progress and success will be 'great;' the service done will be worthy of 'a sage.'

V Hsü is composed of *Kh*ien, having the quality of strength, and of Khan, having the quality of perilousness. Thc strong one might readily dare the peril, but he restrains himself and waits. This is the lesson of the hexagram, — the benefit of action well considered, of plans well matured.

The fifth line, as we have observed more than once already, is the place of honour, that due to the ruler or king. It is here called 'the Heavenly or Heaven-given seat, 'the meaning of which expression is clear from its occurrence in the Shih, III, i, ode 2. 1. Five is an odd number, and the fifth is therefore the 'correct' place for an undivided line; it is also the central place of the trigram, indicating how its occupant is sure to walk in the due mean. See further the notes on the Text, .

VI Paragraph 1 here is much to the same effect as the first sentence in the notes on the Thwan of the Text. It is said, 'Strength without peril would not produce contention; peril without strength would not be able to contend.'

2. 'A strong line has come and got the central place:' — this sentence has given rise to a doctrine about the changes of trigrams and hexagrams, which has obscured more than anything else the interpretation of the Yî. Where has the strong second line come from? From a hundred critics we receive the answer,— 'From Tun ().' The reader will see that if the second and third lines of the lower trigram there be made to change places, there results or Sung. The

doctrine of changing the figures by the manipulation of the stalks did spring up between the time of Wăn and his son and that of the composition of the Appendixes; but there is no trace of it in the real Text of the Yî; and it renders any scheme for the interpretation of the figures impossible. The editors of the imperial Yî allow this, and on the present passage discard the doctrine entirely, referring to the language of the Thwan on hexagrams 11 and 12 as fatal to it. See the notes there, and the Introduction, p-16. 'A strong line has come' is to be taken as equivalent simply to a strong line is there.'

What 'the great man sets a value on being the due mean and the correct place,' his decision in any matter of contention is sure to be right.

VII That 'multitude' is given here as if it were the meaning of the name Sze arose, probably, from there being but one undivided line in the figure. That is the symbol of the general, all the other lines, divided, suggest the idea of a multitude obedient to his orders. The general's place in the centre of the lower trigram, with the proper correlate in line 5, suggests the idea of firmness and correctness that dominates in the hexagram. But in the last sentence it is the ruler, and not the general of the host, who is the subject. Compare what is said of him with Mencius, I, i, cha; ii, cha, &c.

'Perilousness' is the attribute of Khan, the lower trigram, and 'docility,' or 'accordance with others,' that of Khwăn, the upper. War is like 'poison' to a country, injurious, and threatening ruin to it, and yet the people will endure and encounter it in behalf of the sovereign whom they esteem and love.

VIII There is some error in the text here, — as all the critics acknowledge. I have adopted the decision of *K*û Hsî, which by a very small change makes the whole read consistently, and in harmony with other explanations of the Thwan. 'The inferiors' are the subjects of all the other lines gathering round their superior, represented in the fifth line.

'The way has been exhausted:' — they do not seek to promote and enjoy union till it is too late. The sentiment is the same as that in the lines of Shakespeare about the tide in the affairs of men.

IX The weak line' is said to occupy 'its proper position,' because it is in the fourth, — an even place. The 'responding' on the part of all the other lines above and below is their submitting to be restrained by it; and this arises simply from the meaning which king Wăn chose to attach to the hexagram.

But the restraint can only be small. The attributes of the two parts of the figure do not indicate anything else. The undivided line represents vigour and activity, and such a line is in the middle of each trigram. There cannot but be progress and success.

It is not easy to explain the symbolism of the last paragraph in harmony with the appended explanations. What *Kh*ăng-žze, Wang Făng, and other scholars say is to this effect: — Dense clouds ought to give rain. That they exist without doing so, shows the restraining influence of the hexagram to be still at work. But the other and active influence is, according to the general idea of the figure, continuing in operation; — there will be rain ere long. And this was taking place in the western regions subject to the House of *K*âu, which still was only a fief of Shang. It was not for the inferior House to rule the superior. *K*âu was for a time restrained by Shang. Let their positions be reversed by *K*âu superseding Shang, and the rain of beneficent government would descend on all the kingdom. This seems to be the meaning of the paragraph. This is the answer to the riddle of it. Confucius, in his treatise on the Thwan, hints at it, but no Chinese critic has the boldness to declare it fully.

X '(The symbol of) weakness' in paragraph 1, according to Wang Shăn-žze (Yüan dynasty), is line 3, urged by the two strong lines below, and having to encounter the three strong lines above. Hû Ping-wan (also of the Yüan dynasty) says that the whole of the lower trigram, Tui, partaking of the yin nature, is the symbol of weakness, and the whole of *Kh*ien that of strength. The *K*eh-*K*ung editors say that, to get the full meaning, we must hold both views.

Paragraph 2 has been sufficiently explained on the Thwan itself.

Paragraph 3 has also been explained; but there remains something to be said on the Chinese text for 'occupies the God-given position,' or, literally, 'treads on the seat of Tî.' Canon McClatchie has— 'The imperial throne is now occupied.' I think that 'the seat of Tî' is synonymous with 'the seat of Heaven,' in paragraph 2 of this treatise on hexagram 5. If Confucius, or whoever was the writer, had before him the phrase as it occurs in the Shû, I, 12, the force of Tî will depend on the meaning assigned to it in that part of the Shû. That the fifth line occupies the place of authority is here the only important point.

XI There is nothing to be said on the explanation of the Thwan here beyond what has been noticed on the different paragraphs of the Text. Canon McClatchie translates:— 'The Thwan means that Heaven and Earth have now conjugal intercourse with each other .... and the upper and lower (classes) unite together.' But in both clauses the Chinese characters are the same. Why did he not go on to say— 'the upper and lower classes have conjugal intercourse together;' or rather, why did he not dismiss, the idea of such intercourse from his mind altogether? Why make the Yî appear to be gross, when there is not the shadow of grossness in it? The paragraph here well illustrates how the ruling

idea in all the antinomies of the Yî is that of authority and strength on the one side, and of inferiority and weakness on the other.

XII All the symbolism here springs from the trigram Khwăn occupying in the figure the inner or lower place, and *Kh*ien the outer or upper. It is for the inner trigram to take the initiative; but how can earth (symbolised by Khwăn) take the place of heaven (symbolised by *Kh*ien)? As in nature it is heaven that originates and not earth, so in a state the upper classes must take the initiative, and not the lower.

XIII To understand the various points in this commentary, it is only necessary to refer to the Text of the hexagram. The proper correlate of line 2 is line 5, and I have said therefore that it 'responds to (the corresponding line in) *Kh*ien.' The editors of the Khang-hsî edition, however, would make the correlate to it all the lines of *Kh*ien, as being more agreeable to the idea of union.

I do not think that a second paragraph has been lost. The 'Thung *Z*ăn says' is merely a careless repetition of the three concluding characters of paragraph 1.

XIV The position in the fifth place indicates the dignity, and its being central, in the centre of the upper trigram, indicates the virtue, of the lord of the figure.

The strength of the lord, moreover, is directed by intelligence and his actions are always at the proper time, like the seasons of heaven.

XV The Thwan on this hexagram was so brief, that the writer here deals generally with the subject of humility, showing how it is valued by heaven and earth, by spirits and by men. The descent of the heavenly influences, and the low position of the earth in paragraph 1, are both emblematic of humility. The heavenly influences have their 'display' in the beauty and fertility of the earth.

The way of heaven is seen, *e.g.* in the daily declining of the sun, and the waning of the moon after it is full; the way of earth in the fall of the year. On the meaning of 'Spiritual Beings (Kwei Shăn),' see the Introduction, p, 35. It is difficult to say what idea the writer attached to the name. What he says of man's appreciation of humility is striking, and, I believe, correct.

XVI What is said in paragraph 1 about the lines has been pointed out in the notes on the Text. 'Obedience' is the attribute of Khwăn, the lower trigram, which takes the initiative in the action of the figure; and here makes use of the movement, which is the attribute of *K*ăn, the upper trigram.

I can hardly trace the connexion between the different parts of Paragraph 2. Does it not proceed on the harmony produced by the thunderous explosion between heaven and earth, as declared in Appendix II? Then the analogy between natural phenomena and human and social experiences comes into play.

Paragraph 3 is also tantalising. Why does the writer introduce the subject of punishments and penalties? Are they a consequence of putting the hosts in motion?

XVII The trigrams *K*ăn and Tui are distinguished as strong and weak, *K*ăn representing, on king Wăn's scheme, 'the eldest son,' and Tui, 'the youngest daughter.' But 'the strong' here may mean the strong line, the lowest in the hexagram. As Wang Žung-*kw*an (Sung dynasty) says:— 'The yang and strong line should not be below a yin and weak line, as we find it here. That is, in Sui the high places himself below the low, and the noble below the mean:' — esteeming others higher than himself, and giving the idea of following. Then *K*ân denotes the production or excitement of motion, and Tui denotes pleasure; and the union of these things suggests the same idea.

XVIII The symbolism here is the opposite of that in Sui. The upper trigram *K*ăn is strong, denoting, according to king Wăn, 'the youngest son;' and the lower, Sun, is weak, denoting 'the eldest daughter.' For the eldest daughter to be below the youngest son is eminently correct, and helps to indicate the auspice of great success. The attribute of Sun is pliancy, and that of *K*ăn stoppage or arrest. The feeble pliancy confronted by the arresting mountain gives an idea of the evil state implied in Kû.

'Three days before and after the turning-point' is, literally, three days before and after *k*iâ,' *k*iâ being the name of the first of the 'earthly stems' among the cyclical characters. Hence it has the meaning of 'beginning,' and here denotes the turning-point, at which disorder gives place to order. According to 'the procedure of Heaven,' history is a narrative of change, one condition of affairs constantly giving place to another and opposite. 'A kingdom that cannot be moved' does not enter into the circle of Chinese ideas.

XIX See what has been said on the fourth paragraph in p, 99 on the Text. The other paragraphs need no explanation beyond what appears in the supplemented translation.

XX 'The great Manifester' is the ruler, the principal subject of the hexagram, and represented by line 5, near the top of the figure. In that figure the lower trigram is *Kh*wăn, representing the earth, with the attribute of docility, and the upper is Sun, representing wind, with the attributes of flexibility and penetration. As is the place of line 5, so are the virtues of the ruler.

'The spirit-like way of Heaven' is the invisible and unfathomable agency ever operating by general laws, and with invariable regularity, in what we call nature. Compare with this paragraph, the definition of Shăn or Spirit in Appendix III, i, 32; and the doctrine of the agency of God, taught in Appendix VI, 8, 9.

XXI The ‘equal division of the strong and weak lines’ is seen by taking them in pairs, though the order in the first pair is different from that in the two others. This is supposed to indicate the intelligence of the judgments in the action of the hexagram. *K*ăn, the lower trigram, symbolises movement; Lî, the upper, intelligence. The fifth line’s acting in its high position does not intimate the formation of the figure from Yî, the 42nd hexagram, but calls attention to the fact that a weak line is here ‘lord of judgment.’ This does not seem natural, but the effect is good; — judgment is tempered by leniency.

XXII The first paragraph is either superfluous or incomplete.

The language of paragraph 2 has naturally been pressed into the service of the doctrine of changing the figures by divining manipulation; see , on paragraph 2 of the Thwan of hexagram 6. But as the Khang-hsî editors point out, ‘the weak line coming and ornamenting the two strong ones’ simply indicates how substantiality should have the help of ornament, and ‘the strong line above (or ascending) and ornamenting the two weak lines’ indicates that ornament should be restrained by substantiality. Ornament has its use, but it must be kept in check. — The closing sentence has no connexion with what precedes. Some characters are wanting, to show how the writer passes on to speak of ‘the ornamental figures of the sky.’ The whole should then be joined on to paragraph 3. The ‘figures of the sky’ are all the heavenly bodies in their relative positions and various movements, producing day and night, heat and cold, &c. The observances of society are the ceremonies and performances which regulate and beautify the intercourse of men, and constitute the transforming lessons of sagely wisdom.

XXIII ‘The symbolic figures in the hexagram’ are Khwăn, below, the representative of docility, acting as circumstances require; and Kăn, the representative of a mountain, which arrests the progress of the traveller. The superior man of the topmost line thus interprets them, and acts accordingly. Yet he is not left without hope. Winter is followed by spring; night is succeeded by day; the moon wanes, and then begins to wax again. So will it be in political life. As we read in the Hebrew prophet Isaiah, ‘In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.’

XXIV ‘The movement of the heavenly revolution’ in paragraph 3 has reference to the regular alternations of darkness and light, and of cold and heat, as seen in the different months of the year. Hâu Hsing-kwo (of the Thang dynasty) refers to the expressions in the Shih, I, xv, ode 1, ‘the days of (our) first (month), second (month),’ &c., as illustrating the use of day for month, as we have it here; but that is to explain what is obscure by what is more so; though I

believe, as stated on the Text, that seven days' is here equivalent to 'seven months.'

'The mind of heaven and earth' is the love of life and of all goodness that rules in the course of nature and providence.

XXV The advocates of one trigram's changing into another, which ought not to be admitted, we have seen, into the interpretation of the Yî, make Wû Wang to be derived from Sung (No. 6), the second line there being manipulated into the first of this; but this representation is contrary to the words of the text, which make the strong first line come from the outer trigram, *i.e.* from *Kh*ien. And so it does, as related, not very intelligibly, in Appendix V, 10, *K*ăn, the lower trigram here, being the eldest son,' resulting from the first application of Khwăn to *Kh*ien. The three peculiarities in the structure of the figure afford the auspice of progress and success; and very striking is the brief and emphatic declaration, that such progress is 'the appointment of Heaven.'

XXVI In paragraph 1, Tâ *Kh*û evidently means the 'grand accumulation' of virtue, indicated by the attributes of its component trigrams. 'Substantial solidity' may very well be given as the attribute of mountains.

'The strong line in the highest place' of paragraph 2 is line 6, whose subject is thus above the ruler represented by 5, and has the open firmament for his range in doing his work. This, and his ability to repress the strongest opposition, show how he is supported by all that is correct and right.

In a kingdom where the object of the government is the accumulation of virtue, good and able men will not be left in obscurity.

What will not a high and good purpose, supported by the greatest strength, be able to do?

XXVII Many of the critics, in illustration of paragraph 1, refer appropriately to Mencius, VI, i, cha.

In illustration of paragraph 2 they refer to the times and court of Yâo and Shun, sage rulers, from whose cherishing and nourishing came Yü to assuage the waters of the deluge, Žî to teach the people agriculture, Hsieh as minister of instruction, Kâo Yâo as minister of crime, and others; — all to do the work of nourishing the people.

XXVIII Paragraph 3. In the Great Symbolism 'wood' appears as the natural object symbolised by Sun, and not 'wind,' which we find more commonly. The attribute of 'flexibility,' however, is the quality of Sun, whether used of wind or of wood.

Paragraph 4. Such a time, it is said, was that of Yâo and Shun, of Thang the Successful, and of king Wû. What these heroes did, however, was all called for

by the exigency of their times, and not by whim or principle of their own, which they wished to make prominent.

XXIX On paragraph 2 Liang Yin says:— 'Water stops at the proper time, and moves at the proper time. Is not this an emblem of the course of the superior man in dealing with danger?'

On paragraph 4 the Khang-hsî editors say that to exercise one's self in meeting difficulty and peril is the way to establish and strengthen the character, and that the use of such experience is seen in all measures for self-defence, there being no helmet and mail like leal-heartedness and good faith, and no shield and tower like propriety and righteousness.

XXX 'The double brightness' in paragraph 1 has been much discussed. Some say that it means 'the ruler,' becoming brighter and brighter. Others say that it means both the ruler and his ministers, combining their brightness. The former view seems to me the better. The analogy between the natural objects and a transforming and perfecting rule is far fetched.

The central and correct position' in paragraph 2 can be said only of the second line, and not of the fifth, where an undivided line would be more correct. The 'and moreover' of the translation is 'therefore' in the original; but I cannot make out the force and suitability of that conjunction.

SECTION II

XXXI. 1. Hsien is here used in the sense of Kan, meaning (mutually) influencing.

2. The weak (trigram) above, and the strong one below; their two influences moving and responding to each other, and thereby forming a union; the repression (of the one) and the satisfaction (of the other); (with their relative position), where the male is placed below the female: — all these things convey the notion of 'a free and successful course (on the fulfilment of the conditions), while the advantage will depend on being firm and correct, as in marrying a young lady, and there will be good fortune.'

3. Heaven and earth exert their influences, and there ensue the transformation and production of all things. The sages influence the minds of men, and the result is harmony and peace all under the sky. If we look at (the method and issues) of those influences, the true character of heaven and earth and of all things can be seen.

XXXII. 1. Hăng denotes long continuance. The strong (trigram) is above, and the weak one below; (they are the symbols of) thunder and wind,

which are in mutual communication; (they have the qualities of) docility and motive force; their strong and weak (lines) all respond, each to the other: — these things are all found in Hăng.

2. (When it is said that) 'Hăng indicates successful progress and no error (in what it denotes); but the advantage will come from being firm and correct,' this indicates that there must be long continuance in its way of operation. The way of heaven and earth is to be long continued in their operation without stopping.

3. (When it is said that) 'Movement in any direction whatever will be advantageous,' this implies that when (the moving power) is spent, it will begin again.

4. The sun and moon, realising in themselves (the course of Heaven), can perpetuate their shining. The four seasons, by their changing and transforming, can perpetuate their production (of things). The sages persevere long in their course, and all under the sky are transformed and perfect. When we look at what they continue doing long, the natural tendencies of heaven, earth, and all things can be seen.

XXXIII. 1. 'Thun indicates successful progress:' — that is, in the very retiring which Thun denotes there is such progress. The strong (line) is in the ruling place, (the fifth), and is properly responded to (by the second line). The action takes place according to (the requirement of) the time.

2. ‘To a small extent it will (still) be advantageous to be firm and correct:’ — (the small men) are gradually encroaching and advancing.

3. Great indeed is the significance of (what is required to be done in) the time that necessitates retiring.

XXXIV. 1. In Tâ *K*wang we see that which is great becoming strong. We have the (trigram) denoting strength directing that which denotes movement, and hence (the whole) is expressive of vigour.

2. ‘Tâ *K*wang indicates that it will be advantageous to be firm and correct:’ — that which is great (should be) correct. Given correctness and greatness (in their highest degree), and the character and tendencies of heaven and earth can be seen.

XXXV. 1. Žin denotes advancing.

2. (In Žin we have) the bright (sun) appearing above the earth; (the symbol of) docile submission cleaving to that of the Great brightness; and the weak line advanced and moving above: — all these things give us the idea of ‘a prince who secures the tranquillity (of the people), presented on that account with numerous horses (by the king), and three times in a day received at interviews.’

XXXVI. 1. (The symbol of) the Earth and that of Brightness entering into the midst of it give the idea of Ming Î (Brightness wounded or obscured).

2. The inner (trigram) denotes being accomplished and bright; the outer, being pliant and submissive. The case of king Wăn was that of one who with these qualities was yet involved in great difficulties.

3. ‘It will be advantageous to realise the difficulty (of the position), and maintain firm correctness: — that is, (the individual concerned) should obscure his brightness. The case of the count of *K*î was that of one who, amidst the difficulties of his House, was able (thus) to maintain his aim and mind correct.

XXXVII. I. In *K*iâ *Z*ăn the wife has her correct place in the inner (trigram), and the man his correct place in the outer. That man and woman occupy their correct places is the great righteousness shown (in the relation and positions of) heaven and earth.

2. In *K*iâ *Z*ăn we have the idea of an authoritative ruler; — that, namely, represented by the parental authority.

3. Let the father be indeed father, and the son son; let the elder brother be indeed elder brother, and the younger brother younger brother, let the husband be indeed husband, and the wife wife: — then will the family be in its normal state. Bring the family to that state, and all under heaven will be established.

XXXVIII. 1. In Khwei we have (the symbol of) Fire, which, when moved, tends upwards, and that of a Marsh, whose waters, when moved, tend

downwards. We have (also the symbols of) two sisters living together, but whose wills do not move in the same direction.

2. (We see how the inner trigram expressive of) harmonious satisfaction is attached to (the outer expressive of) bright intelligence; (we see) the weak line advanced and acting above, and how it occupies the central place, and is responded to by the strong (line below). These indications show that 'in small matters there will (still) be good fortune.'

3. Heaven and earth are separate and apart, but the work which they do is the same. Male and female are separate and apart, but with a common will they seek the same object. There is diversity between the myriad classes of beings, but there is an analogy between their several operations. Great indeed are the phenomena and the results of this condition of disunion and separation.

XXXIX. 1. *K*ien denotes difficulty. There is (the trigram expressive of) perilousness in front. When one, seeing the peril, can arrest his steps (in accordance with the significance of the lower trigram), is he not wise?

2. (The language of) *K*ien, that 'advantage will be found in the south-west,' refers to the (strong fifth line) advanced and in the central place. That 'there will be no advantage in the north-east,' intimates that the way (of dealing with the *K*ien state) is exhausted. That 'it will be advantageous to see the great man,' intimates that advance will lead to achievement. That the places (of the different lines after the first) are those appropriate to them indicates firm correctness and good fortune, with which the regions (of the kingdom) are brought to their normal state. Great indeed is the work to be done in the time of *K*ien!

XL. 1. In *K*ieh we have (the trigram expressive of) peril going on to that expressive of movement. By movement there is an escape from the peril: — (this is the meaning of) *K*ieh.

2. 'In (the state indicated by) *K*ieh, advantage will be found in the south-west:' — the movement (thus) intimated will win all. That 'there will be good fortune in coming back (to the old conditions)' shows that such action is that of the due medium. That 'if some operations be necessary, there will be good fortune in the early conducting of them' shows that such operations will be successful.

3. When heaven and earth are freed (from the grasp of winter), we have thunder and rain. When these come, the buds of the plants and trees that produce the various fruits begin to burst. Great indeed are the phenomena in the time intimated by *K*ieh.

XLI. 1. In Sun (we see) the lower (trigram) diminished, and the upper added to. (But) the method (of action) implied in this operates also above (or, mounts

upwards (also) and operates).

2. ‘If there be sincerity in this method of diminution, there will be great good fortune; freedom from error; firmness and correctness that can be maintained; and advantage in every movement that shall be made. In what shall this (sincerity in the exercise of Sun) be employed? (Even) in sacrifice, two baskets of grain, (though there be nothing else), may be presented:’ — for these two baskets there ought to be the fitting time. There is a time when the strong should be diminished, and the weak should be strengthened. Diminution and increase, overflowing and emptiness: -these take place in harmony with the conditions of the time.

XLII. 1. In Yî we see the upper (trigram) diminished, and the lower added to. The satisfaction of the people (in consequence of this) is without limit. What descends from above reaches to all below, so great and brilliant is the course (of its operation).

2. That ‘there will be advantage in every movement which shall be undertaken’ appears from the central and correct (positions of the second and fifth lines), and the (general) blessing (the dispensing of which they imply).

That ‘it will be advantageous (even) to cross the great stream’ appears from the action of wood (shown in the figure).

3. Yî is made up of (the trigrams expressive of) movement and docility, (through which) there is daily advancement to an unlimited extent. We have (also) in it heaven dispensing and earth producing, leading to an increase without restriction of place. Everything in the method of this increase proceeds according to the requirements of the time.

the first lines in each changing places. It was the author of this Appendix, probably, who first introduced that absurd notion in connexion with the formation of Sun and Yî.

One rhyme runs through and connects these three paragraphs thus: —

‘Yî spoils the high, gives to the low;
The people feel intense delight.
Down from above to all below,
The blessing goes, so large and bright.
Success will every movement mark,
Central its source, its course aright.
The great stream even may be crossed,
When planks of wood their strength unite.
Yî movement shows and docile feet,
Which progress day by day invite.

Heaven gives; productive earth responds;
Increase crowns every vale and height;
And ceaselessly it hastens on,
Each season's gifts quick to requite.'

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XLIII. 1. Kwâi is the symbol of displacing or removing. We see (in the figure) the strong (lines) displacing the weak. (We have in it the attributes of) strength and complacency. There is displacement, but harmony (continues).

2. 'The exhibition (of the criminal's guilt) in the royal courtyard' is suggested by the (one) weak (line) mounted on the five strong lines.

There 'is an earnest and sincere appeal (for sympathy and support), and a consciousness of the peril (involved in the undertaking):' — it is the realisation of this danger, which makes the method (of compassing the object) brilliant.

'He should make an announcement in his own city, and show that it will not be well to have recourse at once to arms:' — (if he have recourse to arms), what he prefers will (soon) be exhausted.

'There will be advantage in whatever he shall go forward to:' — when the growth of the strong (lines) has been completed, there will be an end (of the displacement).

XLIV. 1. Kâu has the significance of unexpectedly coming on. (We see in it) the weak (line) coming unexpectedly on the strong ones.

2. 'It will not be good to marry (such) a female:' — one (so symbolised) should not be long associated with.

3. Heaven and earth meeting together (as here represented), all the variety of natural things become fully displayed.

4. When a strong (line) finds itself in the central and correct position, (good government) will greatly prevail all under the sky.

5. Great indeed is the significance of what has to be done at the time indicated by Kâu!

XLV. 1. Žhui indicates (the condition of union, or) being collected. We have in it (the symbol of) docile obedience going on to (what is expressed by that of) satisfaction. There is the strong line in the central place, and rightly responded to. Hence comes the (idea of) union.

2. 'The king will repair to his ancestral temple:' —

with the utmost filial piety he presents his offerings (to the spirits of his ancestors).

‘It will be advantageous to meet the great man, and there will then be prosperity and success:’ — the union effected by him will be on and through what is correct.

‘The, use of great victims will conduce to good fortune; and in whatsoever direction movement is made, it will be advantageous:’ — all is done in accordance with the ordinances of Heaven.

3. When we look at the way in which the gatherings (here shown) take place, the natural tendencies (in the outward action) of heaven and earth and of all things can be seen..

XLVI. 1. (We find) the weak (line), as it finds the opportunity, ascending upwards.

2. We have (the attribute) of flexibility and that of obedience; we have the strong line (below) and its proper correlate above: — these things indicate that there will be ‘great progress and success.’

3. ‘Seeking (by the qualities implied in Shăng) to meet with the great man, its subject need have no anxiety:’ — there will be ground for congratulation.

‘Advance to the south will be fortunate:’ — his aim will be carried out.

XLVII. 1. In Khwăn (we see) the strong (lines) covered and obscured (by the weak).

2. We have in it (the attribute of) perilousness going on to that of satisfaction. Who is it but the superior man that, though straitened, still does not fail in making progress to his proper end?

‘For the firm and correct, the (really) great man, there will be good fortune:’ — this is shown by the central positions of the strong (lines).

‘If he make speeches, his words cannot be made good:’ — to be fond of arguing or pleading is the way to be reduced to extremity.

XLVIII. 1. (We have the symbol of) wood in the water and the raising of the water; which (gives us the idea of) a well. A well supplies nourishment and is not (itself) exhausted.

2. ‘The site of a town may be changed, while the fashion of its wells undergoes no change:’ — this is indicated by the central position of the strong lines (in the second and fifth places).

‘The drawing is nearly accomplished, but the rope has not yet reached the water of the well:’ — its service has not yet been accomplished.

‘The bucket is broken:’ — it is this that occasions evil.

XLIX. 1. In Ko (we see) water and fire extinguishing each other; (we see also) two daughters dwelling together, but with their minds directed to different objects: — (on account of these things) it is called (the hexagram of) Change.

2. 'It is believed in (only) after it has been accomplished:' — when the change has been made, faith is accorded to it.

(We have) cultivated intelligence (as the basis of) pleased satisfaction, (suggesting) 'great progress and success,' coming from what is correct.

When change thus takes place in the proper way, 'occasion for repentance disappears.'

3. Heaven and earth undergo their changes, and the four seasons complete their functions. Thang changed the appointment (of the line of Hsiâ to the throne), and Wû (that of the line of Shang), in accordance with (the will of) Heaven, and in response to (the wishes of) men. Great indeed is what takes place in a time of change.

L. 1. In Ting we have (symbolically) the figure of a caldron. (We see) the (symbol of) wood entering into that of fire, which suggests the idea of cooking.

The sages cooked their offerings in order to present them to God, and made great feasts to nourish their wise and able (ministers).

2. We have the symbol of) flexible obedience, and that (which denotes) ears quick of hearing and eyes clear-sighted. (We have also) the weak (line) advanced and acting above, in the central place, and responded to by the strong (line below). All these things give the idea of 'great progress and success.'

LI. 1. *K*ăn (gives the intimation of) ease and development.

2. 'When the (time of) movement (which it indicates) comes, (its subject) will be found looking out with apprehension:' — that feeling of dread leads to happiness. 'And yet smiling and talking cheerfully:' — the issue (of his dread) is that he adopts (proper) laws (for his course).

'The movement (like a crash of thunder) terrifies all within a hundred lî:' — it startles the distant and frightens the near.

'He will be like the sincere worshipper, who is not startled into letting go his ladle and cup of sacrificial spirits:' — he makes his appearance, and maintains his ancestral temple and the altars of the spirits of the land and grain, as presiding at all sacrifices.

LII. 1. *K*ăn denotes stopping or resting; — resting when it is the time to rest, and acting when it is the time to act. When one's movements and restings all take place at the proper time for them, his way (of proceeding) is brilliant and intelligent.

2. Resting in one's resting-point is resting in one's proper place. The upper and lower (lines of the hexagram) exactly correspond to each other, but are without any interaction; hence it is said that '(the subject of the hexagram) has no consciousness of self; that when he walks in his courtyard, he does not see (any of) the persons in it; and that there will be no error.'

LIII. 1. The advance indicated by *K*ien is (like) the marrying of a young lady which is attended by good fortune.

2. (The lines) as they advance get into their correct places: — this indicates the achievements of a successful progress.

The advance is made according to correctness: — (the subject of the hexagram) might rectify his country.

3. Among the places (of the hexagram) we see the strong undivided line in the centre.

4. 'In (the attributes of) restfulness and flexible penetration we have (the assurance of) an (onward) movement that is inexhaustible.

LIV. 1. By Kwei Mei (the marrying away of a younger sister) the great and righteous relation between heaven and earth (is suggested to us). If heaven and earth were to have no intercommunication, things would not grow and flourish as they do. The marriage of a younger sister is the end (of her maidenhood) and the beginning (of her motherhood).

2. We have (in the hexagram the desire of)

pleasure and, on the ground of that, movement following. The marrying away is of a younger sister.

3. 'Any action will be evil:' — the places (of the lines) are not those appropriate to them.

'It will be in no wise advantageous:' — the weak (third and fifth lines) are mounted on strong lines.

LV. 1. Făng has the signification of being great. It is made up of the trigrams (representing)

intelligence and movement directed by that intelligence. It is thus that it has that signification.

2. 'The king has reached the condition (denoted by Făng):' — he has still to make it greater.

'There is no occasion to be anxious. Let him be as the sun at noon:' — it is for him to cause his light to shine on all under the sky.

3. When the sun has reached the meridian height, it begins to decline. When the moon has become full, it begins to wane. The (interaction of) heaven and earth is now vigorous and abundant, now dull and scanty, growing and diminishing according to the seasons. How much more must it be so with (the operations of) men! How much more also with the spiritual agency!

LVI. 1. 'Lü indicates that there may be some small attainment and progress:' — the weak (line) occupies the central place in the outer (trigram), and is obedient to the strong (lines on either side of it). (We have also the attributes of quiet) resting closely attached to intelligence (in the component trigrams). Hence

it is said, ‘There may be some small attainment and progress. If the stranger or traveller be firm and correct as he ought to be, there will be good fortune.’

2. Great is the time and great is the right course to be taken as intimated in Lü!

LVII. 1. The double Sun shows how, in accordance with it, (governmental) orders are reiterated.

2. (We see that) the strong (fifth line) has penetrated into the central and correct place, and the will (of its subject) is being carried into effect; (we see also) the weak (first and fourth lines) both obedient to the strong lines (above them). It is hence said, ‘There will be some little attainment and progress. There will be advantage in movement onward in whatever direction. It will be advantageous also to see the great man.’

LVIII. 1. Tui has the meaning of pleased satisfaction.

2. (We have) the strong (lines) in the centre, and the weak (lines) on the outer edge (of the two trigrams), (indicating that) in pleasure what is most advantageous is the maintenance of firm correctness. Through this there will be found an accordance with (the will of) heaven, and a correspondence with (the feelings of) men. When (such) pleasure goes before the people, (and leads them on), they forget their toils; when it animates them in encountering difficulties, they forget (the risk of) death. How great is (the power of) this pleased satisfaction, stimulating in such a way the people!

LIX. 1. ‘Hwan intimates that there will be progress and success:’ — (we see) the strong line (in the second place) of the lower trigram, and not suffering any extinction there; and (also) the weak line occupying its place in the outer trigram, and uniting (its action) with that of the line above.

2. ‘The king goes to his ancestral temple:’ — the king’s (mind) is without any deflection.

3. ‘It will be advantageous to cross the great stream:’ — (the subject of the hexagram) rides in

(a vessel of) wood (over water), and will do so with success.

LX. 1. ‘*K*ieh intimates progress and attainment:’ — the strong and weak (lines) are equally divided, and the strong lines occupy the central places.

2. ‘If the regulations (which *K*ieh prescribes) be severe and difficult, they cannot be permanent:’ — its course (of action) will in that case come to an end.

3. (We have the feeling of) pleasure and satisfaction directing the course amidst peril. (We have) all regulations controlled (by authority) in its proper place. (We have) free action proceeding from the central and correct position.

4. Heaven and earth observe their regular terms, and we have the four seasons complete. (If rulers) frame their measures according to (the due) regulations, the

resources (of the state) suffer no injury, and the people receive no hurt.

LXI. 1. In *K*ung Fû we have the (two) weak lines in the innermost part (of the figure), and strong lines occupying the central places (in the trigrams). (We have the attributes) of pleased satisfaction and flexible penetration. Sincerity (thus symbolled) will transform a country.

2. 'Pigs and fish (are moved), and there will be good fortune:' — sincerity reaches to (and affects even) pigs and fishes.

'There will be advantage in crossing the great stream:' — (we see in the figure) one riding on (the emblem of) wood, which forms an empty boat.

3. In (the exercise of the virtue denoted by) *K*ung Fû, (it is said that) 'there will be advantage in being firm and correct:' — in that virtue indeed we have the response (of man) to Heaven.

LXII. 1. In Hsiâo Kwo (we see) the small (lines) exceeding the others, and (giving the intimation of) progress and attainment.

2. Such 'exceeding, in order to its being advantageous, must be associated with firmness and correctness:' — that is, it must take place (only) according to (the requirements of) the time.

3. The weak (lines) are in the central places, and hence (it is said that what the name denotes) may be done in small affairs, and there will be good fortune.

4. Of the strong (lines one) is not in its proper place, and (the other) is not central, hence it is said that (what the name denotes) 'should not be done in great affairs.'

5. (In the hexagram) we have 'the symbol of a bird on the wing, and of the notes that come down from such a bird, for which it is better to descend than to ascend, thereby leading to great good fortune:' — to ascend is contrary to what is reasonable in the case, while to descend is natural and right.

LXIII. 1. '*K*î Žî intimates progress and success:' — in small matters, that is, there will be that progress and success.

2. 'There will be advantage in being firm and correct:' — the strong and weak (lines) are correctly arranged, each in its appropriate place.

3. 'There has been good fortune in the beginning: — the weak (second line) is in the centre.

4. 'In the end' there is a cessation (of effort), and 'disorder arises:' — the course (that led to rule and order) is (now) exhausted.

LXIV. 1. 'Wei Žî intimates progress and success (in the circumstances which it implies):' — the weak (fifth) line is in the centre.

2. 'The young fox has nearly crossed the stream:' — but he has not yet escaped from the midst (of the danger and calamity).

'Its tail gets immersed. There will be no advantage in any way:' — there is

not at the end a continuance (of the purpose) at the beginning. Although the places (of the different lines) are not those appropriate to them, yet a strong (line) and a weak (line always) respond to each other.

FOOTNOTES

XXXI Paragraph 2. Tui, the upper trigram, is weak and yin; and Kăn, the lower, is strong and yang; see Appendixes III, ii, 4, and V, 10. Kăn is below Tui; whereas the subject of the lower trigram should always take the initiative in these figures.

XXXII All the conditions in paragraph 1 must be understood as leading to the indication of progress and success, which is explained in paragraph 2, and illustrated by the analogy of the course of heaven and earth.

'Movement in any direction,' as explained in paragraph 3, indicates the ever-occurring new modes and spheres of activity, to which he who is firm and correct is called.

Paragraph 4, and especially its concluding sentence, are of a meditative and reflective character not uncommon in the treatise on the Thwan.

XXXIII 'The superior man,' it is said, 'advances or withdraws according to the character of the time. The strength and correct position of the fifth line show that he is able to maintain himself; and as it is responded to by the weak second line, no opposition to what is correct in him would come from any others. He might therefore keep his place; but looking at the two weak lines, 1 and 2, he recognises in them the advance and irrepressible progress of small men, and that for a time it is better for him to give way and withdraw from the field. Thus there is successful progress even in his retiring.'

XXXIV Paragraph 1. 'That which is great' denotes, in the first place, the group of four strong lines which strikes us on looking at the figure, and then the superior man, or the strong men in positions of power, of whom these are the representatives. *Kh*ien is the trigram of strength, and *K*ăn that of movement.

Paragraph 2. That which is great (should be) correct: — that the 'should be' must be supplied in the translation appears from this, that the paragraph is intended to illustrate the text that 'it will be advantageous to be firm and correct.' The power of man becomes then a reflexion of the great power which we see working in nature, 'impartially,' 'unselfishly.'

XXXV To those who advocate the view that the hexagrams of the Yî have been formed by changes of the lines in manipulating with the divining stalks, the words of paragraph 2, that we have in the figure 'the weak line advanced and

moving above,' suggest the derivation of Žin from Kwan, whose 4th and 5th lines are made to change places ( ). But we have seen that that view is inadmissible in the interpretation of the Yî. And a simple explanation of the language at once presents itself. As Hsiang An-shih (Sung dynasty) says, 'Of the three "daughter" trigrams it is only Lî which has its divided line occupying the central place of honour, when it is the upper trigram in a hexagram.'

XXXVI The sun disappearing, as we say, 'below the earth,' or, as the Chinese writer conceives it, I into the midst of, or within the earth,' sufficiently indicates the obscuration or wounding of brightness, — the repression and resistance of the good and bright.

King Wăn was not of the line of Shang. Though opposed and persecuted by its sovereign, he could pursue his own course, till his line came in the end to supersede the other. It could not be so with the count of *K*î, who was a member of the House of Shang. He could do nothing that would help on its downfall.

XXXVII Paragraph 1 first explains the statement of the Thwan, about the wife, represented by line 2; and then proceeds to the husband, represented by line 5. The two trigrams become representative of the family circle, and the wide world without it. In the reference to heaven and earth it is not supposed that they are really husband and wife; but in their relation and positions they symbolise that social relation and the individuals in it.

Paragraph 2, more closely rendered, would be— 'That in *K*îa *Z*ăn there is an authoritative ruler is a way of naming father and mother.' Does the writer mean to say that while the assertion of authority was indispensable in a family, that authority must have combined in it both force and gentleness?

XXXVIII In paragraph 1 we have first an explanation of the meaning of Khwei from the symbolism of Fû-hsî. Then follows an explanation from that ascribed to king Wăn, where Tui represents the youngest daughter and Lî the second. The Khang-hsî editors observe that in many hexagrams we have two daughters dwelling together, but that only in this and 49 is attention called to it. The reason, they say, is that in those two diagrams the sisters are the second and third daughters, while in the others one of them is the eldest, whose place and superiority are fixed, so that between her and either of the others there can be no division or collision.

About what is said, in paragraph 2, on the weak line, as advanced and acting above, see the note on hexagram 35.

The lesson of paragraph 3 is not unity in diversity, but union with diversity.

XXXIX The upper or front trigram is Khân, the attribute of which is perilousness; the lower is Kăn, of which the arresting, actively or passively, of movement or advance is the attribute. We can understand how the union of these attributes gives the ideas of difficulty and prudent caution.

The explanations in paragraph 2 of the phraseology of the Thwan are not all easily followed. It is said that the advantageousness of the south-west is due to the central line in 5; but if we are to look for the meaning of south-west in Khwăn, as in the diagram of king Wăn's trigrams, there is no strong central line in it. May Khân, as a yang trigram, be used for Khwăn?

XL 1. The meaning of the hexagram is brought out sufficiently well in paragraph 1 by means of the attributes of the constituent trigrams.

2. How it is that the movement indicated in the first condition will, win' all does not immediately appear. The Khang-hsî editors say that 'moving to the south and west' is the same as 'returning back to the old conditions,' and that 'winning all' and acting 'according to the due medium' are descriptive of the effect and method without reference to the symbolism. Another explanation might be devised; but I prefer to leave the matter in doubt.

3. Paragraph 3 shows the analogy of what takes place in nature to the beneficent social and political changes described in the text, as is done very frequently in this Appendix.

XLI 1. All that we see is two undivided lines in the lower trigram, and then a divided one, and exactly the opposite in the upper. But the whole figure could not but have this form from the process of its formation, whether by the gradual addition of the two primitive lines, or by the imposition of the whole trigrams on one another. To say that the upper lines of *Kh*ien and Khwăn changed places to express the idea of subjects contributing in taxes to the maintenance of their ruler is absurd; and if that thought were in the mind of king Wăn (which I very much doubt), it would only show how he projected his own idea, formed independently of the figure, into its lines.

On the second sentence, the Khang-hsî editors say:— 'When a minister devotes his life in the service of his lord, or the people undertake their various labours in behalf of their government, these are instances of the ministering of those below to increase those above. But in this way the intercourse of the two becomes close and their aims become the same; — does not the method of action of those below communicate itself to those above?'

In paragraph 2 the subject of contribution, such as the payment of taxes, passes into the background. The Khang-hsî editors say: 'What is meant by diminishing in this hexagram is the regulation of expenditure or contribution according to the time. This would vary in a family according to its poverty or

wealth; and in a state according to the abundance or scantiness of its resources. When it is said that there must be sincerity along with a diminution, it means that though such a diminution cannot be helped, yet what is given should be given sincerely. A small sacrifice sincerely offered is accepted. In the language, “There is a time when the strong should be diminished and the weak be strengthened,” we are not to find the two baskets in the diminution of the strong. “The strong” is what is essential, — in this case sincerity; “The weak” is what is unimportant, — the amount and manner of the offering. If one supplement the insufficiency of his offering with the abundance of his sincerity, the insignificance of his two baskets will not be despised.’

XLII 1. The process of the formation of the trigrams here is the reverse of that in the preceding hexagram; and is open to the remarks I have made on that. Of course the people are full of complacency and pleasure in the labours of their ruler for their good.

2. The mention of ‘the action of wood’ has reference to the upper trigram Sun, which is the symbol both of wind and wood. From wood boats and ships are made, on which the great stream may be crossed. In three hexagrams, this, 59, and 61, of which Sun is a part, we find mention made of crossing the great stream. It is generally said that the lower trigram *K*ăn also symbolises wood; but that is obtained by a roundabout process. *K*ăn occupies the place of the east in Wan’s arrangement of the trigrams; but the east symbolises spring, when the growth of vegetation begins; and therefore *K*ăn may symbolise wood! It was stated on , that the doctrine of ‘the five elements’ does not appear in the Yî.

*Kh*ăng-žze takes wood (mû), ‘as a misprint for increase (yî).’

3. The words ‘heaven dispensing and earth producing’ are based on the fancied genesis of the figure from *Kh*ien and Khwăn (img hex111000

XLIII 1. The last clause of paragraph 1 is good in itself, showing that the strong and worthy statesman in removing a bad man from the state is not actuated by arty private feelings. The sentiment, however, as it is expressed, can hardly be said to follow from the symbolism.

Paragraph 2. The same may be said of all the notes appended to the different clauses of this second paragraph. Hû Ping-wăn (Yüan dynasty) says:— ‘If but a single small man be left, he is sufficient to make the superior man anxious; if but a single inordinate desire be left in the mind, that is sufficient to disturb the harmony of heavenly principles. The eradication in both oases must be complete, before the labour is ended.’

XLIV On paragraph 1 the Khang-hsî editors say:—'"The weak line meets with (or comes unexpectedly on) the strong ones;" — the weak line, that is, plays the principal part. The case is like that of the minister who assumes the power of deciding for himself on all measures, or of a hen's announcing the morning; — is not the name of (shameless) boldness rightly applied to it? Hence nothing more is said about the symbol of the bold female; but attention is called to the second part of the Thwan.'

Paragraph 2 needs no remark. Paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 all speak of the importance of powers and parties meeting together, — in the world of nature, and in the sphere of human affairs. But I do not see how this sentiment is a natural sequel to that in i and 2, nor that it has any connexion with the teaching of the Thwan and Symbolism.

XLV The lower trigram in Žhui is Khwăn, whose attribute is docile obedience; and the upper is Tui, whose attribute is pleased satisfaction. Then we have the strong line in 5, and its proper correlate in 2. These things may give the idea of union. They might also give the idea of other good things.

The Khang-hsî editors say that though all is done in accordance with the ordinances of Heaven' follows the concluding clauses of the Thwan, yet the sentiment of the words must be extended to the other clauses as well. *Kh*ăng-žze says that 'the ordinances of Heaven' are simply the natural and practical outcome of 'heavenly principle;' — in this case what should and may be done according to the conditions and requirements of the time. So do the critics of China try to shirk the idea of personality in 'Heaven.'

With paragraph 3, compare the concluding paragraphs of the Thwan *K*wan on hexagrams 31, 32.

XLVI The explanation of the first paragraph has given occasion to much difference of opinion. Some will have 'the weak (line)' to be 4; some 5; and some the whole of Khwăn, the upper trigram. The advocates of 4, make it come from hexagram 40, the weak 3 of which ascends to the strong 4, displaces it, and takes its place; but we have seen repeatedly the folly of the doctrine of changing lines and figures. The great symbolism of Appendix II suggests the proper explanation. The lower trigram, Sun, represents here not wind but wood. The first line, weak, is the root of a tree planted beneath the earth. Its gradual growth symbolises the advance upwards of the subject of the hexagram, fostered, that is, by the circumstances of the time.

XLVII 1. One sees the relative position of the strong and weak lines in the figure; but to deduce from that the idea expressed by Khwăn requires a painful straining of the imagination. That idea was in the mind, and then the lines were interpreted accordingly.

2. ‘Perilousness’ is the attribute of the lower trigram, and ‘satisfaction’ that of the upper. The superior man, however straitened, remains master of himself, and pursues the proper end of principle settled in his mind.

Why should the subject of Khwăn make speeches, be fond of arguing or pleading, — as the characters say, if we could translate them literally, ‘setting a value on the mouth?’ The reply to this is found in the trigram denoting ‘satisfaction,’ or ‘being pleased.’ The party in the extremity of Khwăn yet wishes and tries to make men pleased with him.

XLVIII *K*ăng Khang-*Kh*ăng says:— ‘Khân, the upper trigram, represents water, and Sun, the lower, wood. This wood denotes the water-wheel or pulley with its bucket, which descends into the mouth of the spring, and brings the water up to the top.’ This may be a correct explanation of the figure, though the reading of it from bottom to top seems at first to be strange.

Paragraph 2. That the fashion of the well does not undergo any (great) change is dwelt upon as illustrating the unchangeableness of the great principles of human nature and of government. But that this truth may be learned from the strong and central lines only produces a smile. So do the remarks on the other two sentences of the Thwan.

XLIX Paragraph 1. Lî, the lower trigram, represents fire, and Tui, the upper, represents water. Water will extinguish fire, and fire again will dry up water. Each, to all appearance, produces a change in the other. Again, according to king Wăn’s scheme of the trigrams, as shown on , and in Figure 1, Plate III, Lî is the second, and Tui the youngest daughter. Their wills are likely to differ in love and other things; but this symbolism does not so readily suggest the idea of change.

2. The first sentence suggests how the dislike to change on the part of people generally is overcome.

The second suggests how change proceeding from intelligence and giving general satisfaction will be successful.

Paragraph 3 tells us how the greatest natural and the greatest political changes are equally successful and admirable when conducted aright.

L 1. See the notes on the Text of the Thwan about the figure of a caldron in Ting. Its component trigrams are Sun representing wood, and Lî representing fire; which may very well suggest the idea of cooking. The last sentence of the paragraph is entirely after the style of ‘the Great Symbolism.’ The Khang-hsî editors say that the distinction between Žing and Ting appears here very clearly, the former relating to the nourishment of the people, and the latter to the nourishing men of worth. They add that the reality of the offerings to God is such nourishing. ‘God’ is here Shang Tî, which Canon McClatchie translates

‘the First Emperor,’ adding in a note, ‘The Chinese Jupiter, the Emperor of gods and men!’

2. The first sentence deduces the sentiment of the Thwan from the attributes or virtues of the trigrams with considerable amplification of the virtue of Lî. The second line of Lî, as being divided, calls forth in other hexagrams the same notice as here. It is the most important line in the figure, and being responded to by the strong 2, gives an indication of the ‘great progress and success.’

LI Paragraph 1. See what is said on the Text.

2. The explanations of the. Thwan here are good; but in no way deduced from the figure.

3. The portion of the text printed in a different type is supposed to have dropt out of the Chinese copies. The explanation of it that follows is based on Wăn’s view of *K*ăn as representing the oldest son. See on the Text.

LII 1. The Khang-hsî editors give their opinion that what is said in the first sentence of this paragraph, after the explanation of the name, illustrates the first sentence of the Thwan, and that the other sentence illustrates the: rest of the Thwan. It may be so, but the whole of the Thwan appears in paragraph 2.

2. The hexagram being made up of Kăn repeated, lines 1, 2, 3 are of course the same as 4, 5, and 6. But it will be seen that there is not a proper correlation among them all. I do not see, however, that this furnishes any ground for the entire obliviousness of self, which the Th wan makes out to be in the figure.

LIII The first sentence of paragraph 2 describes the lines from 2 to 5 all getting into their proper places, as has been pointed out on the Text, and that sentence is symbolical of what is said in the second. ‘The rectification of the country’ is the reality of ‘the successful progress.’

‘The strong undivided line’ in paragraph 3 is the fifth of the figure.

Out of rest comes movement to go on for an indefinite time, and be succeeded by rest again; — as says paragraph 4.

LIV 1. Kwei Mei in this Appendix has the meaning simply of marriage, and for Mei we might substitute Nü ,’daughter’ or ‘young lady.’ This appears from the writer’s going on to point out, as elsewhere, the analogy between the growth of things in nature from the interaction of heaven and earth and the increase of mankind through marriage. He does this with a delicate touch. There is no grossness in the original any more than there is in the translation.

But how are we to reconcile this reference to the action of heaven and earth with the bad auspice of the Thwan? The Khang-hsî editors felt the pressure of this difficulty, and they adduce a similar inconsistency in the account of hexagram 44 in this treatise, adding, ‘From this we may say that the interaction of the yin and yang cannot be dispensed with, but that we ought to be careful

about it in the beginning in order to prevent mischief in the end. This is the doctrine of the Yî.' This is very well, but it is no solution of the difficulty. The editors could not admit that the author of the Appendix did not understand or did not deal fairly with the Text; for that author, they thought, was Confucius.

2. The same editors say that paragraph 2 implies both that the desire for the marriage originated with the lady, and that she was aware that the gentleman was older than herself.

3. The position of a divided line above an undivided is always represented as an evil omen; it is difficult to understand why. There is less of an appearance of reason about it than in some other things which are said about the lines. The lines are where they cannot but be from the way in which the figures were formed.

LV The Khang-hsî editors remark that paragraph 1 is not so much explaining the meaning of the name Făng, as; accounting for the hexagram, composed of Lî and *K*ăn, having such a meaning.

Paragraph 3 seems rather contrary to the lesson of the hexagram. According to it, prosperity cannot be maintained, any more than we can have the other seasons without winter or perpetual day without night; but the object of the essay is to exhort to the maintenance of prosperity. Is it the case that the rise of every commonwealth and cause must be followed by its decay and fall? The mind refuses to admit the changes of the seasons, &c., as a true analogy for all moral and intellectual movements. See an important remark on the concluding sentence in the Introduction, p, 35.

LVI What is said in paragraph 1 is intended to explain the Thwan, and not to account for the meaning of the name Lü. It is assumed that Lü means a stranger; and the writer from the position of the fifth line, and from the attributes of the component trigrams, derives the ideas of humility, docility, a quiet restfulness, and intelligence as the characteristics proper to a stranger, and which are likely to lead to his attaining what he desires, and then advancing.

LVII 1. The language of this paragraph has often occurred to me in reading commands and addresses issued by the emperors of China, such as the essays on the precepts in what is called the Sacred Edict, the reiteration employed in many of which is remarkable.

Paragraph 2. The 'obedience of the weak lines to the strong ones' grows, in a way not very perceptible, from the idea of the hexagram, and the quality of the trigram as denoting penetration and flexibility.

LVIII The feeling of pleasure going before the people and leading them on to endure toil and encounter death must be supposed to be produced in them by the example and lessons of their ruler. La Fad-hsien paraphrases this portion of the

text thus:— ‘When the sage with this precedes them, he can make them endure toil without any wish to decline it, and go with him into difficulty and danger without their having any fear.’ I think this was intended to be the teaching of the hexagram, but the positive expression of it is hardly discernible.

LIX 1. This paragraph has been partially anticipated in the notes on the Thwan. The second line is said to suffer ‘no extinction,’ because the lower trigram is that of peril. The Khang-hsî editors say that the former part of this paragraph shows how the root of the work of the hexagram is strengthened, and the latter part how the execution of that work is secured.

The conclusion of paragraph 2 is, literally, ‘The king indeed is in the middle.’ This does not mean, as some say, that the king is in the middle of the temple, but that his mind or heart is exactly set on the central truth of what is right and good.

The upper trigram Sun represents both wind and wood. To explain the meaning of Hwan, the significance of wind is taken; the writer here seizes on that of wood, as furnishing materials for a boat in which the great stream can be crossed.

LX Paragraph 1. See what is said on the Text of the Thwan.

‘Its course will come to an end’ is the opposite of the intimation in *K*ieh of progress and attainment.

In paragraph 3 the writer returns to this intimation of the figure: — by the attributes of the trigrams; by the appropriate positions of lines 4 and 5; and boy the central and correct place of 5.

Paragraph 4 illustrates the importance of doing things according to rule by reference to the operations of nature and the enactments and institutions of sage rulers.

LXI 1. The structure of the lineal figure which is here insisted on has been pointed out in explaining the Thwan. On what is further said as to the attributes of the trigrams and their effect, *Kh*ăng-žze observes:— ‘We have in the sincerity shown in the upper trigram superiors condescending to those below them in accordance with their peculiarities, and we have in that of the lower those below delighted to follow their superiors. The combination of these two things leads to the transformation of the country and state.’

Paragraph 2. The two divided lines in the middle of the figure are supposed to give the semblance of an empty boat, and an empty boat, it is said (with doubtful truth), is not liable to be upset. The trigram Sun symbolises both wind and wood.

A good commentary on paragraph 3 is supplied in many passages of ‘the Doctrine of the Mean,’ e. g. cha. 18:— ‘Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men.’

LXII Paragraph 1. That the small lines exceed the others appears at a glance. The intimation of progress and attainment is less clear. Compare the first paragraph of Appendix I to hexagram 33.

'The requirements of the time' in paragraph 2 cannot make right wrong or wrong right; but they may modify the conventional course to be taken in any particular case.

It is easy to explain paragraphs 3 and 4, but what is said in them carries no conviction to the mind.

The sentiment of paragraph 5 is good, apart from the symbolism, which is only perplexing.

LXIII For paragraphs 1 and 2, see the note on the Text of the Thwan.

It is difficult to see the concatenation in paragraph 3 between the sentiment of the Thwan and the nature of the second line. The Khang-hsî editors compare this hexagram and the next with 11 and 12, observing that the goodness of Thâi (11) is concentrated, as here, in the second line.

The sentiment of paragraph 4 is that which we have often met with, — that things move on with a constant process of change. Disorder succeeds to order, and again order to disorder.

LXIV Paragraph 1. The indication is derived from the fifth line, divided, which is in the ruler's place. It occupies a strong place, has for its correlate the strong 2, and is itself in the centre of the yin trigram Lî.

Paragraph 2. Line 2 represents 'the young fox.' A strong line in the midst of the trigram of peril, its subject will be restless; and responding to the ruler in 5, he will be forward and incautious in taking action. The issue will be evil, and the latter end different from the beginning. What is said in the last sentence shows further how Wei Žî indicates progress.

APPENDIX II

Treatise on the Symbolism of the Hexagrams, and of the duke of *K*âu's Explanations of the several Lines 1

SECTION I

I. Heaven, in its motion, (gives the idea of) strength. The superior man, in accordance with this, nerves himself to ceaseless activity.

1. ‘The dragon lies hid in the deep; — it is not the time for active doing:’ — (this appears from) the strong and undivided line’s being in the lowest place.

2. ‘The dragon appears in the field:’ — the diffusion of virtuous influence has been wide.

3. ‘Active and vigilant all the day:’ — (this refers to) the treading of the (proper) path over and over again.

4. ‘He seems to be leaping up, but is still in the deep:’ — if he advance, there will be no error.

5. ‘The dragon is on the wing in the sky:’ — the great man rouses himself to his work.

6. ‘The dragon exceeds the proper limits; — there will be occasion for repentance:’ — a state of fulness, that is, should not be indulged in long.

7. ‘The same NINE (undivided) is used’ (in all the places of this hexagram), but the attribute of heaven (thereby denoted) should not (always) take the foremost place.

II. The (capacity and sustaining) power of the earth is what is denoted by Khwăn. The superior man, in accordance with this, with his large virtue supports (men and) things.

1. ‘He is treading on hoarfrost; — the strong ice will come (by and by):’ — the cold (air) has begun to take form. Allow it to go on quietly according to its nature, and (the hoarfrost) will come to strong ice.

2. The movement indicated by the second six, (divided),is ‘from the straight (line) to the square.’ ‘(Its operation), without repeated effort, in every way advantageous,’ shows the brilliant result of the way of earth.

3. ‘He keeps his excellence tinder restraint, but firmly maintains it:’ — at the proper time he will manifest it. ‘He may have occasion to engage in the king’s service: — great is the glory of his wisdom.

4. ‘A sack tied up; — there will be no error:’ — this shows how, through carefulness, no injury will be received.

S. ‘The Yellow lower-garment; — there will be great good fortune:’ — this follows from that ornamental (colour’s) being in the right and central place.

6. ‘The dragons fight in the wild: — the (onward) course (indicated by Khwăn) is pursued to extremity.

7. ‘(The lines are all weak and divided, as appears from) the use of the number SIX: — but (those who are thus represented) becoming perpetually correct and firm, there will thereby be a great consummation.

III. (The trigram representing) clouds and (that representing) thunder form *K*un. The superior man, in accordance with this, (adjusts his measures of government) as in sorting the threads of the warp and woof.

1. Although ‘there is a difficulty in advancing,’ the mind (of the subject of the line) is set on doing what is correct. While noble, he humbles himself to the mean, and grandly gains the people.

2. The difficulty (to the subject of) the second six, (divided), arises from, its place over the undivided line below it. ‘The union and children after ten years’ shows things resuming their regular course.

3. ‘One pursues the deer without the (guidance of the) forester:’ — (he does so) in (his eagerness to) follow the game. ‘The superior man gives up the chase, (knowing that) if he go forward he will regret it:’ — he would be reduced to extremity.

4. ‘Going forward after such a search (for a helper)’ shows intelligence.

5. ‘Difficulty is experienced (by the subject of the fifth line) in bestowing his rich favours:’ — the extent to which they reach will not yet be conspicuous.

6. ‘He weeps tears of blood in streams:’ — how can the state (thus emblemed) continue long?

IV. (The trigram representing) a mountain, and beneath it that for a spring issuing forth form Măng. The superior man, in accordance with this, strives to be resolute in his conduct and nourishes his virtue.

1. ‘It will be advantageous to use punishment:’ — the object being to bring under the influence of correcting law.

2. ‘A son able to (sustain the burden of) his family:’ — as appears from the reciprocation between this strong line and the weak (fifth line).

3. ‘A woman (such as is here represented) should not be taken in marriage:’ — her conduct is not agreeable to what is right.

4. ‘The regret arising from ignorance bound in chains’ is due to the special distance of (the subject of this line) from the solidity (shown in lines 2 and 6).

5. ‘The good fortune belonging to the simple lad without experience’ comes from his docility going on to humility.

6. ‘Advantage will come from warding off injury:’ — (the subject of this line) above and (the ignorant) below, all do and are done to in accordance with their nature.

V. (The trigram for) clouds ascending over that for the sky forms Hsü. The superior man, in accordance with this, eats and drinks, feasts and enjoys himself

(as if there were nothing else to employ him).

1. ‘He is waiting in the (distant) border:’ — he makes no movement to encounter rashly the difficulties (of the situation). ‘It will be advantageous for him constantly to maintain (the purpose thus shown), in which case there will be no error:’ — he will not fail to pursue that regular course.

2. ‘He is waiting on the sand:’ — he occupies his position in the centre with a generous forbearance. Though ‘he suffer the small injury of being spoken (against),’ he will bring things to a good issue.

3. ‘He is waiting in the mud:’ — calamity is (close at hand, and as it were) in the outer (trigram). ‘He himself invites the approach of injury:’ — if he be reverent and careful, he will not be worsted.

4. ‘He is waiting in (the place of) blood:’ — he accommodates himself (to the circumstances of the time), and hearkens to (its requirements).

5. ‘The appliances of a feast, and the good fortune through being firm and correct,’ are indicated by (the position in) the central and correct place.

6. ‘Guests come unurged (to give their help), and if (the subject of the line) receive them respectfully, there will be good fortune in the end:’ — though the occupant and the place are not suited to each other, there has been no great failure (in what has been done).

VI. (The trigram representing) heaven and (that representing) water, moving away from each other, form Sung. The superior man, in accordance with this, in the transaction of affairs takes good counsel about his first steps.

1. ‘He does not perpetuate the matter about which (the contention is):’ — contention should not be prolonged. Although ‘he may suffer the small (injury) of being spoken against,’ his argument is clear.

2. ‘He is unequal to the contention; he retires and keeps concealed, stealthily withdrawing from it:’ — for him from his lower place to contend with (the stronger one) above, would be to (invite) calamity, as if he brought it with his hand to himself.

3. ‘He confines himself to the support assigned to him of old:’ — (thus) following those above him, he will have good fortune.

4. ‘He returns to (the study of Heaven’s) ordinances, changes (his wish to contend), and rests in being firm and correct:’ — he does not fail (in doing what is right).

5. ‘He contends; — and ‘with great fortune: — this is shown by his holding the due mean and being in the correct place.

6. ‘He receives the robe through his contention:’ — but still be is not deserving of respect.

VII. (The trigram representing) the earth and in the midst of it that representing water, form Sze. The superior man, in accordance with this, nourishes and educates the people, and collects (from among them) the multitudes (of the hosts).

1. 'The host goes forth according to the rules (for) such a movement:' — if those rules be not observed, there will be evil.

2. 'He is in the midst of the host, and there will be good fortune:' — he has received the favour of Heaven. 'The king has thrice conveyed to him the orders (of) his favour:' — (the king) cherishes the myriad regions in his heart.

3. 'The host with the possibility of its having many idle leaders:' — great will be its want of success.

4. 'The host is in retreat; but there is no error:' — there has been no failure in the regular course.

5. 'The oldest son leads the host:' — its movements are directed by him in accordance with his position in the centre. 'Younger men idly occupy their positions:' — the employment of such men is improper.

6. 'The great ruler delivers his charges:' — thereby he rightly apportions merit. 'Small men should not be employed:' — they are sure to throw the states into confusion.

VIII. (The trigram representing) the earth, and over it (that representing) water, form Pî. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, established the various states and maintained an affectionate relation to their princes.

1. From 'the seeking union with its object' shown in the first SIX, (divided),there will be other advantages.

2. 'The movement towards union and attachment proceeds from the inward (mind):' — (the party concerned) does not fail in what is proper to himself

3. 'Union is sought with such as ought not to be associated with:' — but will not injury be the result?

4. 'Union is sought (by the party intended here) with one beyond himself, and (in this case) with a worthy object:' — he is following (the ruler) above him.

5. 'The good fortune belonging to the most illustrious instance of seeking union and attachment' appears in the correct and central position (of the fifth line, undivided).

(The king's) neglecting (the animals) confronting him (and then fleeing), and (only) taking those who present themselves as it were obediently, is seen in

'his allowing the escape of those in front of him.' 'That the people of his towns do not warn one another (to prevent such escape),' shows how he, in his high eminence, has made them pursue the due course.

6. ‘He seeks union and attachment without taking the first (step to such an end):’ — there is no possibility of a (good) issue.

IX. (The trigram representing) the sky, and that representing wind moving above it, form Hsiâo *Kh*û The superior man, in accordance with this, adorns the outward manifestation of his virtue.

1. ‘He returns and pursues his own path:’ — it is right that there should be good fortune.

2. ‘By the attraction (of the subject of the former line) he returns (to its own course),’ and is in the central place: — neither will he err in what is due from him.

3. ‘Husband and wife look on each other with averted eyes:’ — (the subject of line three is like a husband who) cannot maintain correctly his relations with his wife.

4. ‘He is possessed of sincerity; his (ground for) apprehension is dismissed:’ — (the subjects of the lines) above agree in aim with him.

5. ‘He is possessed of sincerity, and draws others to unite with him:’ — he does not use only his own rich resources.

6. ‘The rain has fallen and (the onward progress) is stayed:’ — the power (denoted in the figure) has accumulated to the full. ‘If the superior man prosecute his measures, there will be evil:’ — he will find himself obstructed.

X. (The trigram representing) the sky above, and below it (that representing the waters of) a marsh, form Lî. The superior man, in accordance with this, discriminates between high and low, and gives settlement to the aims of the people.

1. ‘He treads his accustomed path and goes forward:’ — singly and exclusively he carries out his (long-cherished) wishes.

2. ‘A quiet and solitary man, to whom, being firm and correct, there will be good fortune:’ — holding the due mean, he will not allow himself to be thrown into disorder.

3. ‘A one-eyed man (who thinks that he) can see:’ — he is not fit to see clearly. ‘A lame man (who thinks that he can) tread well:’ — one cannot walk along with him. ‘The ill fortune of being bitten’ arises from the place not being the proper one for him. ‘A (mere) bravo acting the part of a great ruler:’ — this is owing to his aims being (too) violent.

4. ‘He becomes full of apprehensive caution, and in the end there will be good fortune:’ — his aim takes effect.

5. ‘He treads resolutely; and though he be firm and correct, there is peril:’ — this is due to his being in the position that is correct and appropriate to him.

6. ‘There will be great good fortune,’ and that in the occupancy of the topmost line: — this is great matter for congratulation.

XI. (The trigrams for) heaven and earth in communication together form Thâi. The (sage) sovereign, in harmony with this, fashions and completes (his regulations) after the courses of heaven and earth, and assists the application of the adaptations furnished by them, — in order to benefit the people.

1. ‘The good fortune of advance, (as suggested by the emblem of) the grass pulled up,’ arises from the will (of the party intended) being set on what is external to himself.

2. ‘He bears with the uncultivated, and proves himself acting in accordance with the due mean:’ — for (his intelligence is) bright and (his capacity is) great.

3. ‘There is no going away so that there shall not be a return’ refers to this as the point where the interaction of heaven and earth takes place.

4. ‘He comes fluttering (down), not relying on his own rich resources:’ — both he and his neighbours are out of their real (place where they are). ‘They have not received warning, but (come) in the sincerity (of their hearts):’ — this is what they have desired in the core of their hearts.

5. ‘By such a course there is happiness, and there will be great good fortune:’ — (the subject of the line) employs the virtue proper to his central position to carry his wishes into effect.

6. ‘The city wall returned back into the moat’ shows how the (governmental) orders have (long) been in disorder.

XII. (The trigrams of) heaven and earth, not in intercommunication, form Phî. The superior man, in accordance with this, restrains (the manifestation) of) his virtue, and avoids the calamities (that threaten him). There is no opportunity of conferring on him the glory of emolument.

1. ‘The good fortune through firm goodness, (suggested by) the pulling up of the grass,’ arises from the will (of the parties intended) being bent on (serving) the ruler.

2. ‘The great man, comporting himself as the distress and obstruction require, will have success:— ‘he does not allow himself to be disordered by the herd (of small men).

3. That ‘his shame is folded in his breast’ is owing to the inappropriateness of his position.

4. ‘He acts in accordance with the ordination (of Heaven), and commits no error:’ — the purpose of his mind can be carried into effect.

5. The good fortune of the great man’ arises from the correctness of his position.

6. ‘The distress and obstruction having reached its end, it is overthrown and removed:’ — how could it be prolonged?

XIII. (The trigrams for) heaven and fire form Thung *Z*ăn. The superior man, in accordance with this), distinguishes things according to their kinds and classes.

1. ‘(The representative of) the union of men is just issuing from his gate:’ — who will blame him?

2. ‘(The representative of) the union of men appears in relation with his kindred:’ — that is the path to regret.

3. ‘He hides his arms in the thick grass:’ — because of the strength of his opponent. ‘For three years he makes no demonstration:’ — how can he do anything?

4. ‘He is mounted on his city-wall;’ but yielding to the right, ‘he does not proceed to make the attack (he contemplated).’ (Where it is said),’There will be good fortune,’ (that shows how) he feels the strait he is in, and returns to the rule of law.

5. The first action of (the representative of) the union of men (here described) arises from his central position and straightforward character. ‘The meeting secured by his great host’ intimates that the opponents of it have been overcome.

6. ‘(The representative of) the union of men appears in the suburbs:’ — his object has not yet been attained.

XIV. (The trigram for) heaven and (that of) fire above it form Tâ Yû The superior man, in accordance with this, represses what is evil and gives distinction to what is good, in sympathy with the excellent Heaven-conferred (nature).

1. This first NINE, (undivided),of Tâ Yû shows no approach to what is injurious.

2. ‘A large waggon with its load’ refers to the (virtue) accumulated (in the subject of the line), so that he will suffer no loss (in the conduct of affairs).

3. ‘A feudal prince presents his offerings to the son of Heaven:’ — a small man (in such a position) does (himself) harm.

4. ‘He keeps his great resources under restraint:’ — his wisdom discriminates clearly (what he ought to do).

5. ‘His sincerity is reciprocated by all the others:’ — his sincerity serves to stir and call out what is in their minds. ‘The good fortune springing from a display of proper majesty’ shows how they might (otherwise) feel too easy, and make no preparation (to serve him).

6. ‘The good fortune attached to the topmost line of Tâ Yû’ arises from the help of Heaven.

XV. (The trigram for) the earth and (that of) a mountain in the midst of it form *Kh*ien. The superior man, in accordance with this, diminishes what is excessive (in himself), and increases where there is any defect, bringing about an equality, according to the nature of the case, in his treatment (of himself and others).

1. 'The superior man who adds humility to humility' is one who nourishes his (virtue) in lowliness.

2. 'The good fortune consequent on being firm and correct, where the humility has made itself recognised, is owing to the possessor's having (the virtue) in the core of his heart.

3. 'The superior man of (acknowledged) merit, and yet humble:' — the myriads of the people will submit to him.

4. 'One, whose action would be in every way advantageous, stirs up his humility the more:'(but in doing so) he does not act contrary to the (proper) rule.

5. 'He may advantageously use the force of arms:' — correcting, that is, those who do not submit.

6. 'His humility has made itself recognised:' — (but) all his aims have not yet been attained. He may employ the force of arms, (but only) in correcting (his own) towns and state.'

XVI. (The trigrams for) the earth and thunder issuing from it with its crashing noise form Yü. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, composed their music and did honour to virtue, presenting it especially and most grandly to God, when they associated with Him (at the service) their highest ancestor and their father.

1. 'The (subject of the) first six proclaims his pleasure and satisfaction:' — there will be evil; his wishes have been satisfied to overflowing.

2. '(He sees a thing) without waiting till it has come to pass; with his firm correctness there will be good fortune:' — this is shown by the central and correct position (of the line).

3. 'He looks up (for favours), while he indulges the feeling of satisfaction; there will be occasion for repentance:' — this is intimated by the position not being the appropriate one.

4. 'From him the harmony and satisfaction come; great is the success which he obtains:' — his aims take effect on a grand scale.

5. '(The subject of) the fifth six has a chronic complaint:' — this is shown by his being mounted on the strong (line). 'He still lives on without dying:' — he is in the central position, (and its memories of the past) have not yet perished.

6. 'With darkened mind devoted to the harmony and satisfaction (of the time),' as shown in the topmost (line): — how can one in such a condition continue long?

XVII. (The trigram for the waters of) a marsh and (that for) thunder (hidden) in the midst of it form Sui. The superior man in accordance with this, when it is getting towards dark, enters (his house) and rests.

1. 'He is changing the object of his pursuit:' — but if he follow what is correct, there will be good fortune. 'He goes beyond (his own) gate to find associates:' — he will not fail (in the method he pursues).

2. 'He cleaves to the little boy:' — he cannot be with the two at the same time.

3. 'He cleaves to the man of age and experience:' — by the decision of his will, he abandons (the youth) below.

4. 'He is followed and obtains adherents:' — according to the idea (of the hexagram), this is evil. 'He is sincere in his course:' — showing his intelligence, and leading to achievement.

5. 'He is sincere in fostering what is excellent:' — his position is correct and in the centre.

6. 'The sincerity is firmly held and clung to, as shown in the topmost line:' — (the idea of the hexagram) has reached its extreme development.

XVIII. (The trigram for) a mountain, and below it that for wind, form Kû. The superior man, in accordance with this, (addresses himself to) help the people and nourish his own virtue.

1. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his father:' — he feels that he has entered into the work of his father.

2. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his mother:' — he holds to the course of the due mean.

3. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his father:' — in the end there will be no error.

4. 'He views indulgently the troubles caused by his father:' — if he go forward, he will not succeed.

5. 'He deals with the troubles caused by his father, and obtains praise:' — he is responded to (by the subject of line two) with all his virtue.

6. 'He does not serve either king or feudal lord:' — but his aim may be a model (to others).

XIX (The trigram for) the waters of a marsh and that for the earth above it form Lin. The superior man, in accordance with this, has his purposes of instruction that are inexhaustible, and nourishes and supports the people without limit.

1. 'The good fortune through the firm correctness of (the subject of the first line) advancing in company (with the subject of the second)' is due to his will being set on doing what is right.

2. ‘The good fortune and every possible advantage attending the advance (of the subject of the second line), in company (with the subject of the first),’ arises from the fact that those (to whom the advance is made) are not yet obedient to the ordinances (of Heaven).

3. ‘He (shows himself) well pleased to advance:’ — his position is not that appropriate to him. ‘If he become anxious, however, about his action,’ his error will not be continued.

4. ‘The freedom from error consequent on the advance in the highest mode’ is due to the (various) appropriateness of the position.

5. ‘What befits the great ruler’ means the pursuing the course of the due mean.

6. ‘The good fortune consequent on the advance of honesty and generosity’ is due to the will (of the subject of the line) being set on the subjects of (the first two lines of) the inner (trigram).

XX. (The trigram representing) the earth, and that for wind moving above it, form Kwan. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, examined the (different) regions (of the kingdom), to see the (ways of the) people, and set forth their instructions.

1. ‘The looking of a lad shown by the first six, (divided); indicates the way of the inferior people.

2. ‘The firm correctness of a woman, in peeping out from a door’ is also a thing to be ashamed of (in a superior man).

3. ‘He looks at (the course of his own life, to advance or recede (accordingly):’ — he will not err in the path (to be pursued).

4. ‘He contemplates the glory of the kingdom:’(thence) arises the wish to be a guest (at court).

5. ‘He contemplates his own life(-course):’ — he should (for this purpose) contemplate (the condition of) the people.

6. ‘He contemplates his own character:’ — he cannot even yet let his mind be at rest.

XXI. (The trigrams representing) thunder and lightning form Shih Ho. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, framed their penalties with intelligence, and promulgated their laws.

1. ‘His feet are in the stocks, and he is deprived of his toes:’ — there is no walking (to do evil).

2. ‘He bites through the soft flesh, and (goes on)

to bite off the nose:’ — (the subject of the line) is mounted on the strong (first line).

3. ‘He meets with what is disagreeable and hurtful:’ — his position is not the proper one for him.

4. ‘It will be advantageous to him to realise the difficulty of his task and be firm, in which case there will be good fortune:’ — his light has not yet been sufficiently displayed.

5. ‘Let him be firm and correct, realising the peril (of his position), and there will be no error:’ — he will possess every quality appropriate (to his position and task).

6. ‘He wears the cangue and is deprived of his ears:’ — he hears, but will not understand.

XXII. (The trigram representing) a mountain and that for fire under it form Pî. The superior man, in accordance with this, throws a brilliancy around his various processes of government, but does not dare (in a similar way) to decide cases of criminal litigation.

1. ‘He can discard a carriage and walk on foot:’ — righteousness requires that he should not ride.

2. ‘He adorns his beard:’ — he rouses himself to action (only) along with the (subject of the) line above.

3. ‘The good fortune consequent on his ever maintaining firm correctness’ is due to this, — that to the end no one will insult him.

4. ‘The place occupied by the fourth six, (divided),’ affords ground for doubt (as to its subject); but ‘(as the subject of the third pursues) not as a robber, but as intent on a matrimonial alliance,’ he will in the end have no grudge against him.

5. ‘The good fortune falling to the fifth six, (divided); affords occasion for joy.

6. ‘The freedom from error attached to (the subject of) the topmost line, with no ornament but the (simple white),’ shows how he has attained his aim.

XXIII. (The trigrams representing) the earth, and (above it) that for a mountain, which adheres to the earth, form Po. Superiors, in accordance with this, seek to strengthen those below them, to secure the peace and stability of their own position.

1. ‘He overthrows the couch by injuring its legs:’ — thus (he commences) his work of ruin with what is lowest (in the superior man).

2. ‘He destroys the couch by injuring its frame:’ — (the superior man) has as yet no associates.

3. That ‘there will be no error on the part of this one among the overthrowers’ arises from the difference between him and the others above and below.

4. ‘He has overthrown the couch, and (proceeds to injure) the skin (of him who lies on it):’ — calamity is very near at hand.

5. ‘He obtains for them the favour that lights on the inmates of the palace:’ — in the end there will be no grudge against him.

6. ‘The superior man finds himself in a carriage:’ — he is carried along by the people. ‘The small men (by their course) overthrow their own dwellings:’ — they can never again be of use to them.

XXIV. (The trigram representing) the earth and that for thunder in the midst of it form Fû. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, on the day of the (winter) solstice, shut the gates of the passes (from one state to another), so that the travelling merchants could not (then) pursue their journeys, nor the princes go on with the inspection of their states.

1. ‘Returning (from an error) of no great extent’ is the prelude to the cultivation of the person.

2. ‘The good fortune attendant on the admirable return (of the subject of the second line)’ is due to his condescension to the virtuous (subject of the line) below.

3. Notwithstanding ‘the perilous position of him who has made many returns,’ there will be no error through (his aiming after righteousness).

4. ‘He moves right in the centre (among those represented by the other divided lines), and yet returns alone:’ — his object is to pursue the (proper) path.

5. ‘The noble return, giving no ground for repentance,’ is due to (the subject of the line) striving to perfect himself in accordance with his central position.

6. ‘The evil consequent on being all astray on the subject of returning’ is because the course pursued is contrary to the proper course for a ruler.

XXV. The thunder rolls all under the sky, and to (every)thing there is given (its nature), free from all insincerity. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, (made their regulations) in complete accordance with the seasons, thereby nourishing all things.

1. When ‘he who is free from insincerity makes any movement,’ he will get what he desires.

2. ‘He reaps without having ploughed:’ — (the thought of) riches to be got had not risen (in his mind).

3. ‘The passer-by gets the ox:’ — this proves a calamity to the people of the neighbourhood.

4. ‘If he can remain firm and correct there will be no error:’ — he firmly holds fast (his correctness).

5. ‘Medicine in the case of one who is free from insincerity!’ — it should not be tried (at all).

6. ‘The action (in this case) of one who is free from insincerity’ will occasion the calamity arising from action (when the time for it is) exhausted.

XXVI. (The trigram representing) a mountain, and in the midst of it that (representing) heaven, form Tâ *Kh*û. The superior man, in accordance with this, stores largely in his memory the words and deeds of former men, to subserve the accumulation of his virtue.

1. 'He is in a position of peril; it will be advantageous for him to stop his advance:' — he should not rashly expose himself to calamity.

2. '(He is as) a carriage from which the strap under it has been removed:' — being in the central position, he will incur no blame.

3. 'There will be advantage in whatever direction he may advance:' — (the subject of) the topmost line is of the same mind with him.

4. 'The great good fortune indicated by the fourth six, (divided),' shows that there is occasion for joy.

5. 'The good fortune indicated by the fifth six, (divided),' shows that there is occasion for congratulation.

6. 'In command of the firmament of heaven:' — the way is grandly open for movement.

XXVII. (The trigram representing) a mountain and under it that for thunder form Î. The superior man, in accordance with this, (enjoins) watchfulness over our words, and the temperate regulation of our eating and drinking.

1. 'You look at me till your (lower) jaw hangs down:' — (the subject of the line) is thus shown unfit to be thought noble.

2. 'The evil of advance by the subject of the second SIX, (divided),' is owing to his leaving in his movements his proper associates.

3. 'For ten years let him not take any action:' — his course is greatly opposed (to what is right).

4. 'The good fortune attached to looking downwards for (the power to) nourish,' shows how brilliant will be the diffusion (of that power) from (the subject of the line's) superior position.

5. 'The good fortune from abiding in firmness' is due to the docility (of the subject of the line) in following (the subject of the line) above.

6. 'The good fortune, notwithstanding the peril of his position, of him from whom comes the nourishing,' affords great cause for congratulation.

XXVIII. (The trigram representing) trees hidden beneath that for the waters of a marsh forms Tâ Kwo. The superior man, in accordance with this, stands up alone and has no fear, and keeps retired from the world without regret.

1. 'He places mats of the white mâo grass under things set on the ground:' — he feels his weakness and his being in the lowest place, (and uses extraordinary care).

2. 'An old husband and a young wife:' — such association is extraordinary.

3. ‘The evil connected with the beam that is weak’ arises from this, that no help can be given (to the condition thus represented).

4. ‘The good fortune connected with the beam curving upwards’ arises from this, that it does not bend towards what is below.

5. ‘A decayed willow produces flowers:’ — but how can this secure its long continuance? ‘An old wife and a young husband:’ — this also is a thing to be ashamed of.

6. ‘Evil follows wading with (extraordinary) boldness (through the stream):’ — but (the act) affords no ground for blame.

XXIX. (The representation of) water flowing on continuously forms the repeated Khan. The superior man, in accordance with this, maintains constantly the virtue (of his heart) and (the integrity of) his conduct, and practises the business of instruction.

1. ‘In the double defile, he enters a cavern within it:’ — he has missed his (proper) way, and there will be evil.

2. ‘He will get a little (of the deliverance) that he seeks:’ — he will not yet escape from his environed position.

3. ‘Whether he comes or goes, he is confronted by a defile:’ — he will never (in such circumstances) achieve any success.

4. ‘(Nothing but) a bottle of spirits and a subsidiary basket of rice:’ — (these describe) the meeting at this point of (those who are represented by) the strong and weak lines.

5. ‘The water in the defile is not full (so as to flow away):’ — (the virtue indicated by) the central situation is not yet (sufficiently) great.

6. ‘The sixth line, divided, shows its subject missing his (proper) course:’— ‘there will be evil for three years.’

XXX. (The trigram for) brightness, repeated, forms Lî. The great man, in accordance with this, cultivates more and more his brilliant (virtue), and diffuses its brightness over the four quarters (of the land).

1. ‘The reverent attention directed to his confused steps’ is the way by which error is avoided.

2. ‘The great good fortune (from the subject of the second line) occupying his place in yellow’ is owing to his holding the course of the due mean.

3. ‘A position like that of the declining sun:’ — how can it continue long?

4. ‘How abrupt is the manner of his coming!’ — none can bear with him.

5. ‘The good fortune attached to the fifth SIX,
divided),’ is due to its occupying the place of a king or a prince.

6. ‘The king employs him in his punitive expeditions:’ — the object is to bring the regions to a correct state.

FOOTNOTES

1 Like the Text under each hexagram, what is said under each in this treatise on its symbolism is divided into two portions. The first is called ‘the Great Symbolism,’ and is occupied with the trigrammatic composition of the hexagram, to the statement of which is always subjoined an exhibition of the use which should be, or has been, made of the lesson suggested by the meaning of the whole figure in the administration of affairs, or in self-government. If the treatise be rightly ascribed to Confucius, this practical application of the teaching of the symbols is eminently characteristic of his method in inculcating truth and duty; though we often find it difficult to trace the connexion between his premiss and conclusion. This portion of the treatise will be separated by a double space from what follows,— ‘the Lesser Symbolism,’ in the explanations of the several lines.

I *Kh*ien is formed by redoubling the trigram of the same name. In the case of other hexagrams of similar formation, the repetition of the trigram is pointed out. That is not done here, according to *K*û Hsî, ‘because there is but one heaven.’ But the motion of heaven is a complete revolution every day, resumed again the next; so moves ‘the unwearied sun from day to day,’ making it a good symbol of renewed, untiring effort.

II Khwăn is formed by redoubling the trigram of the same name and having ‘the earth for its symbol.’ As in the former hexagram, the repetition is emphatic, not otherwise affecting the meaning of the hexagram. ‘As there is but one heaven,’ says *K*û Hsî, ‘so there is but one earth.’ The first part of ‘the Great Symbolism’ appears in Canon McClatchie’s version as— ‘Khwăn is the generative part of earth.’ By ‘generative part’ he probably means ‘the productive or prolific faculty.’ If he mean anything else, there comes out a conclusion antagonistic to his own view of the ‘mythology’ of the Yî. The character Shî, which he translates by ‘generative part,’ is defined in Dr. Williams’ dictionary as ‘the virility of males.’ Such is the special significance of it. If it were so used here, the earth would be masculine.

It is difficult to say exactly what the writer meant by— ‘The superior man, in accordance with this, and with his large nature, supports (men and) things.’ Lin Hsî-yüan (Ming dynasty) says:— ‘The superior man, in his single person, sustains the burden of all under the sky. The common people depend on him for their rest and enjoyment. Birds and beasts and creeping things, and the tribes of the vegetable kingdom, depend on him for the fulfilment or their destined being.

If he be of a narrow mind and cold virtue, how can he help them? Their hope in him would be in vain.'

'The Smaller Symbolism' is sufficiently dealt with in the notes on the Text.

III Khan represents water, especially in the form of rain. Here its symbol is a cloud. The whole hexagram seems to place us in the atmosphere of a thunderous sky overhung with thick and gloomy clouds, when we feel oppressed and distressed. This is not a bad emblem of the political state in the mind of the writer. When the thunder has pealed, and the clouds have discharged their burden of rain, the atmosphere is cleared, and there is a feeling of relief. But I fail again to discern clearly the connexion between the symbolism and the lesson about the superior man's administration of affairs.

The subject of the first line of the Smaller Symbolism is represented by the undivided line, and therefore is firm and correct. He is noble, but his place is below the divided lines, symbols of the weak and mean (see Appendix IV, i, 1).

Line 2. 'Things resume their regular course:' — the subject is now at liberty to seek a union with the subject of line 5, according to the rules of the symbolism. Lines 1 and 4, 2 and 5, 3 and 6, the corresponding lilies of the trigrams, are correlates.

The subject of line 4 naturally recurs to the correlate in line 1. He is the natural helper in the case, and he has the ability.

IV 'The spring here issuing forth' is different from the defile with a stream in it, in the explanation of the Thwan; different moreover from 'rain,' mentioned also as the phenomenon which is the natural symbol of Khan. The presence of water, however, is common to the three. But the water of the spring, or of the stream, would flow away from the hill, and not be stopped by it; as an emblem therefore of the ignorance and inexperience denoted by Măng it is not suitable. *K*û Hsî says that 'the water of a spring is sure to move on and gradually advance.' This may serve as a symbol of the general process and progress of education, though it gives no account of the symbolism of the hill. It serves also to explain in part the transition of the writer to the subject of the superior man, and his dealing apparently with himself.

Does line 1 set forth the use of punishment as the dernier resort, undesirable, but possibly unavoidable, to bring men in subjection to law?

The force of line 2 comes out fully in the Thwan.

That a woman such as is represented in line 3 should not be taken in marriage is clear enough; but I do not see the bearing of the illustration on the proper lesson in the hexagram.

Line 3 separates 4 from 2, and 5 separates it from 6. Weak in itself, it is farther removed than any other from the two strong lines in the hexagram, and is

represented as ‘cribbed’ in its ignorance.

The fifth is the most honourable place in the figure, and here is occupied by a weak line. This looks, however, to the occupant of line 2, less honourable than itself, and is marked by the two attributes that are named. Compare what is said on line 2.

A strong line in the topmost place must represent, according to the scheme of the hexagram, one who uses force in the cause of education; but the force is put forth not on the ignorant, but on those who would keep them ignorant, or increase their ignorance. The subject of this line, therefore, acts according to his nature, and the subjects of all the weak lines below are cared for as is best for them.

V ‘The cloud,’ it is said, ‘that has risen to the top of the sky, has nothing more to do till it is called on, in the harmony of heaven and earth, to discharge its store of rain.’ This gives to the writer the idea of waiting; and the superior man is supposed to be taught by this symbolism to enjoy his idle time, while he is waiting for the approach of danger and occasion for action.

‘The regular course’ of the subject of line 1 seems to be the determination to wait, at a distance from danger, the proper time to act.

The subject of line 2, which is undivided and in the centre, is thereby shown to be possessed of a large and generous forbearance.

The recognition of the circumstances of the time, and hearkening to its requirements, explain, in paragraph 4, ‘the retreat from the cavern,’ which is not here repeated from the Text. The line being weak and divided, its subject knows his own incompetency, and takes this prudent step.

*K*û says that he does not understand what is said under line 6, — that the occupant and the place are not suited to each other, for the yin line being in the sixth, an even place, seems to be where it ought to be. We are only surprised that cases of inconsistency in these explanations are not more numerous.

VI The symbolism here is different from that in the Text of the Thwan. We have the visible sky ascending and water or rain descending, which indicate, one hardly sees how, opposition and contention. The lesson as to the course of the superior man is a good one, but might with equal propriety be deduced from many other hexagrams.

Hsiang An-shih (Sung dynasty) says that the first part of paragraph 2 is all to be taken as the language of the duke of *K*âu, the characters being varied; the rest is the remark of the writer of this treatise.

It is observed that the returning to (the study of Heaven’s) ordinances, and changing the wish to contend, in paragraph 4, are not two things, but only one;

‘the ordinances (ming) meaning what is right in principle.’ The wish to contend was wrong in principle, and is now abandoned.

‘The robe’ takes the place of ‘the leathern sash’ in paragraph 6; but the sash was merely an appendage of the robe.

VII ‘The Great Symbolism’ here is not more satisfactory than in other paragraphs of it which have already come before us. *K*û Hsî says:— ‘As the water is not outside the earth, so soldiers are not outside the people. Therefore if (a ruler) be able to nourish the people, he can get the multitudes (of his hosts).’ Is the meaning this, — that originally the people and soldiers are one body; that a portion of the people are taken out from among the mass, as occasion requires, to do the duty of soldiers; and that the nourishment and education of the people is the best way to have good soldiers ready for use on any emergency? Compare the saying of Confucius in Analects XIII, xxx.

What is said on the second line, that the general ‘has received the favour of Heaven,’ refers of course to the entire confidence reposed in him by the ruler or king, the subject of line 5. In this way Thien here is equal to Thien wang, so frequent in the ‘Spring and Autumn,’ and meaning— ‘King by the grace of Heaven.’ But the great powers given to the general are from the king’s wish through him to promote the good of all the nation.

In military operations there must be one ruling will and mind. A divided authority is sure to be a failure. But ‘a retreat’ is no evidence of failure in a campaign. When advance would lead to disaster, retreat is the regular course to pursue.

Other ways can be found to reward small men. They ought not to be placed in situations where the condition of others will depend on them.

VIII ‘Water upon the face of the earth’ is supposed to be an emblem of close union. Of the mere fact of close union this may be accepted as a fair illustration, and of its completeness. Some other symbolism might set forth better the tendency of parties to union, and their seeking it. What is said about the ancient kings is more pertinent to the meaning of the hexagram than in many other applications in ‘the Great Symbolism.’ The king appears in it not only as the centre, but as the cause, of union.

‘The other advantages’ under line 1 refer to all the benefits that will result from sincerity and union, which are in themselves good.

It is hardly possible to make what is said under line 5, on the royal huntings, agree with the account of them given on the same line in the duke of *K*âu’s text. I suspect that there is some corruption of the text. The two verbs ‘neglecting’ and ‘taking’ seem to be used, the one for the other.

IX The suitability of the symbolism here is made all to turn on the wind. ‘Wind,’ says *K*û, ‘is simply the air, without solid substance; it can restrain, but not for long.’ The wind moves in the sky for a time, and then ceases. The process of thought from the symbol to the lesson is not easily traced. Is it meant to say that virtue manifesting itself outwardly — in the carriage and speech — is, however good, but a small matter, admirable in an officer, or even a feudal lord, but that we look for more in a king, the Head of a nation?

*Kh*ăng-žze calls attention to the addition to the duke of Kâu’s explanation in the notice on line 2, that ‘it is in the central place,’ adding that this explains how the subject of the line restrains himself, and does not go beyond what is due from him.

Only half of the symbolism in the Text of line 3 is taken up here. Line 1, it is said, is far from line 4, the mauvais sujet of the hexagram, and little affected by it; line 2 is nearer, but, being in the centre, suffers little; line 3 is close on it, and, not being in the centre, comes under its evil influence; while line 6 gives no help.

Line 4 is weak, and in an even place, appropriate to it; and hence its subject is said to ‘have sincerity.’ Being the first line, moreover, of Sun, the two others take their character from it.

Line 5, being undivided, and occupying the most important place in the figure, according to the value usually attached to the lines, is said ‘to be rich,’ or ‘to have rich resources.’ With these he unites with the ‘subjects’ of line 4 to effect their common object.

Under line 6 we are told that the restraint is at its height, and the restrained should keep still for a time. The paragraph is metrical. The paragraphs to lines 1, 2, 3, all rhyme together. So do those to 4, 5; and now under 6, we have a couplet:
— Lo! rain, lo! rest, the power is full!
Good man! hold hard. Obstructions rule.’

X ‘The sky above and a marsh lying below it is true,’ says *Kh*ăng-žze, ‘in nature and reason; and so should be the rules of propriety on which men tread.’ This symbolism is far-fetched; and so is the application of it, if in any way drawn from it. But it is true that the members of a community or nation must keep their several places and duties in order to its being in a state of good order.

For lines 1, 2, 3, and 4, see notes on the Text.

If we might translate the conclusion of what is said on line 5, by— ‘in the position that is correctly appropriate to him,’ the meaning would he more clear,

though still the assumption which I have pointed out on the Text would underlie the statement; and as evidently as there, what is said under line 6 is but a truism.

XI It is difficult to translate the application of 'the Great Symbolism' here, so that it shall be intelligible to a reader. *Kh*ăng-žze says:— 'A ruler should frame his laws; and regulations so that the people may avail themselves of the seasons of heaven, and of the advantages afforded by the earth, assisting their transforming and nourishing services, and completing their abundant and admirable benefits. Thus the breath of spring, calling forth all vegetable life, gives the law for sowing and planting; the breath of autumn, completing and solidifying all things, gives the law for ingathering and storing,' &c.

The subject of line 1 has 'his will on what is external to himself:' — he is bent on going forward.

*K*û Hsî explains what is said on paragraph 4, that the upper lines 'are out of their real place where they are,' or, literally, 'have lost their substantiality,' by the remark that 'their proper place, as being weak lines, is below.' The editors of the imperial edition prefer another explanation, on which I need not enter.

XII 'The Great Symbolism' here is sufficiently explained in the first Appendix. The application, however, is here again difficult, though we may try to find in it a particular instance of the interruption of communication, — in great merit not meeting with its reward.

The subject of the first line is one of the cluster of small men who are able to change their mind, and set their hearts to love their ruler.

The subject of the second line is a 'great man,' and occupies the place in the centre.

The subject of the third line is weak, and does not occupy his correct position; — hence the symbolism.

The fourth line is near the fifth, the ruler's place. It is a strong line in an even place; but acting according to the will of Heaven or of the ruler, its subject gets his purpose carried out.

The subject of the fifth line is the great man, the ruler in his right place. Hence he is successful, and in the last line, we see how the distress and obstruction are come to an end. It was in the order of change that they should do so.

XIII The style of 'heaven and fire form Thung *Z*ăn' is such as to suggest the appearance of fire ascending up, blazing to the sky, and uniting with it. The application of the symbolism is again perplexing.

In line 1, the party just issuing from his gate has all the world before him, with which to unite. Selfish thoughts disposing to union have no place in him.

In line 2, union (only) with kindred implies narrowness of mind. For line 3,

see note on the Text.

In line 4, stress should be laid on ‘yielding to the right.’

For line 5, see note on the Text.

The Khang-hsî editors append the following note to the last paragraph:— ‘Under line 1 it is said that “union in the open country indicates progress and success,” while here it is only said that “with union in the suburbs there is no cause for repentance.” Beyond the suburbs was the open country, and till the union reached so far, the object of the hexagram was not attained. We may truly say that Confucius was a skilful reader of the duke of *K*âu.’ Of course the editors did not doubt Confucius’ authorship of all the Appendixes.

XIV ‘Fire above the sky’ will shine far; and this is supposed to symbolise the vastness of the territory or of the wealth implied in the possession of what is great. The superior man, in governing men, especially in a time of prosperity and wealth, must set himself to develope what is good in them, and repress what is evil. And this will be in accordance with the will of Heaven, which has given to all men a nature fitted for goodness.

All the comment that is necessary on the symbolism of the several lines may be gathered from the comments on the Text.

XV The earth is low, and in the midst of it is a high mountain; but I fail to see how this can symbolise humility. Nor does Regis’ representation of it much improve the case:— ‘Monte’ (ait glossa) ‘nihil est altius in terra, quae est summe abjecta. At cum is declivis sit, imago esse potest humilis modestiae.’ I find the following note on the paragraph in my copy of the ‘Daily Lessons’(see Preface): — ‘The five yin lines above and below symbolise the earth; the one yang line in the centre is “the mountain in the midst of the earth.” The many yin lines represent men’s desires; the one yang line, heavenly principle. The superior man, looking at this symbolism, diminishes the multitude of human desires within him, and increases the single shoot of heavenly principle; so does he become grandly just, and can deal with all things evenly according to the nature of each. In whatever circumstances or place he is, he will do what is right.’ This is certainly very ingenious, but one shrinks from accepting a view that is not based on the component trigrams.

Under line 1, ‘nourishes his (virtue)’ is, literally, ‘pastures himself.’ He is all humility. That makes him what he is.

Under line 4, ‘the (proper) rule’ is the rule proper for the subject of the line in his circumstances so near the place of the ruler.

Under line 5, ‘the refusal to submit’ makes an appeal to force necessary. Even the best and humblest ruler bears the sword, and must not bear it in vain.

*K*û Hsî bases all that is said under line 6 on its being a weak line; so that the humble ruler is unable even at the close of the action described in the figure to accomplish all his objects, and must limit his field even in appealing to arms.

XVI 'The Great Symbolism' here is more obscure than usual. A thunderstorm clears the air and removes the feeling of oppression, of which one is conscious before its occurrence. Is this all that is meant by making the trigrams of the earth and thunder form Yü, the hexagram of harmony and satisfaction? What is meant, moreover, by making the thunder 'issue,' as the Chinese text says, from the earth? Then as to the application of this symbolism, I can trace the author's idea but imperfectly. To say that the thunder crash suggested the use of music, as some critics do, is absurd. The use of music at sacrifices, however, as assisting the union produced by those services between God and his worshippers, and the present and past generations, agrees with the general idea of the figure. I must suppose that the writer had in mind the sacrifices instituted by the duke of *K*âu, as related in the Hsiâo King, chap. ix.

Pleasure has operated injuriously on the subject of line 1. He calls attention to himself.

Only a part of the symbolism of line 2 is referred to here. Such an omission is not uncommon; — as in lines 3 and 4 also.

With 'the memories of the past not perishing' compare Mencius, II, Section i, cha. 6-13.

In line 6 the action of the hexagram is over. If one puts off changing his evil way any longer, there remains no more hope for him.

XVII An explosion of thunder amidst the waters of a marsh would be succeeded by a tremulous agitation of those waters; so far there would be a following of the movement of the lower trigram by the upper. Then in the application of the symbolism we have an illustration of action following the time, that is, according to the time; which is a common use of the Chinese character Sui. Neither the symbolism, however, nor its application adds much to our understanding of the text.

Paragraph 1 consists of two lines that rhyme; and paragraphs 4 (two lines), 5, and 6 do the same. According to Kû Yen-wû, paragraphs 2 and 3 also rhyme; but this appears to me doubtful. The symbolism of these paragraphs is sufficiently explained in the notes on the Text. Some peculiarities in their style (in Chinese) are owing to the bonds of the rhyme.

XVIII 'When the wind,' says *Kh*ăng-žze, 'encounters the mountain, it is driven back, and the things about are all scattered in disorder; such is the emblem of the state denoted by Kû.'

'The nourishing of virtue' appears especially in line 6; all the other lines

belong to the ‘helping of the people.’

The subject of line 1 has entered into the work of his father, and brings it about that his father is looked on as blameless. The ‘due mean’ of line 2 is according to the caution in the Text. The Khang-hsî editors interpret the explanation of line 5 as = ‘he takes up (the course of his father) with all his virtue.’ I think they are wrong.

XIX ‘The earth descending or approaching the marsh’ is, according to *K*û Hsî, symbolical of the approach of superiors to the inferior people, and then the two predicates about the superior man are descriptive of him in that approach, the instruction being symbolised by Tui, and the supporting by Khwăn. The Khang-hsî editors, wishing to defend the explanation of lin by ‘great,’ in Appendix VI, which they ascribe to Confucius, say:— ‘Lin means “great.” The earth above the waters of the marsh shows how full those waters are, rising to the level of the earth, and thus expressing the idea of greatness.’ This representation is lame and impotent.

*K*û Hsî says he does not understand what is said on line 2. The interpretation in my version is the ordinary one, but I am not satisfied with it. The Khang-hsî editors try to solve the difficulty; but I am not able to follow them.

The same editors compare the conclusion of paragraph 6 in the symbolism of hexagram 11. ‘What is external’ there, and ‘what is internal here,’ have, they say, the same reference, — the state, namely, of the whole kingdom, the expressions differing according to the different standpoints from which they are made. The view in the translation is that of *K*û Hsî. It is difficult to hold the balance between them. The newer view, perhaps, is the preferable.

XX Wind moving above the earth has the widest sweep, and nothing escapes its influence; it penetrates everywhere. This symbolism is more appropriate to the subject in hand than that of many other hexagrams. Personal influence in a ruler effects much; but the ancient kings wished to add to that the power of published instructions, specially adapted to the character and circumstances of the people. Sun, representing the wind, is well adapted to denote this influence; — see the Analects, XII, xix.

The looking in line 1 is superficial, and does not reach far.

Line 3. ‘He will not err in the path to be pursued;’ — advancing or receding as is best.

Line 4. ‘The glory of the kingdom’ is the virtue of the sovereign and the character of his administration. With the sentiment compare Mencius, VII, i, cha. 2.

XXI *Kh*ăng-žze says that thunder and lightning are always found together, and hence their trigrams go together to give the idea of union intended in Shih Ho. The one trigram symbolising majesty and the other brightness or intelligence, the application of the hexagram here is easier and more natural than in many other cases.

1. 'There is no walking:' — that is, the subject of the line will not dare to offend any more.

2. '"Being mounted on the strong first line" means,' says *Kh*ăng-žze, 'punishing a strong and vehement man, when severity is required, as is denoted by the central position of the line.'

4. 'His light has not been sufficiently displayed;' that is, there is still something for him to do: — he has to realise the difficulty of his position and be firm.

XXII 'A mountain,' says *Kh*ăng-žze, 'is a place where we find grass, trees, and a hundred other things. A fire burning below it throws up its light, and brings them all Out in beauty; and this gives the idea of ornament, or being ornamented. The various processes of government are small matters, and elegance and ornament help their course; but great matters of judgment demand the simple, unornamented truth.'

The subject of line 1 does not care for and does not need ornament. He will walk in the way of righteousness without it.

Paragraph 3 tells us that it is not ornament, but correct firmness, which secures the respect of others.

In the fourth place, and cut off from line 1 by 2 and 3, we might doubt how far the subject of 4 would continue loyal to the subject of it. But he does continue loyal, through the character and object of the subject of 3.

The Khang-hsî editors say:— 'Line 5 occupies the place of honour, and yet prefers simplicity and exalts economy; its subject might change and transform manners and customs; — it is a small matter to say of him that he affords occasion for joy.

The subject of line 6 has more of the spirit of the hexagram than in most hexagrams. His being clothed in simple white crowns the lesson that ornament must be kept in a secondary place.

XXIII A mountain,' says Yü Fan (towards the end of the Han dynasty), 'stands out high above the earth; here it appears as lying on the earth: — plainly it has been overturned.' On the other hand, Liû Mû (early in the Sung dynasty) says: — A mountain has the earth for its foundation. If the earth be thick, the mountain preserves its height. So it is with the sovereign and people.' The application might be deduced from either view.

It is hard to tell whether 'the lowest' in paragraph 1 should be supplemented as I have done. If not, then the explanation is a mere truism.

*Kh*ăng-žze is precise and decisive in supplementing the explanation of paragraph 2 as in the translation.

See on the Text of lines 3 and 4.

On paragraph 5, the Khang-hsî editors say admirably:— 'The fifth line is weak, and yet occupies the most honourable place in the figure, — emblematic of a queen; and as its subject leads on the subjects of the other lines to obtain the favours given to the inmates of the palace, she, it is plain, has neither jealousy nor any other injurious temper that might incur blame for tending to overthrow the ruler.'

Paragraph 6 shows the ruler restored to the favour of the people, and the restoration of concord in the state. The small men have done their worst, and there is an end of their attempts for a time.

XXIV 'Thunder in the midst of the earth' is thunder shut up and silent, just able to make its presence felt. So is it with the first genial stirrings of life after the winter solstice; so is it with the first returning steps of the wanderer to virtue. As the spring of life has to be nursed in quietness, so also has the purpose of good. The ancient statutes here referred to must have been like the present cessation from public and private business at the time of the new year, when all the Chinese people are for a time dissolved in festivity and joy.

Canon McClatchie translates here:— 'The ancient kings on this culminating day (i.e. the seventh) closed their gates,' &c. 'Culminating day' does not give us the meaning so well as 'the day of the solstice;' but where does the translator find the explanatory 'the seventh,' which he puts in parentheses? In my own 'salad' days of Chinese knowledge I fancied there might be in paragraph 1 of the Text some allusion to a primitive sabbath; but there is no ground for introducing 'seven days,' or 'the seventh day,' into this paragraph of the Great Symbolism.

The virtuous subject of the first line' is in paragraph 2 called *z*ăn, 'the benevolent' or loving.' It is the only case in all the symbolism of the Yî where we find that term used as an adjective. It is emphatic here for 'humanity,' man in his ideal.

The other paragraphs present nothing for remark beyond what has been said on the Text of the duke of *K*âu.

XXV The composition of the hexagram is given here in a manner different from what we have met with in the account of any of the preceding figures; and as the text is not called in question, I have made the best I could in the translation of the two commencing clauses. The application of the symbolism to what the ancient kings did is also hard to comprehend.

The paragraph on line 1 is another way of saying that in the course of things real goodness may be expected to be fortunate,— 'by the appointment of Heaven.'

Paragraph 2. 'The thought of getting rich had not risen in his mind:' — he did what he did, because it was right, not because of the gain it would bring him.

On paragraph 3, it is said, 'The superior man seeks simply to be free from insincerity, and leaves the questions of happiness and calamity to Heaven.'

Paragraph 5. Sickness ought not to happen to one who is perfectly sincere. If it do happen, he must refer it to some inexplicable will of Heaven. As that has afflicted, so it will cure.'

Paragraph 6. 'When a thing is over and done, submission and acquiescence are what are required, and not renewed attempts at action.'

XXVI I have quoted, in the Introduction, , *K*û Hsî's remark on the Great Symbolism here. *Kh*ăng-žze says:— 'Heaven is the greatest of all things, and its being in the midst of a mountain gives us the idea of a very large accumulation. And so great is the labour of the superior man in learning, acquiring, and remembering, to accumulate his virtue.'

Paragraph 1. The 'calamity' is that of opposition from, or repression by, the subject of line 4.

Paragraph 3. When the action of the hexagram has reached line 6, its work is done. The subject of 6 will no longer exercise repression, but join with that of 3, assisting him to advance.

Paragraph 4. The subject of line 4 has indeed occasion for joy. Without the use of punishment for crimes committed, by precaution anticipating them, without any trouble he has repressed evil. The 'joy' gives place in paragraph 5 to 'congratulation,' the people being all interested in the action of the ruler.

XXVII I do not think that the Great Symbolism here is anything but that of a thunderstorm, dispersing the oppression that bangs over nature, and followed by genial airs, and the reviving of all vegetation. But there is nothing analogous to the thunder in the application. 'Words,' it is said, 'nourish virtue; food and drink nourish the body.'

Paragraph 1. As Mencius said, 'He that nourishes the little belonging to him is a little man.'

Paragraph 2. Neither the subject of line 1, nor of line 6, is the proper associate of 2.

The other paragraphs are sufficiently illustrated in the notes on the Text.

XXVIII *Kh*ăng-žze says on the Great Symbolism:— 'The waters of a marsh moisten and nourish the trees. When here it is said that they destroy and extinguish the trees, their action is very extraordinary.' This explanation is very

far-fetched; and so is what the same scholar says on the application of it. I need not give it here, nor have I found, or myself made out, any other more easy and natural.

Paragraph 2. ‘Such an association is extraordinary:’ — the characters also imply, perhaps, that it is successful.

Paragraph 3. The beam being broken, any attempt to sustain it will have no effect in supporting the roof.

Paragraph 5. The shoots produced in line 2 will grow into a new and vigorous tree. The flowers here will soon decay, and the withered trunk continue the same. For what will a young man marry an old woman? There will be no children; — it can only be from some mercenary object.

XXIX The application of the Great Symbolism is here more perplexing even than usual. What is said of the superior man is good, but there is no reference in it to the subject of danger.

The subject of line 3 goes and comes, moves up and down, backwards and forwards; making no advance. This can be of no use in extricating him from the danger.

Those represented in line 4 by the strong and weak lines are the ruler and his minister.

XXX In the Great Symbolism Lî is used in the sense of brightness. There was no occasion to refer to its other meaning. ‘The great man’ rather confirms the interpretation of the ‘double brightness’ in the treatise on the Thwan as indicating the ruler.

Paragraph 2. As yellow is a ‘correct’ colour, so is the due mean the correct course.

Paragraph 3. ‘The declining sun,’ say the Khang-hsî editors, ‘is an emblem of the obscuration coming over the virtue of the mind.’

Paragraph 4. ‘None can bear with him’ refers to the second part of the symbolism of the line, which is not given here.

SECTION II

XXXI. (The trigram representing) a mountain and above it that for (the waters of) a marsh form Hsien. The superior man, in accordance with this, keeps his mind free from pre-occupation, and open to receive (the influences of) others.

1. 'He moves his great toe:' — his mind is set on what is beyond (himself).

2. Though 'there would be evil; yet, if he abide (quiet) in his place, there will be good fortune:' — through compliance (with the circumstances of his condition and place) there will be no injury.

3. 'He moves his thighs:' — he still does not (want to) rest in his place. His will is set on 'following others:' — what he holds in his grasp is low.

4. 'Firm correctness will lead to good fortune,

and prevent all occasion for repentance:' — there has not yet been any harm from (a selfish wish to) influence. 'He is unsettled in his movements:'(his power to influence) is not yet either brilliant or great.

5. 'He (tries to) move the flesh along the spine above the heart:' — his aim is trivial.

6. 'He moves his jaws and tongue:' — he (only) talks with loquacious mouth.

XXXII. (The trigram representing) thunder and that for wind form Hăng. The superior man, in accordance with this, stands firm, and does not change his method (of operation).

1. 'The evil attached to the deep desire for long continuance (in the subject of the first line)' arises from the deep seeking for it at the commencement (of things).

2. 'All occasion for repentance on the part of the subject of the second NINE, (undivided,), disappears:' — he can abide long in the due mean.

3. 'He does not continuously maintain his virtue:' — nowhere will he be borne with.

4. (Going) for long to what is not his proper place, how can he get game?

5. 'Such firm correctness in a wife will be fortunate:' — it is hers to the end of life to follow with an unchanged mind. The husband must decide what is right, and lay down the rule accordingly: — for him to follow (like) a wife is evil.

6. 'The subject of the topmost line is exciting himself to long continuance:' — far will he be from achieving merit.

XXXIII. (The trigram representing) the sky and below it that for a mountain form Thun. The superior man, in accordance with this, keeps small men at a distance, not by showing that he hates them, but by his own dignified gravity.

1. There is ‘the perilousness of the position shown by the retiring tail:’ — but if ‘no movement’ be made, what disaster can there be?

2. ‘He holds it as; by (a thong from the hide of) a yellow ox:’ — his purpose is firm.

3. ‘The peril connected with the case of one retiring, though bound,’ is due to the (consequent) distress and exhaustion. ‘If he were (to deal as in) nourishing a servant or concubine, it would be fortunate for him:’ — but a great affair cannot be dealt with in this way.

4. ‘A superior man retires notwithstanding his likings; a small man cannot attain to this.’

5. ‘He retires in an admirable way, and with firm correctness there will be good fortune:’ — this is due to the rectitude of his purpose.

6. ‘He retires in a noble way, and his doing so will be advantageous in every respect:’ — he who does so has no doubts about his course.

XXXIV. (The trigram representing) heaven and above it that for thunder form Tâ *K*wang. The superior man, in accordance with this, does not take a step which is not according to propriety.

1. ‘He manifests his vigour in his toes:’ — this will certainly lead to exhaustion.

2. ‘The second NINE, (undivided), shows that with firm correctness there will be good fortune:’ — this is due to its being in the centre, (and its subject exemplifying the due mean).

3. ‘The small man uses all his strength; in the case of the superior man it is his rule not to do so.’

4. ‘The fence is opened and the horns are not entangled:’ — (the subject of the line) still advances.

5. ‘He loses his ram and hardly perceives it:’ — he is not in his appropriate place.

6. ‘He is unable either to retreat or to advance:’ — this is owing to his want of care. ‘If he realise the difficulty (of his position), there will be good fortune:’ — his error will not be prolonged.

XXXV. (The trigram representing) the earth and that for the bright (sun) coming forth above it form Žin. The superior man, according to this, gives himself to make more brilliant his bright virtue.

1. ‘He appears wishing to advance, but (at the same time) being kept back:’ — all-alone he pursues the correct course. ‘Let him maintain a large and generous mind, and there will be no error:’ — he has not yet received an official charge.

2. ‘He will receive this great blessing:’ — for he is in the central place and the correct position for him.

3. ‘All (around) trust him:’ — their (common) aim is to move upwards and act.

4. ‘(He advances like) a marmot. However firm and correct he may be, his position is one of peril:’ — his place is not that appropriate for him.

5. ‘Let him not concern himself whether he fails or succeeds:’ — his movement in advance will afford ground for congratulation.

6. ‘He uses his horns only to punish (the rebellious people of) his city:’ — his course of procedure is not yet brilliant.

XXXVI. (The trigram representing) the earth and that for the bright (sun) entering within it form Ming Î. The superior man, in accordance with this, conducts his management of men; — he shows his intelligence by keeping it obscured.

1. ‘The superior man (is revolving his) going away:’ — (in such a case) he feels it right not to eat.

2. ‘The good fortune of (the subject of) the second SIX, divided,’ is due to the proper fashion of his acting according to his circumstances.

3. With the aim represented by ‘hunting in the south’ a great achievement is accomplished.

4. ‘He has (just) entered into the left side of the belly (of the dark land):’ — he is still able to carry out the idea in his (inner) mind.

5. ‘With the firm correctness of the count of *K*î,’ his brightness could not be (quite) extinguished.

6. ‘He had at first ascended to (the top of) the sky:’ — he might have enlightened the four quarters of the kingdom. ‘His future shall be to go into the earth:’ — he has failed to fulfil the model (of a ruler).

XXXVII. (The trigram representing) fire, and that for wind coming forth from it, form *K*iâ *Z*ăn. The superior man, in accordance with this, orders his words according to (the truth of) things, and his conduct so that it is uniformly consistent.

1. ‘He establishes restrictive regulations in his household: — (he does so), before any change has taken place in their wills.

2. ‘The good fortune attached to the second six, (divided),’ is due to the docility (of its subject), operating with humility.

3. When ‘the members of the household are treated with stern severity,’ there has been no (great) failure (in the regulation of the family). When ‘wife and children are smirking and chattering,’ the (proper) economy of the family has been lost.

4. ‘The family is enriched, and there is great good fortune:’ — this is due to the docility (belonging to the subject of the line), and its being in its correct place.

5. ‘The influence of the king extends to his family:’ — the intercourse between them is that of mutual love.

6. ‘The good fortune connected with the display of majesty’ describes (the result of) the recovery of the true character.

XXXVIII. (The trigram representing) fire above, and that for (the waters of) a marsh below, form Khwei. The superior man, in accordance with this, where there is a general agreement, yet admits diversity.

1. ‘He meets with bad men (and communicates with them):’ — (he does so), to avoid the evil of their condemnation.

2. ‘He happens to meet with his lord in a bye-passage:’ — but he has not deviated (for this meeting) from the (proper) course.

3. ‘We see his carriage dragged back:’ — this is indicated by the inappropriateness of the position (of the line).

‘There is no (good) beginning, but there will be a (good) end:’ — this arises from his meeting with the strong (subject of the topmost line).

4. ‘They blend their sincere desires together, and there will be no error:’ — their (common) aim is carried into effect.

5. ‘With his hereditary minister (he unites closely and easily) as if he were biting through a piece of skin:’ — his going forward will afford ground for congratulation.

6. ‘The good fortune symbolised by meeting with (genial) rain’ springs from the passing away of all doubts.

XXXIX. (The trigram representing) a mountain, and above it that for water, form *K*ien. The superior man, in accordance with this, turns round (and examines) himself, and cultivates his virtue.

1. ‘Advancing will conduct to (greater) difficulties, while remaining stationary will afford ground for praise:’ — the proper course is to wait.

2. ‘The minister of the king struggles with difficulty on difficulty:’ — in the end no blame will be attached to him.

3. ‘He advances, (but only) to (greater) difficulty; he remains stationary, and returns to his former associates:’ — they, (represented in) the inner (trigram), rejoice in him.

4. ‘To advance will (only be to) encounter (greater) difficulties; he remains stationary, and unites (with the subject of the line above):’ — that is in its proper place and has the solidity (due to it in that position).

5. ‘He struggles with the greatest difficulties, while friends are coming (to help him):’ — he is in the central position, and possesses the requisite virtue.

6. ‘To advance will (only) increase the difficulties, while his remaining stationary will (be productive of) great (merit):’ — his aim is to assist the (subject of the line) inside of him.

‘It will be advantageous to meet the great man:’ — by his course he follows that noble (lord of the figure).

XL. (The trigram representing) thunder and that for rain, with these phenomena in a state of manifestation, form *K*ieh. The superior man, in accordance with this, forgives errors, and deals gently with crimes.

1. The strong (fourth) line and the weak line here are in correlation: — we judge rightly in saying that ‘its subject will commit no error.’

2. ‘The good fortune springing from the firm correctness of the second NINE, (undivided),’ is due to its subject holding the due mean.

3. For ‘a porter with his burden to be riding in a carriage’ is a thing to be ashamed of. ‘It is he himself that tempts the robbers to come:’ — on whom besides can we lay the blame? (See Appendix III, i, 48.) 4. ‘Remove your toes:’ — the places (of this line and of the third and first) are all inappropriate to them.

5. When ‘the superior man executes his function of removing (whatever is injurious to the idea of the hexagram),’ small men will of themselves retire.

6. ‘A prince with his bow shoots a falcon:’ — thus he removes (the promoters of) rebellion.

XLI. (The trigram representing) a mountain and beneath it that for the waters of a marsh form Sun. The superior man, in accordance with this, restrains his wrath and represses his desires.

1. ‘He suspends his own affairs and hurries away (to help the subject of the fourth line):’ — the (subject of that) upper (line) mingles his wishes with his.

2. ‘It will be advantageous for (the subject of) the second NINE, (undivided), to maintain his firm correctness:’ — his central position gives its character to his aim.

3. ‘One man, walking,’ (finds his friend): — when three are together, doubts rise among them.

4. ‘He diminishes the ailment under which he labours:’ — this is matter for joy.

5. ‘The great good fortune attached to the fifth six, (divided),’ is due to the blessing from above.

6. ‘He gives increase to others without taking from what is his own:’ — he obtains his wish on a grand scale.

XLII. (The trigram representing) wind and that for thunder form Yî. The superior man, in accordance with this, when he sees what is good, moves towards it; and when he sees his errors, he turns from them.

1. 'If the movement be greatly fortunate, no blame will be imputed to him:' — though it is not for one in so low a position to have to do with great affairs.

2. 'Parties add to his stores:' — they come from beyond (his immediate circle) to do so.

3. 'Increase is given by means of what is evil and difficult:' — as he has in himself (the qualities called forth).

4. 'His advice to his prince is followed:' — his (only) object in it being the increase (of the general good).

5. '(The ruler) with sincere heart seeks to benefit (all below):' — there need be no question (about the result). '(All below) with sincere heart acknowledge (his goodness):' — he gets what he desires on a great scale.

6. 'To his increase none will contribute:' — this expresses but half the result. 'Many will seek to assail him:' — they will come from beyond (his immediate circle) to do so.

XLIII. (The trigram representing) heaven and that for the waters of a marsh mounting above it form Kwâi. The superior man, in accordance with this, bestows emolument on those below him, and dislikes allowing his gifts to accumulate (undispensed).

1. 'Without (being able to) succeed, he goes forward:' — this is an error.

2. 'Though hostile measures be taken against him, he need not be anxious:' — he pursues the course of the due mean.

3. 'The superior man looks bent on cutting off the culprit:' — there will in the end be no error.

4. 'He walks slowly and with difficulty:' — he is not in the place appropriate to him.

'He hears these words, but does not believe them:' — he hears, but does not understand.

5. 'If his action be in harmony with his central position, there will be no error:' — but his standing in the due mean is not yet clearly displayed.

6. 'There is the misery of having none on whom to call:' — the end will be that he cannot continue any longer.

XLIV. (The trigram representing) wind and that for the sky above it form Kâu. The sovereign, in accordance with this, delivers his charges, and promulgates his announcements throughout the four quarters (of the kingdom).

1. 'Tied and fastened to a metal drag:' — (this describes the arrest of) the weak (line) in its advancing course.

2. ‘He has a wallet of fish:’ — it is right for him not to allow (the subject of the first line) to get to the guests.

3. ‘He walks with difficulty:’ — but his steps have not yet been drawn (into the course of the first line).

4. ‘The evil’ indicated by there being ‘no fish in the wallet’ is owing to (the subject of the line) keeping himself aloof from the people.

5. ‘The subject of the fifth NINE, (undivided), keeps his brilliant qualities concealed:’ — as is indicated by his central and correct position.

‘(The good issue) descends (as) from Heaven:— ‘his aim does not neglect the ordinances (of Heaven).

6. ‘He receives others on his horns:’ — he is exhausted at his greatest height, and there will be cause for regret.

XLV. (The trigram representing the) earth and that for the waters of a marsh raised above it form Žhui. The superior man, in accordance with this, has his weapons of war put in good repair, to be prepared against unforeseen contingencies.

1. ‘In consequence disorder is brought into the sphere of his union:’ — his mind and aim are thrown into confusion.

2. ‘He is led forward; there will be good fortune, and freedom from error:’ — (the virtue proper to) his central place has not undergone any change.

3. ‘If he go forward, he will not err:’ — in the subject of the topmost line there is humility and condescension.

4. ‘If he be grandly fortunate, he will receive no blame:’ — (this condition is necessary, because) his position is not the one proper to him.

5. ‘There is the union (of all) under him in the place of dignity:’ — (but) his mind and aim have not yet been brilliantly displayed.

6. ‘He sighs and weeps:’ — he does not yet rest in his topmost position.

XLVI. (The trigram representing) wood and that for the earth with the wood growing in the midst of it form Shăng. The superior man, in accordance with this, pays careful attention to his virtue, and accumulates the small developments of it till it is high and great.

1. ‘He is welcomed in his advance upwards, and there will be great good fortune:’ — (the subjects of) the upper (trigram) are of the same mind with him.

2. ‘The sincerity of the subject of the second NINE, undivided,’ affords occasion for joy.

3. ‘He advances upwards (as into) an empty city:’ — he has no doubt or hesitation.

4. ‘The king employs him to prevent his offerings on mount *Khî*:’ — such a service (of spiritual Beings) is according to (their mind).

5. ‘He is firmly correct, and will therefore enjoy good fortune. He ascends the stairs (with all due ceremony):’ — he grandly succeeds in his aim.

6. ‘He blindly advances upwards,’ and is in the highest place: — but there is decay in store for him, and he will not (preserve) his riches.

XLVII. (The trigram representing) a marsh, and (below it that for a defile, which has drained the other dry so that there is) no water in it, form Khwăn. The superior man, in accordance with this, will sacrifice his life in order to carry out his purpose.

1. ‘He enters a dark valley:’ — so benighted is he, and without clear vision.

2. ‘He is straitened amidst his wine and viands:’ — (but) his position is central, and there will be ground for congratulation.

3. ‘He lays hold of thorns:’ — (this is suggested by the position of the line) above the strong (line).

‘He enters his palace, and does not see his wife:’ — this is inauspicious.

4. ‘He proceeds very slowly (to help the subject of the first line):’ — his aim is directed to (help) that lower (line). Although he is not in his appropriate place, he and that other will (in the end) be together.

5. ‘His nose and feet are cut off:’ — his aim has not yet been gained.

‘He is leisurely, however, in his movements, and is satisfied:’ — his position is central and (his virtue) is correct.

‘It will be well for him to be (as sincere as) in sacrificing:’ — so shall he receive blessing.

6. ‘He is straitened as if bound with creepers: (his spirit and action) are unsuitable.

‘(He says), “If I move, I shall repent of it.” And he does repent (of former errors), which leads to good fortune:’ — so he (now) goes on.

XLVIII. (The trigram representing) wood and above it that for water form Žing. The superior man, in accordance with this, comforts the people, and stimulates them to mutual helpfulness.

1. ‘A well so muddy that men will not drink of it:’ — this is indicated by the low position (of the line).

‘An old well to which the birds do not come:’ — it has been forsaken in the course of time.

2. ‘A well from which by a hole the water escapes, and flows away to the shrimps:’ — (the subject of this second line has) none co-operating with him (above).

3. ‘The well has been cleared out, but is not used:’ — (even) passers-by would be sorry for this.

A prayer is made ‘that the king were intelligent:’ — for then blessing would be received.

4. ‘A well the lining of which is well laid. There will be no error:’ — the well has been put in good repair.

5. ‘The waters from the cold spring are (freely) drunk:’ — this is indicated by the central and correct position (of the line).

6. ‘The great good fortune’ at the topmost place indicates the grand accomplishment (of the idea in the hexagram).

XLIX. (The trigram representing the waters of) a marsh and that for fire in the midst of them form Ko. The superior man, in accordance with this, regulates his (astronomical) calculations, and makes clear the seasons and times.

1. ‘He is bound with (the skin of) a yellow ox:’ — he should in his circumstances be taking action.

2. ‘He makes his changes when some time has passed:’ — what he does will be matter of admiration.

3. ‘The change (contemplated) has been three times fully discussed:’ — to what else should attention (now) be directed?

4. ‘The good fortune consequent on changing (existing) ordinances’ is due to the faith reposed in his aims.

5. ‘The great man produces his changes as the tiger does when he changes his stripes:’ — their beauty becomes more brilliant.

6. ‘The superior man produces his changes as the leopard does when he changes his spots:’ — their beauty becomes more elegant.

‘Small men change their faces:’ — they show themselves prepared to follow their ruler.

L. (The trigram representing) wood and above it that for fire form Ting. The superior man, in accordance with this, keeps his every position correct, and maintains secure the appointment (of Heaven).

1. ‘The caldron is overturned, and its feet turned upwards:’ — but this is not (all) contrary (to what is right).

‘There will be advantage in getting rid of what was bad:’ — thereby (the subject of the line) will follow the more noble (subject of the fourth line).

2. ‘There is the caldron with the things (to be cooked) in it:’ — let (the subject of the line) be careful where he goes.

‘My enemy dislikes me:’ — but there will in the end be no fault (to which he can point).

3. ‘There is the caldron with (the places for) its ears changed:’ — (its subject) has failed in what was required of him (in his situation).

4. ‘The contents designed for the ruler’s use are overturned and spilt:’ — how can (the subject of the line) be trusted?

5. ‘The caldron has yellow ears:’ — the central position (of the line) is taken as (a proof of) the solid (virtue of its subject).

6. ‘The rings of jade’ are at the very top: — the strong and the weak meet in their due proportions.

LI. (The trigram representing) thunder, being repeated, forms *K*ăn. The superior man, in accordance with this, is fearful and apprehensive, cultivates (his virtue), and examines (his faults).

1. ‘When the (time of) movement comes, he will be found looking out with apprehension:’ — that feeling of dread leads to happiness.

‘He yet smiles and talks cheerfully:’ — the issue (of his dread) is that he adopts (proper) laws (for his course).

2. ‘When the movement approaches, he is in a position of peril:’ — (a weak line) is mounted on a strong (one).

3. ‘He is distraught amid the startling movements going on:’ — (the third line) is in a position unsuitable to it.

4. ‘Amid the startling movements, he sinks supinely in the mud:’ — the light in him has not yet been brilliantly developed.

5. ‘He goes and comes amid the startling movements, and (always) in peril:’ — full of risk are his doings.

‘What he has to do has to be done in his central position:’ — far will he be from incurring any loss.

6. ‘Amid the startling movements he is in breathless dismay:’ — he has not found out (the course of) the due mean.

‘Though evil (threatens), he will not fall into error:’ — he is afraid of being warned by his neighbours.

LII. (Two trigrams representing) a mountain, one over the other, form Kăn. The superior man, in

accordance with this, does not go in his thoughts beyond the (duties of the) position in which he is.

1. ‘He keeps his toes at rest:’ — he does not fail in what is correct (according to the idea of the figure).

2. ‘He cannot help him whom he follows:’(he whom he follows) will not retreat to listen to him.

3. ‘He keeps the loins at rest:’ — the danger (from his doing so) produces a glowing, heat in the heart.

4. ‘He keeps the trunk of his body at rest:’ — he keeps himself free (from agitation).

5. ‘He keeps his cheek bones at rest:’ — in harmony with his central position he acts correctly.

6. ‘There is good fortune through his devotedly maintaining his restfulness:’ — to the end he shows himself generous and good.

LIII. (The trigram representing) a mountain and above it that for a tree form *K*ien. The superior man, in accordance with this, attains to and maintains his extraordinary virtue, and makes the manners of the people good.

1. ‘The danger of a small officer (as represented in the first line)’ is owing to no fault of his in the matter of what is right.

2. ‘They eat and drink joyfully and at ease:’ — but not without having earned their food.

3. ‘A husband goes and does not return:’ — he separates himself from his comrades.

‘A wife is pregnant, but will not nourish her child:’ — she has failed in her (proper) course.

‘It might be advantageous in resisting plunderers:’ — by acting as here indicated men would preserve one another.

4. ‘They may light on the flat branches:’ — there is docility (in the line) going on to flexible penetration.

5. ‘In the end the natural issue cannot be prevented. There will be good fortune:’ — (the subject of the line) will get what he desires.

6. ‘Their feathers can be used as ornaments. There will be good fortune:’ — (the object and character of the subject of the line) cannot be disturbed.

LIV. (The trigram representing the waters of) a marsh and over it that for thunder form Kwei Mei. The superior man, in accordance with this, having regard to the far-distant end, knows the mischief (that may be done at the beginning).

1. ‘The younger sister is married off in a position ancillary to that of the real wife:’ — it is the constant practice (for such a case).

‘Lame on one leg, she is able to tramp along:’ — she can render helpful service.

2. ‘There will be advantage in maintaining the firm correctness of a solitary widow:’ — (the subject of the line) has not changed from the constancy (proper to a wife).

3. ‘The younger sister who was to be married off is in a mean position:’ — this is shown by the improprieties (indicated in the line).

4. (The purpose in) ‘protracting the time’ is that, after waiting, the thing may be done (all the better).

5. ‘The sleeves of the younger sister of (king) Tî-yî, when she was married away, were not equal to those of her (half-)sister, who accompanied her:’ — such was her noble character, indicated by the central position of the line.

6. ‘(What is said in) the sixth SIX, (divided),about there being nothing in the basket’ shows that the subject of it is carrying an empty basket.

LV. (The trigrams representing) thunder and lightning combine to form Făng. The superior man, in accordance with this, decides cases of litigation, and apportions punishments with exactness.

1. ‘Though they are both of the same character, there will be no error:’ — if the subject of this line seek to overpass that similarity, there will be calamity.

2. ‘Let him cherish his feeling of sincere devotion, that it shall appear being put forth:’ — it is by sincerity that the mind is affected.

3. ‘There is an (additional) screen of a large and thick banner:’ — great things should not be attempted (in such circumstances).

‘He breaks his right arm:’ — in the end he will not be fit to be employed.

4. ‘He is surrounded by a screen large and thick:’ — the position of the line is inappropriate.

‘At midday he sees the constellation of the Bushel:’ — there is darkness and no light.

‘He meets with the subject of the line, undivided like himself. There will be good fortune:’ — action may be taken.

5. ‘The good fortune indicated by the fifth six, (divided),’is the congratulation (that is sure to arise).

6. ‘He has made his house large:’ — he soars (in his pride) to the heavens.

‘He looks at his door, which is still, with no one about it:’ — he (only) keeps himself withdrawn from all others.

LVI. (The trigram representing) a mountain and above it that for fire form Lü. The superior man, in accordance with this, exerts his wisdom and caution in the use of punishments and not allowing litigations to continue.

1. ‘The stranger is mean and meanly occupied:’ — his aim is become of the lowest character, and calamity will ensue.

2. ‘He is provided with good and trusty servants:’ — he will in the end have nothing of which to complain.

3. ‘The stranger burns his lodging-house:’ — and he himself also suffers hurt thereby. When, as a stranger, he treats those below him (as the line indicates),

the right relation between him and them is lost.

4. ‘The stranger is in a resting-place:’ — but he has not got his proper position.

‘He has the means of livelihood, and the axe:’ — but his mind is not at ease.

5. ‘In the end he will obtain praise and a (high) charge:’ — he has reached a high place.

6. ‘Considering that the stranger is here at the very height (of distinction),’ with the spirit that possesses him, it is right he (should be emblemed by a bird) burning (its nest).

‘He loses his ox(-like docility) too readily and easily:’ — to the end he would not listen to (the truth about the course to be pursued).

LVII. (Two trigrams representing) wind, following each other, form Sun. The superior man, in accordance with this, reiterates his orders, and secures the practice of his affairs.

1. ‘(Now) he advances, (now) he recedes:’ — his mind is perplexed.

It would be advantageous for him to have the firmness of a brave soldier:’ — his mind would in that case be well governed.

2. ‘The good fortune springing from what borders on confusion’ is due to the position (of the line) in the centre.

3. ‘The regret arising from the violent and repeated efforts to penetrate’ shows the exhaustion of the will.

4. ‘He takes game in his hunting, enough for the threefold use of it:’ — he achieves merit.

5. ‘The good fortune of (the subject of) the fifth NINE, undivided,’ is owing to its correct position and its being in the centre.

6. ‘The representative of penetration is beneath a couch:’ — though occupying the topmost place, his powers are exhausted.

‘He has lost the axe with which he executed his decisions:’ — though he try to be correct, there will be evil.

LVIII. (Two symbols representing) the waters of a marsh, one over the other, form Tui. The superior man, in accordance with this, (encourages) the conversation of friends and (the stimulus of) their (common) practice.

1. ‘The good fortune attached to the pleasure of (inward) harmony’ arises from there being nothing in the conduct (of the subject of the line) to awaken doubt.

2. ‘The good fortune attached to the pleasure arising from (inward sincerity)’ is due to the confidence felt in the object (of the subject of the line).

3. ‘The evil predicated of one’s bringing around himself whatever can give pleasure’ is shown by the inappropriateness of the place (of the line).

4. ‘The joy in connexion with (the subject of) the fourth NINE, (undivided): is due to the happiness (which he will produce).

5. ‘He trusts in one who would injure him:’ — his place is that which is correct and appropriate.

6. ‘The topmost SIX, (divided), shows the pleasure (of its subject) in leading and attracting others:’ — his (virtue) is not yet brilliant.

LIX. (The trigram representing) water and that for wind moving above the water form Hwân. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, presented offerings to God and established the ancestral temple.

1. ‘The good fortune attached to the first six, divided),’is due to the natural course (pursued by its subject).

2. ‘Amidst the prevailing dispersion, he hurries to his contrivance (for security):’ — he gets what he desires.

3. ‘He has no regard to his own person:’ — his aim is directed to what is external to himself.

4. ‘He scatters the (different) parties (in the state), and there is great good fortune:’ — brilliant and great (are his virtue and service).

5. ‘The accumulations of the royal (granaries) are dispersed, and there is no error:’ — this is due to the correctness of the position.

6. ‘His bloody wounds are gone:’ — he is far removed from the danger of injury.

LX. (The trigram representing) a lake, and above it that for water, form *K*ieh. The superior man, in accordance with this, constructs his (methods of) numbering and measurement, and discusses (points of) virtue and conduct.

1. ‘He does not quit the courtyard outside his door:’ — he knows when he has free course and when he is obstructed.

2. ‘He does not quit the courtyard inside his gate. There will be evil:’ — he loses the time (for action) to an extreme degree.

3. In ‘the lamentation for not observing the (proper) regulations,’ who should there be to blame?

4. ‘The progress and success of the quiet and natural (attention) to all regulations’ is due to the deference which accepts the ways of (the ruler) above.

5. ‘The good fortune arising from the regulations enacted sweetly and acceptably’ is due to (the line)

occupying the place (of authority) and being in the centre.

6. ‘The regulations are severe and difficult. Even with firm correctness there will be evil:’ — the course (indicated by the hexagram) is come to an end.

LXI. (The trigram representing the waters of) a marsh and that for wind above it form *K*ung Fû. The superior man, in accordance with this, deliberates

about cases of litigation and delays (the infliction of) death.

1. ‘The first NINE, (undivided), shows its subject resting (in himself). There will be good fortune:’ — no change has yet come over his purpose.

2. ‘Her young ones respond to her:’ — from the (common) wish of the inmost heart.

3. ‘Now he beats his drum, and now he leaves off:’ — the position (of the line) is the appropriate one for it.

4. ‘A horse the fellow of which disappears:’ — he breaks from his (former) companions, and mounts upwards.

5. ‘He is perfectly sincere, and links others to him in closest union:’ — the place (of the line) is the correct and appropriate one.

6. ‘Chanticleer (tries to) mount to heaven:’ — but how can (such an effort) continue long?

LXII. (The trigram representing) a hill and that for thunder above it form Hsiâo Kwo. The superior man, in accordance with this, in his conduct exceeds in humility, in mourning exceeds in sorrow, and in his expenditure exceeds in economy.

1. ‘There is a bird flying (and ascending) till the result is evil:’ — nothing can be done to avoid this issue.

2. ‘He does not attempt to reach his ruler:’ —

a minister should not overpass the distance (between his ruler and himself).

3. ‘Some in consequence find opportunity to assail and injure him. There will be evil:’ — how great will it be!

4. ‘He meets the exigency (of his situation), without exceeding (the proper course):’ — (he does so), the position being inappropriate (for a strong line).

‘If he go forward, there will be peril, and he must be cautious:’ — the result would be that his course would not be long pursued.

5. ‘There are dense clouds, but no rain:’ — (the line) is in too high a place.

6. ‘He does not meet the exigency (of his situation), and exceeds (his proper course):’ — (the position indicates) the habit of domineering.

LXIII. (The trigram representing) fire and that for water above it form *K*î Žî. The superior man, in accordance with this, thinks of evil (that may come), and beforehand guards against it.

1. ‘He drags back his wheel:’ — as we may rightly judge, there will be no mistake.

2. ‘In seven days she will find it:’ — for the course pursued is that indicated by the central position (of the line).

3. ‘He was three years in subduing it:’ — enough to make him weary.

4. ‘He is on his guard all the day:’ — he is in doubt about something.

5. ‘The slaughtering of an ox by the neighbour in the east is not equal to (the small sacrifice of) the neighbour in the west:’ — because the time (in the latter case is more important and fit).

‘His sincerity receives the blessing:’ — good fortune comes on a great scale.

6. ‘His head is immersed; the position is perilous:’ — how could such a state continue long?

LXIV. (The trigram representing) water and that for fire above it form Wei Žî. The superior man, in accordance with this, carefully discriminates among (the qualities of) things, and the (different) positions they (naturally) occupy.

1. ‘His tail gets immersed:’ — this is the very height of ignorance.

2. ‘The second NINE, (undivided), shows good fortune arising from being firm and correct:’ — it is in the central place, and the action of its subject thereby becomes correct.

3. ‘(The state of things is) not yet remedied. Advancing will lead to evil:’ — the place (of the line) is not that appropriate for it.

4. (By firm correctness there is good fortune, and cause for repentance disappears:’ — the aim (of the subject of the line) is carried into effect.

5. ‘(We see) the brightness of a superior man:— ‘the diffusion of that brightness tends to good fortune.

6. ‘He drinks and gets his head immersed:’ — he does not know how to submit to the (proper) regulations.

FOOTNOTES

XXXI In various ways the waters of a marsh, placed high above the adjacent land, will descend to water and fertilise them. This symbolism agrees sufficiently well with the idea of influence passing between a superior and inferior party in relation with each other. There is nothing in the representation, however, to suggest particularly the relation between husband and wife; and the more I think of it, the more doubtful it becomes to me that king Wan intended by the trigrams of this figure to give the idea of man and wife. The application of the symbolism is sufficiently appropriate. The commentators see in it especially the lesson of humility — emptiness of self, or poverty of spirit — in order that the influences to which we are subjected may have free course.

Paragraph 1. What is beyond one’s self is represented by line 4, a proper correlate of 1. There is the desire to influence; but it is ineffectively exhibited.

Paragraph 2. ‘Compliance (with the circumstances of his condition and place)’ is merely another way of ‘being firm and correct.’

Paragraph 3. The language, ‘What he holds in his grasp is low,’ makes *K*û Hsî and the older commentators generally understand low of lines 1 and 2, and their weak subjects. But ‘following’ leads the mind to the lines above, as the Khang-hsî editors point out. ‘Low’ is to be understood in the sense of ‘mean.’

Paragraph 4. The ‘being firm and correct’ appears here as equivalent to the want of ‘a selfish wish to influence.’

Paragraph 5. The triviality of the aim explains the ineffectiveness of the movement, but not its giving no occasion for repentance. That the mei which are moved are behind and above the region of the heart seems too mechanical and trivial an explanation.

XXXII How the interaction of wind and thunder symbolises the lesson of the hexagram, and especially the application in this paragraph of that symbolism, is a question I have not been able to solve.

Paragraph 1. The stress of what is said under line 1 is here made to lie on its being the first line of the figure.

Paragraph 2. Line 2 is in the centre of its trigram, and that position, here as often elsewhere, symbolises the course of its subject.

Paragraph 3. The Khang-hsî editors make the application here = ‘nowhere can he bear (to remain).’

From paragraph 5 it appears that what is right will vary in different cases. The lesson of the hexagram is perseverance in what is right in each particular case.

XXXIII *K*û Hsî says:— ‘The sky is illimitable; a mountain is high, but has its limits; the union of these is an emblem of retiring.’ I do not understand such embleming. *Kh*ăng-žze says:— ‘Below the sky is a mountain. The mountain rises up below the sky, and its height is arrested, while the sky goes up higher and higher, till they come to be apart from each other. In this we have an emblem of retiring and avoiding.’ We feel somewhat as if there were a meaning in this; but, as in many other cases, both the symbolism and its application are but dimly apprehended.

The symbolism of the various lines is sufficiently explained on the Text. Paragraph 5 is but a repetition of the Text without additional explanation.

XXXIV In illustration of the symbolism of the trigrams here, *Kh*ăng-žze says well:— ‘Thunder rolling above in the sky and making all things shake is the emblem of great power.’ In passing on to its application he starts with a beautiful saying of antiquity, that ‘the strong man is he who overcomes himself.’ That this thought was in the mind of the writer of the paragraph on the Great Symbolism I can well believe; but the analogy between the natural and the moral and spiritual

worlds in passing from the phenomenon of thunder to this truth is a thing to be felt, and that can hardly be described.

Paragraph 1. ‘This will lead to exhaustion;’ and from that will follow distress and other evils.

The central position and the due moral mean in paragraph 2 is another instance of the felt analogy referred to above.

In paragraph 3 nothing is added to the Text; and on the symbolism nothing is said.

Paragraph 5. ‘He is not in his appropriate place:’ this is said simply because an odd place ought to be filled by a strong line.

XXXV The sun rising above the earth, and then travelling up to his meridian height, readily suggests the idea of advancing. On the application of this symbolism, Hû Ping-wăn (Yüan dynasty) says:— ‘Of strong things there is none so strong as heaven; and hence the superior man after its pattern makes himself strong; of bright things there is none so bright as the sun, and after its pattern he makes himself bright.’

If the subject of line 1 had received an official charge, then when unrecognised by his sovereign, and obstructed in his progress, his correct course would have been to cease to advance, and retire from the office in which he was not allowed to carry out his principles.

There is nothing said on line 2 to explain particularly the symbolism of ‘the grandmother’ in the Text.

‘The course of procedure’ in paragraph 6 has still an element of force in it, which is more than ‘the firm correctness’ that was to king Wăn the ideal character of a feudal lord, and therefore his light is not yet that of the full-orbed sun.

XXXVI The application of the Great Symbolism here is in itself sufficiently natural; but this meaning of the hexagram hardly appears in the text, till we come to the sixth line.

Paragraph 1. ‘He thinks it right not to eat;’ — he does not purposely fast; but when he has nothing to eat, he does not complain. He thinks it right that it should be so in the case.

Paragraph 2. ‘The proper fashion of acting’ is suggested by the weak line’s being in the central place.

Paragraph 3. ‘The great achievement is accomplished;’ but such achievement was not what prompted to action.

Paragraph 4. ‘The idea in his inner mind’ is the idea of withdrawing from the position and escaping; but the meaning is obscure. See on the Text.

XXXVII The Symbolism here is certainly far-fetched. ‘As wind,’ it is said,’ comes first from fire, so does transforming influence emanate from the family.’ But the subject of the hexagram is the regulation and not the influence of the family. Then the application is good for the superior man’s cultivation of himself; but this again is only connected indirectly with the regulation of the family.

The sooner preventive measures are presented to the youthful mind the better; but does not prohibition imply that a change in the good will has taken place?

In paragraph 2 ‘docility’ is suggested by the weak line. ‘The humility’ comes out of Sun, the upper trigram, whose attribute is pliant flexibility.

Yü Yen (Yüan dynasty) ingeniously observes on paragraph 4 that the riches of a family are not to be sought in its wealth, but in the affection and harmony of its members. Where these prevail, the family is not likely to be poor, and whatever it has will be well preserved.

The mention ‘of mutual love’ is unusual in Chinese writings, and must be considered remarkable here. ‘The husband,’ says *Kh*ăng-žze, ‘loves his helpmate in the house; the wife loves him who is the pattern for the family.’ But however admirable the sentiment is, it comes from the mind of the writer, and is not drawn from the Text.

Paragraph 6. It is said on this, that the majesty is not designedly assumed or put on; but the effect of the character remoulded and perfected. The words of Mencius are aptly quoted in illustration of the lesson:— ‘If a man himself do not walk in the (right) path, it will not be walked in (even) by his wife and children.’

XXXVIII The application here of the Symbolism is correct, but neither of them comes up to the idea of disunion which is in Khwei.

The various paragraphs seem to need no illustration beyond what may be found in the notes on the Text.

XXXIX The Symbolism is described here a little differently from the form of it in Appendix I. *Kh*ăng-žze brings the same meaning out of it, however, in the following way:— ‘We have here a steep and difficult mountain, and again on the top of that there is water; each of the two trigrams is an emblem of perilousness. There is peril, both above and below, in the figure; and hence it represents the difficulties of the state.’ The application of the symbolism is illustrated by the words of Mencius, ‘When we do not, by what we do, realise (what we desire), we must turn inwards and examine ourselves in every point.’

From the lesson in paragraph 2 we saw that the moral value of conduct is independent of failure or success. It is said, ‘Though the difficulties be too great for him to overcome, the sage accepts his desire, in order to stimulate others to loyal devotedness.’

On paragraph 3, Khung Ying-tâ says:— ‘Of the three lines of the lower trigram only the third is yang, above the two others which are of the yin nature. They cling to it, and are represented as if rejoicing in it.

The view given of paragraph 4 is that of the Khang-hsî editors.

‘The friends’ in paragraph 5 are the subjects of the second line, the correlate of 5, and also of the two other lines of the lower trigram.

Sû Shih (A. D. 1036-1101) remarks on paragraph 6 that by ‘the inside,’ and ‘the noble,’ we are to understand the subject of line 5.

XL It is a common saying that thunder and rain clear the atmosphere, and a feeling of oppression is relieved. The last paragraph of Appendix I, however, leads us to understand the Symbolism of the phenomena of spring. The application seems to refer to the gentle policy of a conqueror forward to forgive the opposition of those who offer no more resistance.

The subject of line 2 is a minister or officer; and the Khang-hsî editors say that while straightforwardness, symbolised by the arrow, is the first duty of an officer, if he do not temper that quality by pursuing the due medium, which is symbolised by the yellow colour of the arrow, but proceed by main force, and that only, to remove what is evil, he will provoke indignation and rebellion. The ‘three foxes’ are not alluded to in this second paragraph.

On paragraph 4 the same editors say:— ‘The subject of this line is not in the central nor in an odd place; he has for his correlate the subject of line 1 and for his close associate that of line 3, both of which lines are weak in strong places. Hence it is said, that they are all in places inappropriate to them.’

What paragraph 5 says, that ‘the small men retire,’ means that believing in the sincerity of the ruler’s determination to remove all evil men, they retire of themselves, or strive to conform to his wishes.

XLI ‘The waters of a marsh are continually rising up in vapour to bedew the hill above it, and thus increase its verdure; what is taken from the marsh gives increase to the hill.’ This is very far-fetched. In the application again the superior man acts only on himself, and for himself; — which has nothing to do with those of low degree giving to those above them. This application, however, agrees with what, as we have seen on the Text, was *Kh*ăng-žze’s view of the meaning of the hexagram.

The explanation appended to paragraph 1 seems to be to account for the subject of line 1 hurrying away to the help of line 4.

‘His aim’ is to abide where he is, and help the subject of 5 by the exhibition of ‘firm correctness.’

The Khang-hsî editors observe that paragraph 3 is true indeed of three men; and not of three men only, but of many repetitions of thought or action.

The same editors say on paragraph 5 that 'the blessing from above is explained, by many, of the oracles obtained through divining with the tortoise-shell; but that looking at the text on line 2 of the next hexagram, and that Tî (spoken of there) is the lord of all spirits, the term "above" here is most naturally explained of Heaven's mind, whose acceptance cannot be gainsaid by men or spirits.'

*Kh*ăng-žze says on paragraph 6, though I do not see the relevancy of his remarks:— 'Dwelling on high, and taking nothing from those below him, but on the contrary giving more to them, the superior man accomplishes his aim on a grand scale. The aim of the superior man is simply to be increasing what others have; — that and nothing else.'

XLII The Symbolism here is different from what we gather from the former Appendix. Sun no longer symbolises wood, but, as it more commonly does, wind. Thunder and wind, it is supposed, increase each the other; and their combination gives the idea of increase. Then the application, good in itself, must be treated very nicely, as it is by the Khang-hsî editors, in order to make out any connexion between it and the Symbolism.

Paragraph 1. 'One in a low position should not move in great affairs;' — not a son, it is said, while his father is alive; nor a minister, while his ruler governs; nor a member of an official department, while its head directs its affairs. If such a one do initiate such an affair, only great success will excuse his rashness.

Paragraph 2. Line 5 is the proper correlate of 2; and its subject will be among the contributing parties. But others 'beyond' will be won to take part with him.

Paragraph 3. There is a soul of good even in men who seem only evil; and adversity may quicken it.

Paragraph 6. As in line 2 the attractive power of benevolence is shown, so in line 6 we have the repulsive power of selfishness exhibited. Mark the 'from beyond' in both paragraphs.

XLIII We can only understand the mounting of the waters of a marsh up into the sky of the phenomenon of evaporation; and certainly the waters so formed into clouds will be condensed, and come down again as rain. This may be taken as an image of dispersion, but not of displacement in the sense of the Text of the hexagram.

The first clause of the application follows naturally enough from the above interpretation of the Symbolism. *K*û Hsî says he does not understand the second clause. Many critics adopt the view of it which appears in the translation.

Paragraph 2 does not mention the precautionary measures taken in the Text by the subject of the line, from which the conclusion would follow quite as

naturally as from his central position. The Khang-hsî editors, however, say that the not having recourse lightly to force is itself the due course.

Line 3 responding, and alone of all the strong lines responding to 6, may appear at first irresolute, and not prepared for decided measures; but 1 in the end' its subject does what is required of him.

The contiguity of line 5 to the divided 6, is supposed to have some bad effect on its subject, so that while he does what his central position requires, it is not without an effort. 'If a man,' says *Kh*ăng-žze, 'cherish a single illicit desire in his mind, he has left the right way. The admonition here conveyed is deep.'

XLIV Wind, blowing all-under the sky, penetrates everywhere, and produces its natural effect; and it is a good application of this phenomenon that follows; but it has nothing to do with the meaning of Kâu and the interpretation of the hexagram, as taught in the Text. The Khang-hsî editors perceive this, and deal with the Symbolism after a method of their own, on which it is unnecessary to enter.

Paragraph 1. My supplement, 'This describes the arrest of,' is a conclusion from the whole of the Text on the line. All the commentaries have it.

In the 'Daily Lecture' it is said that the lesson of paragraph 2 is that 'the subject of the line should make the repression of 1 his own exclusive work, and not allow it to pass on to the subject of any of the other lines.' That view is rather different from the one indicated in my supplement.

'His steps have not been drawn into the course of the first line:' — we have to supply, land therefore there will be no great error.'

Paragraph 4. See what is said on the Text. But that the subject of the line stands alone is owing, it is here implied, to his own impatience. If he could exercise forbearance, he would find a proper opportunity to check the advance of the subject of line 1.

The subject of line 5, while mindful of his task in the hexagram, — to repress the advance symbolised by 1, — yet keeps his wise plans concealed till the period of carrying them into execution, determined by the ordinances of Heaven, has arrived. Then comes the successful stroke of his policy as if it were directly from Heaven. The subject of line 6 really accomplishes nothing to repress the advance of the unworthy; but he keeps himself from evil communication with them. He is not to be charged with blameable error, though more and better might have been expected of him.

XLV What has this Great Symbolism to do with the idea and preservation of union? The question is answered in this way: — A marsh whose waters are high up above the earth must be kept in by banks and dykes, to keep them together, to preserve them from being dispersed. So the union of a people must be preserved

by precautions against what would disturb and destroy it. Of such precautions the chief is to be prepared to resist attack from without, and to put down internal sedition.

Paragraph 3. The topmost line is the last in Tui, whose attribute is complacent satisfaction, appearing in flexibility or docility.

Paragraph 5. 'His mind and aim have not yet been brilliantly displayed:' — this is in explanation of the case that some may even still not have confidence in him.

Paragraph 6. The topmost position is that of the trigram; the subject of the line might bid farewell to all the work of the hexagram; but he cannot bear to do so.

XLVI See what has been said on the Great Symbolism in Appendix I. The application which is made of it here may be accepted, though it has nothing to do with the teaching of the Text about the gradual rise of a good officer to high social distinction and influence.

Paragraph x. Instead of finding in this the three lines of Khwăn and their subjects, *Kh*ăng-žze makes 'the upper' denote only line 2.

Paragraph 2. The subject of line 2 in his loyal devotion to 5 will do much good and benefit many; hence we have the words, affords occasion for joy.'

Paragraph 3. 'He has no doubt or hesitation:' — but this is presuming rather on his strength.

Paragraph 4. The Khang-hsî editors say:— 'Such an employment of men of worth to do service to spiritual Beings is serving them according to their mind.'

Paragraph 6. When one has reached the greatest height, he should think of retiring. Ambition otherwise may overleap itself.

XLVII The first sentence of the Great Symbolism is constructed differently from any which has presented itself in the previous 46 hexagrams. Literally translated, it would be 'a marsh with no water is Khwăn;' and this might certainly suggest to us a condition of distress. But how does this come out of the trigrams? The upper one is Tui, representing a marsh; and the lower is Khân, representing water in a defile. The collocation of the two suggests the running of the water from the marsh or lake into the stream, which will soon empty the other. Such is the view which occurred to myself; and it is the same as that given by *K*û Hsî:— 'The water descending and leaking away, the marsh above will become dry.' The application is good in itself, but the concatenation between it and the Symbolism is hardly discernible.

So stupid is the subject of line 1 that by his own act he increases his distress.

The Khang-hsî editors say that the 'ground for congratulation in paragraph 2 is the banqueting and sacrificing.' I rather think it is the measure of help, which

it is intimated the subject will give in removing the straitness and distress of the time.

See the extract from the Khang-hsî editors on the symbolism of the third line of the Text.

The difficulties attending the symbolism of the Text of lines 4, 5, and 6 are not lightened by what we find in this Appendix.

XLVIII The Great Symbolism here may well enough represent a well, it being understood that the water which is above the wood is that raised by it for irrigation and other uses. What is said, moreover, in the application is more akin to the idea of the hexagram than in most of the other cases. It is certainly one way in which the ruler should nourish the people.

Ii is said on paragraph 1:— 'Those who have a mind to do something in the world, when they look at this line, and its symbolism, will learn how they ought to exert themselves.'

Rather in opposition to what I have said on the Text of line 4, the 'Daily Lecture' observes here:— 'The cultivation of one's self, which is represented here, is fundamental to the government of others.'

XLIX Wise men, occupying themselves with the determination of the seasons and questions of time, have in all ages based their judgments on the observation of the heavenly bodies. We find this insisted on in the first book of the Shû, by the ancient Yâo. But how this application of the Great Symbolism really flows from it, I must confess myself unable to discover. Once, however, when I was conversing about the Yî with a high Chinese dignitary, who was a well-read scholar also so far as his own literature was concerned, he referred to this paragraph as proving that all our western science had been known to Fû-hsî and Confucius!

What is said on the several lines is sufficiently illustrated in the notes on the Text.

L The Great Symbolism here has come before us in the treatise on the Thwan. Of the application of that symbolism I can only say that, as has been seen in many other hexagrams, while good enough in itself, it is far-fetched.

The same remark may be made on the explanation of the Text of the first line. I can myself do little more than guess at its meaning. The Khang-hsî editors observe that nothing is said about the case of the 'concubine' in the Text; but that it is covered by the following the more noble,' 'so condensed and complete are the words of the sage!'

The same editors find a pregnant sense in the conclusion of paragraph 2:— 'There will be no fault in me to which my enemy can point, and his disposition to find fault will be diminished.'

‘What was required of the caldron in the third line was that that line and line 5, instead of 6, should be correlates;’ but there is little meaning in such a statement.

The subject of line 4 cannot be trusted again. He has failed in doing what was his proper work.

LI The account of the Great Symbolism here calls for no remark. Nor does the application of it; but may it not be too late to fear, and order anew one’s thoughts and actions when the retributions in providence are taking place? Commentators are haunted by the shadow of this question; but they are unable rightly to meet it.

Paragraph 1 is the same as 2 in Appendix I.

Paragraph 4. Compare paragraph 4 of hexagram 21, Appendix II.

LII According to the view of the Khang-hsî editors, the application should be translated:— ‘The superior man, in accordance with this, thinks anxiously how he shall not go beyond the duties of his position.’ It is difficult to decide between this shade of the meaning, and the more common one which I have followed.

The toes play a great part in walking; but they are here kept at rest, and so do not lose the correct idea of Kăn.

There is no correlation between lines 2 and 3, and thence the subject of 3 will hold on its upward way without condescending to 2.

*Kh*ăng-žze finds an unsatisfactory auspice in paragraph 4. Line 4 represents a great minister who should be able to guide all to rest where they ought to be; but he can only keep himself from agitation.

Yü Păn (Ming dynasty) says on paragraph 5:— ‘Words should not be uttered rashly. Then, when uttered, they will be found accordant with principle. But it is only the master of the virtue belonging to the due mean who can attain to this.’

LIII The Khang-hsî editors, to bring out the suitability of the Great Symbolism and its application, say:— ‘A tree springing up on the ground is a tree as it begins to grow. A tree on a hill is high and large. Every tree when it begins to grow, shows its branches and twigs gradually becoming long. Every morning and every evening show some difference; and when the tree is high and great, whether it be of an ordinary or extraordinary size, it has taken years to reach its dimensions. This illustrates the difference between the advance in Shăng (46) and that in *K*ien. Then the maintenance of extraordinary virtue in the application and the improvement of manners is a gradual process. The improvement of the manners, moreover, flows from the maintenance of the extraordinary virtue; which implies also a gradual operation and progress.’

Paragraph 1. The danger is the result of circumstances; the small officer has not brought it on himself.

Paragraph 2. Only the geese appear in this paragraph; but the writer is thinking of the advancing officer. I cannot but think that in the language and sentiment also there is an echo of the Shih King, 1, ix, ode 6.

The 'separation from his comrades' has respect to line 3 not finding its correlate in 6. 'The wife's failing in her proper course' has respect to the line being undivided and not in the centre.

*Kh*ăng-žze says, on paragraph 4, that humility and right-doing will find rest and peace in all places and circumstances.

Paragraph 5. 'The natural issue cannot be prevented:' — the wife will have a child minister and ruler will meet happily.

Paragraph 6. See on the Text. But it is difficult to see the aptness of the symbolism.

LIV Thunder rolling above is supposed to produce movement in the waters of the marsh below. The combination of this symbolism in Kwei Mei is recognised as an evil omen in the case which the name denotes. The application of it is not inappropriate.

Paragraph 1. 'It is the constant practice (for such a case)' seems to mean that an ancillary wife has no right to the disposition of herself, but must do what she is told. Thus it is that the mean position of the younger sister does not interfere with the service she can render.

The addition to the Text of 1 the purpose' in paragraph 4 is to show that the putting marriage off is on the part of the lady and not on the other side.

LV Lightning appears here as the natural phenomenon of which Lî is the symbol. The virtues attributed to the two trigrams are certainly required in the application of them which is subjoined; but that application has little or nothing to do with the explanation of the hexagram supplied by the Text.

I hardly understand the conclusion of paragraph 1. My translation of it is according to the view of *K*û Hsî, if I rightly understand that.

Paragraph 2. It is by such sincerity that the mind is affected, — that is, the mind of the ruler occupying line 5.

Line 3 has a correlate in 6, which is weak, and as it were out of the game. The light in 3 moreover is hidden. Hence the symbolism; and through the blindness of its subject his hurt, which unfits him to be employed.

The line undivided like 4 is 1; perhaps we might translate— 'He meets with the subject of the parallel line.'

No one but himself has any confidence in the subject of line 6. He holds himself aloof from others, and they leave him to himself.

LVI Different attempts are made to bring the idea of a travelling stranger out of the trigrams Kăn and Lî; but none of them is satisfactory. Let Khung Ying-

tâ's view serve as a specimen of them:— 'A fire on a mountain lays hold of the grass, and runs with it over the whole space, not stopping anywhere long, and soon disappearing; — such is the emblem of the traveller.' The application may be derived well enough from the attributes of the trigrams; but does not fit in with the lessons of the Thwan and Hsiang.

The meanness of the subject of line 1 does not arise from the nature of his occupation; but from his mind and aim being emptied of all that is good and ennobling.

Strong and trusty servants are the most important condition for the comfort and progress of the traveller; and therefore it alone is resumed and expanded.

The subject of line 3 treats those below him with violence and arrogance, which of course alienates them from him.

'He has not got into his proper position' seems to say no more than that 4 is a strong line in an even place.

It is difficult to say what 'he has reached a high place' means. The fifth line is not in this hexagram the ruler's seat; but by his qualities and gifts the subject of it attracts the attention and regard of his friends and of his ruler.

The spirit that possesses the subject of line 6 is one of haughty arrogance, with which the humility that ought to characterise him cannot co-exist. His careless self-sufficiency has shut his mind against all lessons of wisdom.

LVII I have said on the Thwan that some commentators make the upper trigram symbolical of the ordinances of the ruler and the lower symbolical of the obedience of the people. E. g., *Kh*ăng-žze says:— 'Superiors, in harmony with the duty of inferiors, issue their commands; inferiors, in harmony with the wishes of their superiors, follow them. Above and below there are that harmony and deference; and this is the significance of the redoubled Sun. When governmental commands and business are in accordance with what is right, they agree with the tendencies of the minds of the people who follow them.'

Paragraph 2 seems to say that the sincerity of purpose indicated by the central position of the second line conducts its subject to the right course, despite the many considerations that might distract him.

'The will is exhausted' in paragraph 3 intimates that 'the repeated efforts' made by its subject have exhausted him. He can now only regret his failures.

What is said in paragraph 6 proceeds on a different view of the Text from that which I have followed.

LVIII The application of the Great Symbolism here will recall to many readers the Hebrew maxims in Proverbs xxvii. 17, 19. The sentiment of it, however, does not readily fit in to the teaching of the hexagram as set forth in the Text.

There is nothing in the conduct of the subject of line 1 to awaken suspicion. He has as yet taken no action; but it was not necessary to say anything like this about the subject of line 2, his central position being an assurance that he would never do anything of a doubtful character.

Line 3 should be strong, and the desire of pleasure which is the idea of the hexagram leads its weak subject to the course which is so emphatically condemned.

Paragraph 5 is incomplete. Does the correctness and appropriateness of the position of the subject of the line afford any explanation of his trusting the subject of the weak line above, who would only injure him? It ought to keep him on the contrary from doing so. The commentators have seen this, and say that the paragraph is intended by way of caution.

The action of the hexagram should culminate and end in line 5. But the subject of it has not made brilliant attainment in the firmness and correctness by which the love of pleasure should be controlled.

LIX The 'in accordance with this' must be equivalent to— 'to remedy the state of things thus symbolised.' What follows certainly amounts to this, that the ancient kings considered the services of religion, sincerely and earnestly attended to, as calculated to counteract the tendency to mutual alienation and selfishness in the minds of men. How they operated to have this beneficial effect we are not told. Nor is it easy to account, for the extension of what is said in the Text about the establishment of the ancestral temple to the presentation also of offerings to God. Probably the writer had the same idea in his mind as in the Great Symbolism of hexagram 16, q. v.

'The natural course' pursued by the subject of line 1 is, probably, that required by the time.

'What the subject of line 2 desired' would be his success in counteracting the prevailing tendency to disunion.

The view given of paragraph 5 is that propounded by *K*û Hsî.

For paragraph 6 see the note on line 6 under the Text.

LX Various explanations of the Great Symbolism have been attempted. E. g., *Kh*ăng-žze says:— 'The water which a lake or marsh will contain is limited to a certain quantity. If the water flowing in exceed that, it overflows. This gives us the idea of *K*ieh.' What is found on the application of it is to my mind equally unsatisfactory.

The subject of line 1 knows when he might have free course and when he is obstructed, and acts accordingly. He is regulated by a consideration of the time.

The subject of line 1 ought not to act, and he is still. The subject of line 2 ought to act, and he also is still. The error and the effect of it are great.

The subject of line 3 shows by his lamentation how he blames himself.

The other three paragraphs are sufficiently explained in what is said on the Text.

LXI Dissatisfied with previous attempts to explain the Great Symbolism, the Khang-hsî editors say:— 'The wind penetrates things. The grass and trees of the level ground are shaken and tossed by it; the rocky valleys and caverns in their sides have it blowing round about them; and it acts also on the depths of the collected waters, the cold of which disappears and the ice is melted before it. This is what makes it the emblem of that perfect sincerity which penetrates everywhere. The litigations of the people are like the deep and dark places of the earth. The kings examine with discrimination into all secret matters connected with them.. even those which are here mentioned, till there is nothing that is not penetrated by their perfect sincerity.' But all this is greatly strained. The symbolism of the eight trigrams gets pretty well played out in the course of the 64 hexagrams.

1. 'No change has come over the purpose:' — the sincerity, that is, perfect in itself and of itself, continues.

2. One bond of loving regard unites the mother bird and her young; so answers the heart of man to man.

LXII The Khang-hsî editors endeavour to show the appropriateness of the Great Symbolism in this way:— 'When thunder issues from the earth, the sound of it comes with a rush and is loud; but when it reaches the top of a hill it has begun to die away and is small.' There is nothing in the Chinese about the hills being high; and readers will only smile at the attempted explanation. The application of the symbolism, or rather of the idea of the hexagram, is good, and in entire accordance with what I have stated that idea to be.

Nothing can be done to avoid the issue mentioned in paragraph 1, for the subject of the line brings it on himself.

Paragraph 2 deals only with the symbolism in the conclusion of what is stated under line 2. The writer takes the view which I have given on the Text.

For paragraphs 3 and 4 see the notes on the Text.

In line 5 the yin line is too high. If the line were yang, the auspice would be different.

LXIII Water and fire coming together as here, fire under the water, each element occupies its proper place, and their interaction will be beneficial. Such is the common explanation of the Great Symbolism; but the connexion between it and the application of it, which also is good in itself, is by no means clear.

The notes on the different lines present nothing that has not been dealt with in the notes on the Text.

LXIV In this last hexagram we have water below and fire above, so that the two cannot act on each other, and the Symbolism may represent the unregulated condition of general affairs, the different classes of society not harmonising nor acting together. The application follows naturally.

*K*û Hsî and others suspect an error in the text of paragraph 1; yet a tolerable meaning comes from it as it stands.

The Khang-hsî editors observe on paragraph 2 that an undivided line in the second place, and a divided line in the fifth place, are both incorrect, and yet it is often said of them that with firm correctness in their subjects there will be good fortune; — such is the virtue of the central position. This principle is at last clearly enunciated in this paragraph.

*Kh*ăng-žze says:— 'The subject of line 4 has the ability which the time requires, and possesses also a firm solidity. He can carry out therefore his purpose. There will be good fortune, and all cause for repentance will disappear. The smiting of the demon region was the highest example of firm correctness.'

Both the symbols in paragraph 6 indicate a want of caution, and an unwillingness to submit one's impulses to the regulation of reason and prudence.

APPENDIX III

THE GREAT APPENDIX

SECTION I

Chapter I. 1. Heaven is lofty and honourable; earth is low. (Their symbols), *Kh*ien and Khwăn, (with their respective meanings), were determined (in accordance with this).

Things low and high appear displayed in a similar relation. The (upper and lower trigrams, and the relative position of individual lines, as) noble and mean, had their places assigned accordingly.

Movement and rest are the regular qualities (of their respective subjects). Hence comes the definite distinction (of the several lines) as the strong and the weak.

(Affairs) are arranged together according to their tendencies, and things are divided according to their classes. Hence were produced (the interpretations in the Yî, concerning) what is good [or lucky] and evil [or unlucky].

In the heavens there are the (different) figures there completed, and on the earth there are the (different) bodies there formed. (Corresponding to them) were the changes and transformations exhibited (in the Yî).

2. After this fashion a strong and a weak line were manipulated together (till there were the eight trigrams), and those eight trigrams were added, each to itself and to all the others, (till the sixty-four hexagrams were formed).

3. We have the exciting forces of thunder and lightning; the fertilising influences of wind and rain; and the revolutions of the sun and moon, which give rise to cold and warmth.

4. The attributes expressed by *Kh*ien constitute the male; those expressed by Khwăn constitute the female.

5. *Kh*ien (symbolises Heaven, which) directs the great beginnings of things; Khwăn (symbolises Earth, which) gives to them their completion.

6. It is by the ease with which it proceeds that *Kh*ien directs (as it does), and by its unhesitating response that Khwăn exhibits such ability.

7. (He who attains to this) ease (of Heaven) will be easily understood, and (he who attains to this) freedom from laborious effort (of the Earth) will be easily followed. He who is easily understood will have adherents, and he who is easily followed will achieve success. He who has adherents can continue long, and he who achieves success can become great. To be able to continue long shows the virtue of the wise and able man; to be able to become great is the heritage he will acquire.

8. With the attainment of such ease and such freedom from laborious effort, the mastery is got of all principles under the sky. With the attainment of that

mastery, (the sage) makes good his position in the middle (between heaven and earth).

Chapter II. 9. The sages set forth the diagrams, inspected the emblems contained in them, and appended their explanations; — in this way the good fortune and bad (indicated by them) were made clear.

10. The strong and the weak (lines) displace each other, and produce the changes and transformations (in the figures).

11. Therefore the good fortune and evil (mentioned in the explanations) are the indications of the right and wrong (in men's conduct of affairs), and the repentance and regret (similarly mentioned) are the indications of their sorrow and anxiety.

12. The changes and transformations (of the lines) are the emblems of the advance and retrogression (of the vital force in nature). Thus what we call the strong and the weak (lines) become the emblems of day and night. The movements which take place in the six places (of the hexagram) show the course of the three extremes (i.e. of the three Powers in their perfect operation).

13. Therefore what the superior man rests in, in whatever position he is placed, is the order shown in the Yî; and the study which gives him the greatest pleasure is that of the explanations of the several lines.

14. Therefore the superior man, when living quietly, contemplates the emblems and studies the explanations of them; when initiating any movement, he contemplates the changes (that are made in divining), and studies the prognostications from them. Thus 'is help extended to him from Heaven; there will be good fortune, and advantage in every movement.'

Chapter III. 15. The Thwan speak of the emblematic figures (of the complete diagrams). The Yâo speak of the changes (taking place: in the several lines).

16. The expressions about good fortune or bad are used with reference to (the figures and lines, as) being right or wrong (according to the conditions of time and place); those about repentance or regret refer to small faults (in the satisfying those conditions); when it is said 'there will be no error,' or 'no blame,' there is reference to (the subject) repairing an error by what is good.

17. Therefore the distinction of (the upper and lower trigrams and of the individual lines) as noble or mean is decided by the (relative) position (of the lines); the regulations of small and great are found in the diagrams, and the discriminations of good and bad fortune appear in the (subjoined) explanations.

18. Anxiety against (having occasion for) repentance or regret should be felt at the: boundary line (between good and evil). The stirring up the thought of (securing that there shall be) no blame arises from (the feeling of) repentance.

19. Thus of the diagrams some are small, and some are great; and of the explanations some are startling, and some are unexciting. Every one of those explanations has reference to the tendencies (indicated by the symbols).

Chapter IV. 20. The Yî was made on a principle of accordance with heaven and earth, and shows us therefore, without rent or confusion, the course (of things) in heaven and earth.

21. (The sage), in accordance with (the Yî), looking up, contemplates the brilliant phenomena of the heavens, and, looking down, examines the definite arrangements of the earth; — thus he knows the causes of darkness (or, what is obscure) and light (or, what is bright). He traces things to their beginning, and follows them to their end; — thus he knows what can be said about death and life. (He perceives how the union of) essence and breath form things, and the (disappearance or) wandering away of the soul produces the change (of their constitution); — thus he knows the characteristics of the anima and animus.

22. There is a similarity between him and heaven and earth, and hence there is no contrariety in him to them. His knowledge embraces all things, and his course is (intended to be) helpful to all under the sky; — and hence he falls into no error. He acts according to the exigency of circumstances without being carried away by their current; he rejoices in Heaven and knows its ordinations; — and hence he has no anxieties. He rests in his own (present) position, and cherishes (the spirit of) generous benevolence; — and hence he can love (without reserve).

23. (Through the Yî), he comprehends as in a mould or enclosure the transformations of heaven and earth without any error; by an ever-varying adaptation he completes (the nature of) all things without exception; he penetrates to a knowledge of the course of day and night (and all other connected phenomena); — it is thus that his operation is spirit-like, unconditioned by place, while the changes which he produces are not restricted to any form.

Chapter V. 24. The successive movement of the inactive and active operations constitutes what is called the course (of things).

25. That which ensues as the result (of their movement) is goodness; that which shows it in its completeness is the natures (of men and things).

26. The benevolent see it and call it benevolence. The wise see it and call it wisdom. The common people, acting daily according to it, yet have no knowledge of it. Thus it is that the course (of things), as seen by the superior man, is seen by few.

27. It is manifested in the benevolence (of its operations), and (then again) it conceals and stores up its resources. It gives their stimulus to all things, without

having the same anxieties that possess the sage. Complete is its abundant virtue and the greatness of its stores!

28. Its rich possessions is what is intended by 'the greatness of its stores;' the daily renovation which it produces is what is meant by 'the abundance of its virtue.'

29. Production and reproduction is what is called (the process of) change.

30. The formation of the semblances (shadowy forms of things) is what we attribute to *Kh*ien; the giving to them their specific forms is what we attribute to Khwăn.

31. The exhaustive use of the numbers (that turn up in manipulating the stalks), and (thereby) knowing (the character of) coming events, is what we call prognosticating; the comprehension of the changes (indicated leads us to) what we call the business (to be done).

32. That which is unfathomable in (the movement of) the inactive and active operations is (the presence of a) spiritual (power).

Chapter VI. 33. Yes, wide is the Yî and great! If we speak of it in its farthest reaching, no limit can be set to it; if we speak of it with reference to what is near at hand, (its lessons are) still and correct; if we speak of it in connexion with all between heaven and earth, it embraces all.

34. There is *Kh*ien. In its (individual) stillness it is self-absorbed; when exerting its motive power it goes straight forward; and thus it is that its productive action is on a grand scale. There is Khwăn. In its (individual) stillness, it is self-collected and capacious; when exerting its motive power, it developes its resources, and thus its productive action is on a wide scale.

35. In its breadth and greatness, (the Yî) corresponds to heaven and earth; in its ever-recurring changes, it corresponds to the four seasons; in its mention of the bright or active, and the dark or inactive operation, it corresponds to the sun and moon; and the excellence seen in the ease and ready response (of its various operations) corresponds to the perfect operations (presented to us in the phenomena of nature).

Chapter VII. 36. The Master said:— 'Is not the Yî a perfect book?' It was by the Yî that the sages exalted their virtue, and enlarged their sphere of occupation. Their wisdom was high, and their rules of conduct were solid. That loftiness was after the pattern of heaven; that solidity, after the pattern of earth.

37. Heaven and earth having their positions as assigned to them, the changes (of nature) take place between them. The nature (of man) having been completed, and being continually preserved, it is the gate of all good courses and righteousness.

Chapter VIII. 38. The sage was able to survey all the complex phenomena under the sky. He then considered in his mind how they could be figured, and (by means of the diagrams) represented their material forms and their character. Hence these (diagrams) are denominated Semblances (or emblematic figures, the Hsiang).

39. A (later) sage was able to survey the motive influences working all under the sky. He contemplated them in their common action and special nature, in order to bring out the standard and proper tendency of each. He then appended his explanation (to each line of the diagrams), to determine the good or evil indicated by it. Hence those (lines with their explanations) are denominated Imitations (the Yâo).

40. (The diagrams) speak of the most complex phenomena under the sky, and yet there is nothing in them that need awaken dislike; the explanations of the lines speak of the subtlest movements under the sky, and yet there is nothing in them to produce confusion.

41. (A learner) will consider what is said (under the diagrams), and then speak; he will deliberate on what is said (in the explanations of the lines), and then move. By such consideration and deliberations he will be able to make all the changes which he undertakes successful.

42.

‘Here hid, retired, cries out the crane;
Her young’s responsive cry sounds there.
Of spirits good I drain this cup;
With thee a cup I’ll freely share.’

The Master said:— ‘The superior man occupies his apartment and sends forth his words. If they be good, they will be responded to at a distance of more than a thousand lî; — how much more will they be so in the nearer circle! He occupies his apartment and sends forth his words. If they be evil, they will awaken opposition at a distance of more than a thousand lî; — how much more will they do so in the nearer circle! Words issue from one’s person, and proceed to affect the people. Actions proceed from what is near, and their effects are seen at a distance. Words and actions are the hinge and spring of the superior man. The movement of that hinge and spring determines glory or disgrace. His words and actions move heaven and earth; — may he be careless in regard to them?’

43’. ‘(The representative of) the union of men first cries out and weeps, and afterwards laughs.’ The Master said, on this, —

‘The ways of good men (different seem).
This in a public office toils;
That in his home the time beguiles.
One man his lips with silence seals;
Another all his mind reveals.
But when two men are one in heart,
Not iron bolts keep them apart;
The words they in their union use,
Fragrance like orchid plants diffuse.’

44. ‘The first six, (divided), shows its subject placing mats of the white grass beneath what he sets on the ground.’ The Master said:— ‘To place the things on the ground might be considered sufficient; but when he places beneath them mats of the white grass, what occasion for blame can there be? Such a course shows the height of carefulness. The white grass is a trivial thing, but, through the use made of it, it may become important. He who goes forward using such careful art will not fall into any error.’

45. ‘A superior man toiling laboriously and yet humble! He will bring things to an end, and with good fortune.’ The Master said on this:— ‘He toils with success, but does not boast of it; he achieves merit, but takes no virtue to himself from it; — this is the height of generous goodness, and speaks of the man who with (great) merit yet places himself below others. He wishes his virtue to be more and more complete, and in his intercourse with others to be more and more respectful; — he who is so humble, carrying his respectfulness to the utmost, will be able to preserve himself in his position.’

46. ‘The dragon (is seen) beyond his proper haunts; there will be occasion for repentance.’ The Master said on this:— ‘He is noble, but is not in his correct place; he is on high, but there are no people to acknowledge him; there is a man of virtue and ability below, but he will not assist him. Hence whatever movement he may make will give occasion for repentance.’

47. ‘He does not quit the courtyard before his door; — there will be no occasion for blame.’ The Master said on this:— ‘When disorder arises, it will be found that (ill-advised) speech was the steppingstone to it. If a ruler do not keep secret (his deliberations with his minister), he will lose that minister. If a minister do not keep secret (his deliberations with his ruler), he will lose his life. If (important) matters in the germ be not kept secret, that will be injurious to their accomplishment. Therefore the superior man is careful to maintain secrecy, and does not allow himself to speak.’

48. The Master said:— ‘The makers of the Yî may be said to have known (the philosophy of) robbery. The Yî says, “He is a burden-bearer, and yet rides in a carriage, thereby exciting robbers to attack him.” Burden-bearing is the business of a small man. A carriage is the vehicle of a gentleman. When a small man rides in the vehicle of a gentle man, robbers will think of taking it from him. (When one is) insolent to those above him, and oppressive to those below, robbers will wish to attack him. Careless laying up of things excites to robbery, (as a woman’s) adorning of herself excites to lust. What the Yî says about the burden-bearer’s riding in a carriage, and exciting robbers to attack him, (shows how) robbery is called out.’

Chapter IX. 49. To heaven belongs (the number) 1; to earth, 2; to heaven, 3; to earth, 4; to heaven, 5; to earth, 6; to heaven, 7; to earth, 8; to heaven, 9; to earth, 10.

50. The numbers belonging to heaven are five, and those belonging to earth are (also) five. The numbers of these two series correspond to each other (in their fixed positions), and each one has another that may be considered its mate. The heavenly numbers amount to 25, and the earthly to 30. The numbers of heaven and earth together amount to 55. It is by these that the changes and transformations are effected, and the spirit-like agencies kept in movement.

51. The numbers of the Great Expansion, (multiplied together), make 50, of which (only) 49 are used (in divination). (The stalks representing these) are divided into two heaps to represent the two (emblematic lines, or heaven and earth). One is then taken (from the heap on the right), and placed (between the little finger of the left hand and the next), that there may thus be symbolised the three (powers of heaven, earth, and man). (The heaps on both sides) are manipulated by fours to represent the four seasons; and then the remainders are returned, and placed (between) the two middle fingers of the left hand, to represent the intercalary month. In five years there are two intercalations, and therefore there are two operations; and afterwards the whole process is repeated.

52. The numbers (required) for *Kh*ien (or the undivided line) amount to 216; those for Khwăn (or the divided line), to 144. Together they are 36o, corresponding to the days of the year.

53. The number produced by the lines in the two parts (of the Yî) amount to 11,520, corresponding to the number of all things.

54. Therefore by means of the four operations is the Yî completed. It takes 18 changes to form a hexagram.

55. (The formation of) the eight trigrams constitutes the small completion (of the Yî).

56. If we led on the diagrams and expanded them, if we prolonged each by the addition of the proper lines, then all events possible under the sky might have their representation.

57. (The diagrams) make manifest (by their appended explanations), the ways (of good and ill fortune), and show virtuous actions in their spiritual relations. In this way, by consulting them, we may receive an answer (to our doubts), and we may also by means of them assist the spiritual (power in its agency in nature and providence).

58. The Master said:— 'He who knows the method of change and transformation may be said to know what is done by that spiritual (power).'

Chapter X. 59. In the Yî there are four things characteristic of the way of the sages. We should set the highest value on its explanations to guide us in speaking; on its changes for (the initiation of) our movements; on its emblematic figures for (definite action as in) the construction of implements;

and on its prognostications for our practice of divination.

60. Therefore, when a superior man is about to take action of a more private or of a public character, he asks (the Yî), making his inquiry in words. It receives his order, and the answer comes as the echo's response. Be the subject remote or near, mysterious or deep, he forthwith knows of what kind will be the coming result. (If the Yî) were not the most exquisite thing under heaven, would it be concerned in such an operation as this?

61. (The stalks) are manipulated by threes and fives to determine (one) change; they are laid on opposite sides, and placed one up, one down, to make sure of their numbers; and the (three necessary)

changes are gone through with in this way, till they form the figures pertaining to heaven or to earth. Their numbers are exactly determined, and the emblems of (all things) under the sky are fixed. (If the Yî) were not the thing most capable of change of all things under heaven, how could it effect such a result as this?

62. In (all these operations forming) the Yî, there is no thought and no action. It is still and without movement; but, when acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events under the sky. If it were not the most spirit-like thing under the sky, how could it be found doing this?

63. The (operations forming the) Yî are the method by which the sages searched out exhaustively what was deep, and investigated the minutest springs (of things).

64. 'Those operations searched out what was deep:' — therefore they could penetrate to the views of all under the sky. 'They made apparent the minutest springs of (things):' — therefore they could bring to a completion all

undertakings under the sky. ‘Their action was spirit-like:’ — therefore they could make speed without hurry, and reached their destination without travelling.

65. This is the import of what the Master said, that ‘In the Yî there are four things indicating the way of the sages.’

Chapter XI. 66. The Master said:— ‘What is it that the Yî does? The Yî opens up (the knowledge of the issues of) things, accomplishes the undertakings (of men), and embraces under it (the way of) all things under the sky. This and nothing more is what the Yî does. Thereby the sages, through (divination by) it, would give their proper course to the aims of all under the sky, would give stability to their undertakings, and determine their doubts.’

67. Therefore the virtue of the stalks is versatile and spirit-like; that of the diagrams is exact and wise; and the meaning given by the six lines is changeful to give (the proper information to men). The sages having, by their possession of these (three virtues), cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of their own consciousness). But their sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil. By their spirit-like ability they knew (the character of) coming events, and their wisdom had stored up (all experiences of) the past. Who could be able to accomplish all this? (Only our) ancient sages, quick in apprehension and clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, and with a majesty, going spirit-like to its objects; — it was only they who could do so.

68. Therefore (those sages), fully understanding the way of Heaven, and having clearly ascertained the experience of the people, instituted (the employment of) these spirit-like things, as a provision for the use of the people. The sages went about the employment of them (moreover) by purifying their hearts and with reverent caution, thereby giving (more) spirituality and intelligence to their virtue.

69. Thus, a door shut may be pronounced (analogous to) Khwăn (or the inactive condition), and the opening of the door (analogous to) *Kh*ien (or the active condition). The opening succeeding the being shut may be pronounced (analogous to what we call) a change; and the passing from one of these states to the other may be called the constant course (of things).

The (first) appearance of anything (as a bud) is what we call a semblance; when it has received its complete form, we call it a definite thing.

(The divining-plant having been produced, the sages) set it apart and laid down the method of its employment, — what we call the laws (of divination). The advantage arising from it in external and internal matters, so that the people all use it, stamps it with a character which we call spirit-like.

7o. Therefore in (the system of) the Yî there is the Grand Terminus, which produced the two elementary Forms. Those two Forms produced the Four emblematic Symbols, which again produced the eight Trigrams.

71. The eight trigrams served to determine the good and evil (issues of events), and from this determination was produced the (successful prosecution of the) great business (of life).

72. Therefore of all things that furnish models and visible figures there are none greater than heaven and earth; of things that change and extend an influence (on others) there are none greater than the four seasons; of things suspended (in the sky) with their figures displayed clear and bright, there are none greater than the sun and moon; of the honoured and exalted there are none greater than he who is the rich and noble (one); in preparing things for practical use, and inventing and making instruments for the benefit of all under the sky, there are none greater than the sages; to explore what is complex, search out what is hidden, to hook up what lies deep, and reach to what is distant, thereby determining (the issues) for good or ill of all events under the sky, and making all men under heaven full of strenuous endeavours, there are no (agencies) greater than those of the stalks and the tortoise-shell.

73. Therefore Heaven produced the spirit-like things, and the sages took advantage of them. (The operations of) heaven and earth are marked by (so many) changes and transformations; and the sages imitated them (by means of the Yî). Heaven hangs out its (brilliant) figures from which are seen good fortune and bad, and the sages made their emblematic interpretations accordingly. The Ho gave forth the map, and the Lo the writing, of (both of) which the sages took advantage.

74. In the (scheme of the) Yî there are the four symbolic figures by which they inform men (in divining of the lines making up the diagrams); the explanations appended to them convey the significance (of the diagrams and lines); and the determination (of the divination) as fortunate or the reverse, to settle the doubts (of men).

Chapter XII, 75. It is said in the Yî, ‘Help is given to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune; advantage in every respect.’ The Master said:— ‘Yû () is the symbol of assisting. He whom Heaven assists is observant (of what is right); he whom men assist is sincere. The individual here indicated treads the path of sincerity and desires to be observant (of what is right), and studies to exalt the worthy. Hence “Help is given to him from Heaven. There will be good fortune, advantage in every respect.”’

76. The Master said:— ‘The written characters are not the full exponent of speech, and speech is not the full expression of ideas; — is it impossible then to

discover the ideas of the sages?' The Master said:— 'The sages made their emblematic symbols to set forth fully their ideas; appointed (all) the diagrams to show fully the truth and falsehood (of things); appended their explanations to give the full expression of their words; and changed (the various lines) and made general the method of doing so, to exhibit fully what was advantageous. They (thus) stimulated (the people) as by drums and dances, thereby completely developing the spirit-like (character of the Yî).'

77. May we not say that *Kh*ien and Khwăn [= the yang and yin, or the undivided and divided lines] are the secret and substance of the Yî? *Kh*ien and Khwăn being established in their several places, the system of changes was thereby constituted. If *Kh*ien and Khwăn were taken away, there would be no means of seeing that system; and if that system were not seen, *Kh*ien and Khwăn would almost cease to act.

78. Hence that which is antecedent to the material form exists, we say, as an ideal method, and that which is subsequent to the material form exists, we say, as a definite thing.

Transformation and shaping is what we call change; carrying this out and operating with it is what we call generalising the method; taking the result and setting it forth for all the people under heaven is, we say, (securing the success of) the business of life.

79. Hence, to speak of the emblematic figures: — (The sage) was able to survey all the complex phenomena under the sky. He then considered in his mind how they could be figured, and (by means of the diagrams) represented their material forms and their character. Hence those (diagrams) are denominated Semblances. A (later) sage was able to survey the motive influences working all under the sky. He contemplated them in their common action and special nature, in order to bring out the standard and proper tendency of each. He then appended his explanation (to each line), to determine the good or evil indicated by it. Hence those (lines with their explanations) are denominated Imitations (the Yâo).

8o. The most thorough mastery of all the complex phenomena under the sky is obtained from the diagrams. The greatest stimulus to movement in adaptation to all affairs under the sky is obtained from the explanations.

81. The transformations and shaping that take place are obtained from the changes (of the lines); the carrying this out and operating with it is obtained from the general method (that has been established). The seeing their spirit-like intimations and understanding them depended on their being the proper men;

and the completing (the study of) them by silent meditation, and securing the faith of others without the use of words, depended on their virtuous conduct.

FOOTNOTES

I Chapter I is an attempt to show the correspondency between the phenomena of external nature ever changing, and the figures of the Yî King ever varying. The first four paragraphs, it is said, show, from the phenomena of production and transformation in external nature, the principles on which the figures of the Yî were made. The fifth and sixth paragraphs show, particularly, how the attributes represented by the figures *Kh*ien and Khwăn are to be found in (the operations of) heaven and earth. The last two paragraphs show both those attributes embodied or realised in man. The realisation takes place, indeed, fully only in the sage or the ideal man, who thus becomes the pattern for all men.

In paragraph 3 we have five of the six derivative trigrams; — the six children,' according to the nomenclature of the Wăn arrangement. 'Thunder' stands for *k*ăn (), 'lightning' for lî (), 'wind' for sun (), and 'rain' for khan (). 'The sun,' however, is also an emblem of lî, and 'the moon' one of kăn (), generally said to represent 'mountains,' while tui () representing 'collections of water,' has no place in the enumeration. *K*û Hsî says that in paragraph 3 we have the natural changes seen in the phenomena of the sky, while in 4 we have such changes as find body and figure on the earth.

Paragraphs 5 and 6 have both been misunderstood from neglect of the peculiar meaning of the character *k*ih (), and from taking it in its common acceptation of 'knowing.' Both commentaries and dictionaries point out that it is here used in the sense of 'directing,' 'presiding over.' In paragraph 7, however, it resumes its ordinary significancy.

II Chapter II, paragraphs 9-14, is divided into two parts. The former contains paragraphs 9-12, and tells us how the sages, king Wăn and the duke of *K*âu, proceeded in making the Yî, so that the good fortune and bad of men's courses should be indicated by it in harmony with right and wrong, and the processes of nature. Paragraphs 13, 14 form the second part, and speak of the study of the Yî by the superior man, desirous of doing what is right and increasing his knowledge, and the advantages flowing from it.

I can follow to some extent the first two statements of paragraph 12, so far as the ideas of the writer are concerned, though asserting any correspondence between the changes of the lines of the diagrams, and the operations of external nature, as in the succession of day and night, is merely an amusement of the

fancy. I all but fail, however, to grasp the idea in the last statement. In the trigram, the first line represents earth; the second, man; and the third, heaven; in the hexagram, the first and second lines are assigned to earth; the third and fourth, to man; and the fifth and sixth, to heaven. These are the three Powers, and each Power has 'a Grand Extreme,' where its nature and operation are seen in their highest ideal. This is to some extent conceivable; but when I try to follow our author, and find an analogy between the course of these extremes and the movements in the places of the diagrams, I have no clue by which to trace my way. For the concluding sentence of paragraph 14 see the duke of *K*âu on the last line of hexagram 14.

III Chapter III, paragraphs 15-19, gives additional information about the constituent parts of the Yî, that is, the Text of the classic as we have it from king Wăn and his son. The imperial editors say that it expands the meaning of the fourth paragraph, the third of chapter 2. It does do so, but this account hardly covers all its contents.

To understand the names 'small and great,' as used of the diagrams in paragraphs 17 and 19, it should be noted that hexagrams to which the divided or yin line gives their character are termed 'small,' and those where the undivided or yang line rules are called 'great.' Kâu (44,), Thun (33,), and Phei (12,) are instances of the former class; Fû (24,), Lin (19,) and Thâi (11,), of the other.

It is observed by Žhâi *Kh*ing (early in the Ming dynasty) that the terms 'diagrams' and 'explanations' must be understood not only of the whole figures but also as embracing the several lines.

IV Chapter IV, paragraphs 20-23, is intended still more to exalt the Yî, and seems to say that the sage by means of it can make an exhaustive study of all principles and of human nature, till he attains to the knowledge of the ordinances of Heaven. Such is the account of the chapter given by *K*û Hsî; but the second character in paragraph 21 must be understood in the signification which it has in all the sixty-four sentences which explain the emblematic structure of the hexagrams, as = 'in accordance with' and not 'by means of.' The imperial editors append to their statement of *K*û's account, that it must be borne in mind that the sages had not to wait till the Yî was made to conduct their exhaustive study. They had done that before, and the Yî may be considered as a talk on the results, drawn out in its own peculiar style. It holds the mirror up to nature; but its authors knew nature before they made it.

In paragraph 21, ‘the brilliant phenomena of the heavens’ are the various shining bodies of the sky, with their rising and setting; ‘the definite arrangements of the earth’ are the different situations of its parts according to the points of the compass, and its surface as diversified by mountain and valley; and by the study of these the causes of day and night are known as being the expansion and contraction of the elementary ether. The same thing produces the facts of birth or life and death.

Žing, which I have translated ‘essence,’ denotes the more subtle and pure part of matter, and belongs to the grosser form of the elementary ether; *kh*î, or ‘spirit,’ is the breath, still material, but purer than the žing, and belongs to the finer, and more active form of the ether. Here *kh*î is ‘the breath of life.’ In the hwun or ‘soul (animus),’ the *kh*î predominates, and the žing in the pho or animal soul. At death the hwun wanders away, ascending, and the pho descends and is changed into a ghostly shade. So did the ancient Chinese grope their way from material things to the concept and representation of what was immaterial.

For my ‘characteristics of the anima and animus,’ Dr. Medhurst rendered ‘the circumstances and conditions of the Kwei Shăns’ (Theology of the Chinese, p-12); but he observes that ‘the Kwei Shăns in the passage are evidently the expanding and contracting principles of human life.’ The kwei shăns are brought about by the dissolution of the human frame, and consist of the expanding and ascending shăn, which rambles about in space, and of the contracted and shrivelled kwei, which reverts to earth and nonentity. It is difficult to express one’s self clearly on a subject treated so briefly and enigmatically in the text.

We must understand that the subject of the predicates in this and the next two paragraphs is ‘the sage,’ who has endeavoured to give a transcript of his views and doings in the Yî. The character, which I have translated by ‘spirit-like’ in paragraph 23, is different from *kh*î in paragraph 21. It is shăn, a character of the phonetic class, while its primary material signification has not been satisfactorily ascertained. ‘The Chinese,’ says P’. Regis (vol. ii.), ‘use it in naming the soul, true angels, and the genii of idolaters; and the Christian Chinese use it when they speak of God, of the Holy Spirit, of angels, and of the soul of man. For what else could they do?’

V Chapter V, paragraphs 24-32, Still shows us the Yî fashioned so as to give a picture of the phenomena of the external universe; but the writer dwells more on the latter, and the different paragraphs give an interesting view of his ideas on the subject. He supposes a constant change from rest to movement and from movement to rest, through which all things are formed, now still, now in motion, now expanding, now contracting. It is customary to speak of two forms of an

original ether as the two elementary principles, but they are really one and the same ether, in a twofold condition, with a twofold action. By their successive movement the phenomena of existence are produced, — what I have called ‘the course (of things)’ in paragraph 24. It is attempted, however, by many native scholars and by some sinologists, to give to tâo, the last character in that paragraph, the meaning of ‘reason,’ that which intelligently guides and directs the movements of the two elements. But this view is not in harmony with the scope of the chapter, nor can the characters be fairly construed so as to justify such an interpretation.

The imperial editors say that the germ of the Mencian doctrine about the goodness of human nature is in paragraph 25; but it says more widely, that ‘every creature is good,’ according to its ideal as from the plastic yin and yang. But few, the next paragraph tells us, can understand the measure of this goodness.

‘The benevolent operations’ in the course of things in paragraph 27 are illustrated from the phenomena of growth and beauty in spring and summer; and the cessation of these in autumn and winter may be called ‘a concealing and storing them up.’

Paragraph 29 seems to state the origin of the name Yî as applied to the book, the Yî King.

In paragraph 30 the names *Kh*ien and Khwăn take the place of yin and yang, as used in paragraphs 24 and 32, In Khien, the symbol of heaven, every one of its three lines is undivided; it is the concentration of the yang faculty; so Khwăn, the symbol of the earth, is the concentration of the yin. The critics themselves call attention to the equivalence of the symbolic names here given to yin and yang. The connexion of the two is necessary to the production of any one substantial thing. The yang originates a shadowy outline which the yin fills up with a definite substance. So actually in nature Heaven (*Kh*ien) and Earth (Khwăn) operate together in the production of all material things and beings.

The ‘numbers,’ mentioned in paragraph 31, are not all or any numbers generally, but 7, 8, 9, 6, those assigned to the four ‘emblematic figures,’ that grow out of the undivided and divided lines, and by means of which the hexagrams are made up in divination. The ‘future or coming events’ which are prognosticated are not particular events, which the diviner has not already forecast, but the character of events or courses of actions already contemplated, as good or evil, lucky or unlucky, in their issue.

The best commentary on paragraph 32 is supplied by paragraphs 8-10 of Appendix VI. The ‘Spirit’ is that of ‘God;’ and this settles the meaning of tâo in

paragraph 24, as being the course of nature, in which, according to the author, 'God worketh all in all.'

VI Chapter VI, paragraphs 33-35, goes on further to celebrate the Yî as holding up the mirror to nature in all its operations and in its widest extent. The grandiloquent language, however, amounts only to this, that, when we have made ourselves acquainted with the phenomena of nature, we can, with a heated fancy, see some analogy to them in the changes of the diagrams and lines of the Yî book.

*Kh*ien and Khwăn must be taken as the same names are understood in paragraph 3o above.

'The Yî,' with which paragraph 33 begins, must be understood also at the commencement of paragraph 35. The character which I have translated by 'corresponds' throughout this last chapter, should not, it is observed, have stress laid upon it. *K*û Hsî says that it is simply equal to the 'there is a similarity' of paragraph 22. 'The bright or active element' and 'the dark or inactive' are in the original, 'the yang and the yin.' The correspondence predicated between them and the sun and moon, the brightness and warmth of the one, and the paleness and coldness of the other, shows us how those names arose, and that it is foreign to the original concept of them to call them 'the male and female principles:' — with the last clause compare paragraphs 6-8.

VII Chapter VII, paragraphs 36, 37, is understood to set forth how the sages embodied the teachings of the Yî in their character and conduct. But when it is said that 'it was by the Yî that they exalted their virtue and enlarged their sphere of occupation,' the meaning can only he that what they did in these directions was in harmony with the principles which they endeavoured to set forth in the symbols of the Yî.

'Their rules of conduct were solid,' in paragraph 36, is, literally, 'their rules were low.' To the height of heaven reached by the wisdom of the sages, the author opposes the low-lying earth, between which and their substantial practices and virtues he discovered some analogy.

It will be seen that the chapter commences with 'The Master said.' *K*û Hsî observes that 'as the Ten Appendixes were all made by the Master, these words are out of place, and that he conjectures that wherever they occur here and elsewhere, they were added after the sage's time.' Their occurrence very seriously affects the question of the authorship of the Appendixes, which I have discussed in the Introduction, pages 28-31.

VIII Chapter VIII, paragraphs 38-48. In the first two paragraphs here we have an account of the formation of the diagrams, and of the explanation of the whole hexagrams and of the individual lines. 'The sage' in paragraph 38 is intended

presumably of Fû-hsî; but we cannot say, from it, whether the writer thought of him as having formed only the eight trigrams, or all the sixty-four hexagrams. In the diagrams, however, we have semblances, or representations, of the phenomena of nature, even the most complex, and hard to be disentangled. Paragraph 39 goes on to speak of the explanation more especially of the individual lines, by the duke of Kâu, as symbolical of good luck or evil, as they turned up in the processes of divination.

Paragraph 40 declares the usableness (so to speak) of the diagrams and the explanations of them; and 41 shows us how a learner or consulter of the Yî would actually proceed in using it.

In paragraphs 42-48 we have the words of Confucius on seven lines in so many hexagrams, or rather his amplification of the words of the duke of Kâu's explanations of their symbolism. The lines are 2 of hexagram 61; 5 of 13; 1 of 28; 3 of 15; 6 of 1; 1 of 60; and 3 of 40. What Confucius says is not without interest, but does not make the principles on which the Yî was made any clearer to us. It shows how his object was to turn the symbolism that he found to a moral or ethical account; and no doubt he could have varied the symbolism, if he had been inclined to do so.

I have spoken in the preceding chapter of the difficulty which the phrase 'The Master said' presents to our accepting the Appendix as from the hand of Confucius himself. But his words in paragraph 43 are in rhyme. He did not speak so. If he rhymed his explanation of the symbolism of the line that is the groundwork of that paragraph, why did he not rhyme his explanations of the other lines? To answer these questions categorically is beyond our power. The facts that suggest them increase the difficulty in ascribing this and the other additions to the Yî to the later sage.

IX Chapter IX, paragraphs 49-58, is of a different character from any of the preceding, and treats, unsatisfactorily, of the use of numbers in connexion with the figure of the Yî and the practice of divination.

In the Thang edition of the Yî, published in the seventh century, paragraph 49 is the first of the eleventh chapter according to the arrangement now followed. *Kh*ăng-žze restored it to its present place, which it occupied, as has been proved, during the Han dynasty, and to which it properly belongs. It and the next paragraph should be taken together, and are distinct from what follows, though the Thang edition is further confused in placing 51 before 50.

In 49 and 50 'heaven' and 'earth' are used as we have seen Khien and Khwăn are in paragraphs 3o and 34. Odd numbers belong to the strong or undivided line, which is symbolical of the active operation in nature, and the even numbers to the weak or divided line, symbolical of its inaction. The phraseology of the

paragraphs, however, can only be understood by a reference to 'the river map,' which has been given in the Introduction, pages 15, 16.

The map, as it appeared on the back of 'the dragon-horse,' consisted of so many circles, and so many dark circular markings, the former, it was assumed, being of the yang character, and the latter of the yin. Fû-hsî for the circle substituted the strong or undivided line (), and for the dark markings the weak or divided (). It will be seen that the yang symbols are the 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9 circles, and the yin are the 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 circular markings, which is the pictorial delineation of paragraph 49. The only thing to be said upon it is that the arrangement of the five circles and ten circular markings is peculiar, and evidently, devised 'for a purpose.' So far, however, as we know, no figure of the map was attempted till after the beginning of our twelfth century.

The same figure is supposed to illustrate what is said in paragraph 50: 'The numbers of the two series correspond to each other in their fixed positions.' 1 and 2, and 3 and 4 certainly front each other, and perhaps 5 and 6; but 7 and 8, and 9 and 10 do not do so in the same way. It is said also that 'each has another that may be considered its mate.' So it is with 1 and 6, 2 and 7, 3 and 8, 4 and 9, but hardly with 5 and 10. Further, 1 + 3 + 5 + 7 + 9 = 25; 2 + 4 + 6 + 8 + 10 = 30; and 25 + 30=55; all of which points are stated.

The last statement in the paragraph, however, derives no illustration, so far as I can see, from the figure. How can the numbers effect the things that are predicated of them? There is a jargon indeed about the formation of the five elements, but in order to make it appear not reasonable, but capable of being related, writers call in 1 the Lo writing' to the aid of 1 the Ho map;' and 'the five elements' is a division of the constituents of material things, which is foreign to the Yî.

Paragraph 51 is intended to describe the process of divination in manipulating the stalks, but the description is confused by introducing into it the four seasons and the subject of intercalation, so as to be very difficult to understand.

In the middle of the Ho map are the five circles symbolical of heaven and the ten dark terrestrial markings (five above and five below the others). These multiplied together give fifty, which form 'the great expansion.' But 50 divining stalks or slips, when divided, give either two odd numbers or two even; and therefore one was put on one side. The remaining 49, however divided, were sure to give two parcels of stalks, one containing an even number of stalks, and the other an odd, and so might be said fancifully to represent the undivided or strong, and the divided or weak line. It is needless to go minutely into the other steps of the process. Then comes in the counting the stalks by four, because there are four seasons in the year, and those that remain represent the intercalary days.

But how could such a process be of any value to determine the days necessary to be intercalated in any particular year? The paragraph shows, however, that, when it was written, the rule was to intercalate two months in five years. But it does not say how many days would remain to be carried on to the sixth year after the second intercalation.

Paragraph 52. The actual number of the undivided and divided lines in the hexagrams is the same, 192 of each. But the representative number of an undivided line is 9, and of a divided line 6. Now 9 x 4 (the number of the emblematic figures) x 6 (the lines of each hexagram)=216; and 6 x 4 x 6=144. The sum of these products is 360, which was assumed, for the purpose of working the intercalation, as the standard length of the year. But this was derived from observation, and other considerations; — it did not come out of the Yî.

Paragraphs 53-56. The number in 53 arises thus: — 192 (the number of each series of lines in the sixty-four hexagrams) x 36 (obtained as above) =6912, and 192 x 24 = 4608, the sum of which = 11,520. This is said to be 'the number of all things,' the meaning of which I do not know. The 'four operations' are those described in paragraph 31. They were thrice repeated in divination to determine each new line, and of course it took eighteen of them to form a hexagram. The diagrams might be extended ad infinitum, both in the number of lines and of figures, by the natural process of their formation as shown in the Introduction, page 14, without the aid of the divining stalks; and no sufficient reason can be given why the makers of the figures stopped at sixty-four.

It is difficult to believe the first statement in paragraph 57 and to understand the second. What is it 'to Shăn or spiritualise virtuous actions?' The concluding statement approximates to impiety.

We may grant what is affirmed in paragraph 58, but does the Yî really give us any knowledge of the processes of change and transformation in nature? What wiser are we after all the affirmations about numbers? 'Change' = changings, understood actively: — the work of Heaven; 'transformations' = evolution: — the finish given by earth to the changing caused by Heaven.

X Chapter X, paragraphs 59-65, enlarges on the service rendered to men by the Yî, owing to the way in which it was made by the sages to express their views and carry into effect their wishes.

Paragraph 59 mentions the four things in which its usefulness appears. 'The emblematic figures' are the four hsiang, which are produced by the manipulation of the undivided and divided lines, and whose representative numbers are 9, 8, 7, 6. 'Divination' appears in the paragraph as pû-shih, which means 'divination by the tortoise-shell and by the stalks.' But the tortoise-shell had nothing to do with the use of the Yî. Before the composition of these Appendixes the two terms

must have been combined to express the practice of divination, without reference to its mode.

Paragraph 60 speaks of the explanations and prognostications of the Yî. The 'exquisiteness' ascribed to it would be due to the sages who had devised it, and appended their explanations to it; but the whole thing has no existence save in cloud-land.

Paragraph 61 speaks of the operations with the stalks till the various changes in the results issued in the determination of the emblematic figures, and then in the fixing of the individual lines and entire hexagrams. Even *K*ûHsî admits that the references to the different processes are now hardly intelligible.

Paragraph 62. How could the writer speak of the Yî without thought or action as being most 'spirit-like?' If it did what he asserts, those who contrived it might be so described? They would have been beings whose operation was indeed like that of spirits, inscrutable, 'unfathomable' (paragraph 32), even like that of the Spirit of God (VI, 10).

Paragraphs 63 and 64 ought not to be taken as saying that the sages did the things described for themselves by the Yî. They knew them of themselves, and made the Yî that others might come by it to do the same. So the writer imagined. No words could indicate more clearly than those of paragraph 65 that the paragraphs between it and 59 did not come from Confucius, but from the compiler of the Great Appendix, whoever he was.

XI Chapter XI, paragraphs 66-74, treats of divination, and the scheme of it supplied in the Yî. That scheme must be referred first to Heaven, which produced the spirit-like things, — the divining-plant and the tortoise; and next to the sages, who knew the mind of Heaven, and made the plant and shell subservient to the purpose for which they were intended.

Paragraph 66 answers the question of what the Yî does; and if there were truth or reason in it, the book and its use would be most important. I have closed the quotation of "the Master's" words at the end of the paragraph; but really-we do not know if they extend so far, or farther.

Paragraphs 67 and 68 glorify the sages and their work. The virtues of the divining-plant all belonged to them, and it was thus that they were able to organise the scheme of divination. The production of 'the spirit-like things' is, in paragraph 73, ascribed to Heaven;' the characters about them in these paragraphs mean no more than is expressed in the translation.

Paragraph 69 shows how the antinomy of the yin and yang pervades all nature, and how the sages turned it, as existing preeminently in the divining-plant, to account.

Paragraph 70. Evidently the author had in view here the genesis of the diagrams of the Yî, the number of figures increasing in a geometrical progression with the ratio of 2, while the lines of the figures form an arithmetical progression with the common difference of 1. This is quite plain after 'the two elementary forms (and)' have been made. They give birth to 'the four emblematic symbols,' each of two lines (, , , , known, in this order, as the Grand or old Yang, the young Yin, the young Yang, and the Grand or old Yin). By the addition to each of these symbols first of the yang line, and then of the yin, there arise the eight trigrams, each of three lines and the process of formation might be continued indefinitely.

But how was the first step taken in the formation of the two elementary lines? Here, it is said, they were produced by the Thâi Kî, or the Grand Terminus. This is represented in *K*û Hsî's 'Youth's Introduction to the Study of the Yî,' by a circle; but he tells us that that representation of it was first made by *K*âu-žze (A.D. 1017-1073, called also *K*âu Tun-î, *K*âu Mâu-shû, and, most of all, *K*âu Lien-*kh*î), and that his readers must be careful not to suppose that Fû-hsî had such a figure in his mind's eye. I fail myself to understand how there can be generated from a circle the undivided and the broken line. Given those two lines, and the formation of the sixty-four hexagrams proceeds regularly according to the method above described. We must start from them, whether we can account or not for the rise of the idea of them in the mind of Fû-hsî.

Leaving the subject of the figure of the Thâi *K*î, the name gives us hardly any clue to its meaning. *K*î is used for the extreme term of anything, as the ridge-pole of a house, or the pinnacle of a pagoda. The comment on the first sentence in the paragraph by Wang Pî (A.D. 226-249) is:— 'Existence must begin in nonexistence, and therefore the Grand Terminus produced the two elementary Forms. Thâi *K*î is the denomination of what has no denomination. As it cannot be named, the text takes the extreme point of anything that exists as an analogous term for the Thâi *K*î.' Expanding Wang's comment, Khung Ying-tâ says:— 'Thâi *K*î means the original subtle matter, that formed the one chaotic mass before heaven and earth were divided;' and then he refers to certain passages in Lâo-žze's Tâo Teh King, and identifies the Thâi *K*î with his Tâo. This would seem to give to Thâi *K*î a material meaning. The later philosophers of the Sung school, however, insist on its being immaterial, now calling it lî, the principle of order in nature, now tâo, the defined course of things, now Tî, the Supreme Power or God, now shin, the spiritual working of God. According to *Kh*ăng-žze, all these names are to be referred to that of 'Heaven,' of which they express so many different concepts.

Paragraph 71 speaks of divination in practice, and paragraph 72 celebrates the service done by that through the plant and shell, as equal to, and indeed the complement of, all the other services rendered by heaven and earth, the seasons, the sun and moon, the sages, and the greatest potentates. Surely, it is all very extravagant.

The last two paragraphs resume the theme of the making of the Yî by the sages, and their teaching the practice of divination. Of the Ho map and the Lo writing, I have spoken in the introduction, pages 14-18. But if we accept the statement that the Lo writing had anything to do with the making of the Yî, we must except Fû-hsî from the sages to whom we are indebted for it. It was to the Great Yü, more than a thousand years later than Fû-hsî, that the Lo disclosed its writing; and Yü is never said to have had anything to do with the Yî. Nor is either of these things mentioned in Section ii, paragraph 11, where the work of Fû-hsî is described more in detail.

XII Chapter XII, paragraphs 75-81, endeavours to show how we have in the Yî a representation of the changing phenomena of nature, and such a representation as words or speech could not convey.

Paragraph 75 has a good meaning, taken by itself; but it has no apparent connexion with the rest of the chapter. *K*û Hsî thought it was misplaced in its present position, and should be at the end of chapter 8. Compare paragraph 14.

The first two statements of paragraph 76 are general, but made here specially to exalt the Yî, as teaching more clearly and fully than written characters could have done. The Khang-hsî editors decide that I the emblematic figures' here are the eight trigrams of Fû-hsî, — against the view of *K*û Hsî, which restricts them to signify the undivided and divided lines. The repetition of the words, 'The Master said,' is probably the error of an early transcriber.

Paragraphs 77 and 78 refer to the phenomena of nature and the course of human affairs, as suggesting and controlling the formation of the system of the Yî. The formation of that becomes the subject in paragraph 79. *Kh*ien and Khwăn are used, as we have already seen them more than once, for the active and inactive conditions in nature, indicated by the divided and undivided lines. It is difficult to translate what is said in paragraph 78, about Tâo and *Khî*; — what I have called, 'an ideal method' and 'a definite' thing. P. Regis translates the text by— 'Quod non est inter figurata aut corporea sed supereminet est rationale, est ratio, Tâo; quod (est) inter figurata subjacetque certae figurae est sensibile, est instrumentum! But tâo cannot here signify ratio or reason; for tâo and *kh*î are names for the same thing under different conditions; first as a possibility, and next as an actuality. Such is the natural interpretation of the text, and so all the

great scholars of the Sung dynasty construed it, as may be seen in the ‘Collected Comments’ of the imperial edition. So far they were correct, however many of them might stumble and fall in confounding this ‘ideal method’ with God.

What follows in the paragraph has no connexion with these two statements. P. Regis, who divides his translation into two paragraphs, says:— ‘Satis patet utramque textus hujus partem non cohaerere. Quod ergo illas divisimus, id fecimus majoris perspicuitatis causa, non ratione ordinis qui certe nullus est, ut in re potius assuta quam connexa.’

Paragraph 79 is a repetition of paragraphs 38, 39, ‘to introduce,’ says Kû Hsî, ‘the two paragraphs’ that follow.

The editors of the imperial edition find in 80, 81, an amplification mainly of 76, showing how what is said there of the natural phenomena is exhibited in the Yî. The concluding sentence is a declaration (hardly necessary) about the sage makers, to the effect that they were as distinguished for virtuous conduct as for wisdom,— ‘the proper men’ to stand between Heaven and the mass of men as they did.

SECTION II

Chapter I. 1. The eight trigrams having been completed in their proper order, there were in each the (three) emblematic lines. They were then multiplied by a process of addition till the (six) component lines appeared.

2. The strong line and the weak push themselves each into the place of the other, and hence the changes (of the diagrams) take place. The appended explanations attach to every form of them its character (of good or ill), and hence the movements (suggested by divination) are determined accordingly.

3. Good fortune and ill, occasion for repentance or regret, all arise from these movements.

4. The strong and the weak (lines) have their fixed and proper places (in the diagrams); their changes, however varied, are according to the requirements of the time (when they take place).

5. Good fortune and ill are continually prevailing each against the other by an exact rule.

6. By the same rule, heaven and earth, in their course, continually give forth (their lessons); the sun and moon continually emit their light; all the movements under the sky are constantly subject to this one and the same rule.

7. *Kh*ien, (the symbol of heaven, and) conveying the idea of strength, shows to men its easy (and natural) action. *Kh*wăn, (the symbol of earth, and) conveying the idea of docility, shows to men its compendious (receptivity and operation).

8. The Yâo (or lines) are imitative representations of this. The Hsiang, or emblematic figures, are pictorial representations of the same.

9. The movements of the lines and figures take place (at the hand of the operator), and are unseen; the good fortune or ill is seen openly and is beyond. The work to be done appears by the changes; the sympathies of the sages are seen in their explanations.

10. The great attribute of heaven and earth is the giving and maintaining life. What is most precious for the sage is to get the (highest) place — (in which he can be the human representative of heaven and earth). What will guard this position for him? Men. How shall he collect a large population round him? By the power of his wealth. The right administration of that wealth, correct instructions to the people, and prohibitions against wrong-doing; — these constitute his righteousness.

Chapter II. 11. Anciently, when Pâo-hsî had come to the rule of all under heaven, looking up, he contemplated the brilliant forms exhibited in the sky, and

looking down he surveyed the patterns shown on the earth. He contemplated the ornamental appearances of birds and beasts and the (different) suitabilities of the soil. Near at hand, in his own person, he found things for consideration, and the same at a distance, in things in general. On this he devised the eight trigrams, to show fully the attributes of the spirit-like and intelligent (operations working secretly), and to classify the qualities of the myriads of things.

12. He invented the making of nets of various kinds by knitting strings, both for hunting and fishing. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Lî (the third trigram, and thirtieth hexagram).

13. On the death of Pâo-hsî, there arose Shăn-năng (in his place). He fashioned wood to form the share, and bent wood to make the plough-handle. The advantages of ploughing and weeding were then taught to all under heaven. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Yî (the forty-second hexagram).

14. He caused markets to be held at midday, thus bringing together all the people, and assembling in one place all their wares. They made their exchanges and retired, every one having got what he wanted. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Shih Ho (the twenty-first hexagram).

15. After the death of Shăn-năng, there arose Hwang Tî, Yâo, and Shun. They carried through the (necessarily occurring) changes, so that the people did (what was required of them) without being wearied; yea, they exerted such a spirit-like transformation, that the people felt constrained to approve their (ordinances) as right. When a series of changes has run all its course, another change ensues. When it obtains free course, it will continue long. Hence it was that ‘these (sovereigns) were helped by Heaven; they had good fortune, and their every movement was advantageous.’ Hwang Tî, Yâo, and Shun (simply) wore their upper and lower garments (as patterns to the people), and good order was secured all under heaven. The idea of all this was taken, probably, from *K*hien and Khwăn (the first and eighth trigrams, or the first and second hexagrams).

16. They hollowed out trees to form canoes; they cut others long and thin to make oars. Thus arose the benefit of canoes and oars for the help of those who had no means of intercourse with others. They could now reach the most distant parts, and all under heaven were benefited. The idea of this was taken., probably, from Hwân (the fifty-ninth hexagram).

17. They used oxen (in carts) and yoked horses (to chariots), thus providing for the carriage of what was heavy, and for distant journeys, — thereby benefiting all under the sky. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Sui (the seventeenth hexagram).

18. They made the (defence of the) double gates, and (the warning of) the clapper, as a preparation against the approach of marauding visitors. The idea of

this was taken, probably, from Yü (the sixteenth hexagram).

19. They cut wood and fashioned it into pestles; they dug in the ground and formed mortar's. Thus the myriads of the people received the benefit arising from the use of the pestle and mortar. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Hsiâo Kwo (the sixty-second hexagram).

20. They bent wood by means of string so as to form bows, and sharpened wood so as to make arrows. This gave the benefit of bows and arrows, and served to produce everywhere a feeling of awe.

The idea of this was taken, probably, from Khwei (the thirty-eighth hexagram).

21. In the highest antiquity they made their homes (in winter) in caves, and (in summer) dwelt in the open country. In subsequent ages, for these the sages substituted houses, with the ridge-beam above and the projecting roof below, as a provision against wind and rain. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Tâ *K*wang (the thirty-fourth hexagram).

22. When the ancients buried their dead, they covered the body thickly with pieces of wood, having laid it in the open country. They raised no mound over it, nor planted trees around; nor had they any fixed period for mourning. In subsequent ages the sages substituted for these practices the inner and outer coffins. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Tâ Kwo (the twenty-eighth hexagram).

23. In the highest antiquity, government was carried on successfully by the use of knotted cords (to preserve the memory of things). In subsequent ages the sages substituted for these written characters and bonds. By means of these (the doings of) all the officers could be regulated, and (the affairs of) all the people accurately examined. The idea of this was taken, probably, from Kwâi (the forty-third hexagram).

Chapter III. 24. Therefore what we call the Yî is (a collection of) emblematic lines. They are styled emblematic as being resemblances.

25. What we call the Thwan (or king Wăn's explanations) are based on the significance (of each hexagram as a whole).

26. We call the lines (of the figures) Yâo from their being according to the movements taking place all under the sky.

27. In this way (we see) the rise of good fortune and evil, and the manifestation of repentance and regret.

Chapter IV. 28. In the Yang trigrams (or those of the undivided line) there are more of the Yin lines, and in the Yin trigrams (or those of the divided line) there are more of the Yang lines.

29. What is the cause of this? It is because the Yang lines are odd (or made by one stroke), and the Yin lines are even (or made by two strokes).

30. What (method of) virtuous conduct is thus intimated? In the Yang trigrams we have one ruler, and two subjects, — suggesting the way of the superior man. In the Yin trigrams we have two rulers, and one subject, — suggesting the way of the small man.

Chapter V. 31. It is said in the Yî, 'Full of anxious thoughts you go and come; (only) friends will follow you and think with you.' The Master said:— 'In all (the processes taking place) under heaven, what is there of thinking? what is there of anxious scheming? They all come to the same (successful) issue, though by different paths; there is one result, though there might be a hundred anxious schemes. What is there of thinking? what is there of anxious scheming?'

32. The sun goes and the moon comes; the moon goes and the sun comes; — the sun and moon thus take the place each of the other, and their shining is the result. The cold goes and the heat comes; the heat goes and the cold comes; — it is by this mutual succession of the cold and heat that the year is completed. That which goes becomes less and less, and that which comes waxes more and more; — it is by the influence on each other of this contraction and expansion that the advantages (of the different conditions) are produced.

33. When the looper coils itself up, it thereby straightens itself again; when worms and snakes go into the state of hybernation, they thereby keep themselves alive. (So), when we minutely investigate the nature and reasons (of things), till we have entered into the inscrutable and spirit-like in them, we attain to the largest practical application of them; when that application becomes the quickest and readiest, and all personal restfulness is secured, our virtue is thereby exalted.

34. Going on beyond this, we reach a point which it is hardly possible to know. We have thoroughly comprehended the inscrutable and spirit-like, and know the processes of transformation; — this is the fulness of virtue.

35. It is said in the Yî, '(The third line shows its subject) distressed before a rock, and trying to lay hold of thorns; entering into his palace and not seeing his wife: — there will be evil.' The Master said:— 'If one be distressed by what need not distress him, his name is sure to be disgraced; if he lay hold on what he should not touch, his life is sure to be imperilled. In disgrace and danger, his death will (soon) come; — is it possible for him in such circumstances to see his wife?'

36. It is said in the Yî, 'The duke with (his bow) shoots at the falcon on the top of the high wall; he hits it: — his every movement will be advantageous.' The Master said:— 'The falcon is a bird (of prey); the bow and arrow is a weapon (of war); the shooter is a man. The superior man keeps his weapon

concealed about his person, and waits for the proper time to move; — doing this, how should his movement be other than successful? There is nothing to fetter or embarrass his movement; and hence, when he comes forth, he succeeds in his object.

The language speaks of movement when the instrument necessary to it is ready and perfect.'

37. The Master said:— 'The small man is not ashamed of what is not benevolent, nor does he fear to do what is not righteous. Without the prospect of gain he does not stimulate himself to what is good, nor does he correct himself without being moved. Self-correction, however, in what is small will make him careful in what would be of greater consequence; — and this is the happiness of the small man. It is said in the Yî, "His feet are in the stocks, and he is disabled in his toes: — there will be no (further) occasion for blame."'

38. If acts of goodness be not accumulated, they are not sufficient to give its finish to one's name; if acts of evil be not accumulated, they are not sufficient to destroy one's life. The small man thinks that small acts of goodness are of no benefit, and does not do them; and that small deeds of evil do no harm, and does not abstain from them. Hence his wickedness becomes great till it cannot be covered, and his guilt becomes great till it cannot be pardoned. This is what the Yî says, 'He wears the cangue and his ears are destroyed: — there will be evil.'

39. The Master said:— 'He who keeps danger in mind is he who will rest safe in his seat; he who keeps ruin in mind is he who will preserve his interests secure; he who sets the danger of disorder before him is he who will maintain the state of order. Therefore the superior man, when resting in safety, does not forget that danger may come; when in a state of security, he does not forget the possibility of ruin; and when all is in a state of order, he does not forget that disorder may come. Thus his person is kept safe, and his states and all their clans can be preserved. This is according to what the Yî says, "(Let him say), 'Shall I perish? shall I perish?' (so shall this state be firm, as if) bound to a clump of bushy mulberry trees."'

40. The Master said:— 'Virtue small and office high; wisdom small and plans great; strength small and burden heavy: — where such conditions exist, it is seldom that they do not end (in evil). As is said in the Yî, "The tripod's feet are overthrown, and the ruler's food is overturned. The body of him (who is thus indicated) is wet (with shame):there will be evil."'

41. The Master said:— 'Does not he who knows the springs of things possess spirit-like wisdom? The superior man, in his intercourse with the high, uses no flattery, and, in his intercourse with the low, no coarse freedom: — does not this show that he knows the springs of things? Those springs are the slight

beginnings of movement, and the earliest indications of good fortune (or ill). The superior man sees them, and acts accordingly without waiting for (the delay of) a single day. As is said in the Yî, "He is firm as a rock, (and acts) without the delay of a single day. With firm goodness there will be good fortune." Firm as a rock, how should he have to wait a single day to ensure his knowing (those springs and his course)? The superior man knows the minute and the manifested; he knows what is weak, and what is strong: — he is a model to ten thousand.'

42. The Master said:— 'I may venture to say that the son of the Yen family had nearly attained (the standard of perfection). If anything that he did was not good, he was sure to become conscious of that; and when he knew it, he did not do the thing again. As is said in the Yî, "(The first line shows its subject) returning from an error that has not led him far away. There is no occasion for repentance. There will be great good."'

43. There is an intermingling of the genial influences of heaven and earth, and transformation in its various forms abundantly proceeds. There is an intercommunication of seed between male and female, and transformation in its living types proceeds. What is said in the Yî, 'Three individuals are walking together and one is made to disappear; there is (but) one man walking, and he gets his mate,' tells us of the effort (in nature) at oneness (of operation).

44. The Master said:— 'The superior man (in a high place) composes himself before he (tries to) move others; makes his mind restful and easy before he speaks; settles (the principles of) his intercourse with others before he seeks anything from them. The superior man cultivates these three things, and so is complete. If he try to move others while he is himself in unrest, the people will not (act) with him; if he speak while he is himself in a state of apprehension, the people will not respond to him; if without (certain principles of) intercommunication, he issue his requests, the people will not grant them. When there are none to accord with him, those who (work to) injure him will make their appearance. As is said in the Yî, "(We see one) to whose advantage none will contribute, while some will seek to assail him. He observes no regular rule in the ordering of his heart: — there will be evil."'

Chapter VI. 45. The Master said:—'(The trigrams) *Kh*ien and Khwăn may be regarded as the gate of the Yî.' *Kh*ien represents what is of the yang nature (bright and active); Khwăn what is of the yin nature (shaded and inactive). These two unite according to their qualities, and there comes the embodiment of the result by the strong and weak (lines). In this way we have the phenomena of heaven and earth visibly exhibited, and can comprehend the operation of the spiritual intelligence.

46. The appellations and names (of the diagrams and lines) are various, but do not go beyond (what is to be ascribed to the operation of these two conditions). When we examine the nature and style

(of the appended explanations), they seem to express the ideas of a decaying age.

47. The Yî exhibits the past, and (teaches us to) discriminate (the issues of) the future; it makes manifest what is minute, and brings to light what is obscure. (Then king Wăn) opened (its symbols), and distinguished things in accordance with its names, so that all his words were correct and his explanations decisive; — (the book) was now complete.

48. The appellations and names (of the diagrams and lines) are but small matters, but the classes of things comprehended under them are large. Their scope reaches far, and the explanations attached to them are elegant. The words are indirect, but to the point; the matters seem plainly set forth, but there is a secret principle in them. Their object is, in cases that are doubtful, to help the people in their conduct, and to make plain the recompenses of good and evil.

Chapter VII. 49. Was it not in the middle period of antiquity that the Yî began to flourish? Was not he who made it familiar with anxiety and calamity?

50. Therefore (the 10th diagram), Lî, shows us the foundation of virtue; (the 15th), Hsien, its handle; (the 24th), Fû, its root; (the 32nd), Hăng, its solidity; (the 41st), Sun, its cultivation; (the 42nd), Yî, its abundance; (the 47th), Khwăn, its exercise of discrimination; (the 48th), Žing, its field and (the 57th), Sun, its regulation.

51. In Lî we have the perfection of harmony; in Hsien, we have the giving honour to others,

and the distinction thence arising; in Fû we have what is small (at first), but there is in it a (nice) discrimination of (the qualities of) things; in Ming we have a mixed experience, but without any weariness; in Sun we have difficulty in the beginning and ease in the end; in Yî we have abundance of growth without any contrivance; in Khwăn we have the pressure of extreme difficulty, ending in a free course,; in Žing we have abiding in one's place and at the same time removal (to meet the movement of others); and in Sun we have the weighing of things (and action accordingly), but secretly and unobserved.

52. (The use of) Lî appears in the harmony of the conduct; of Hsien, in the regulation of ceremonies; of Fû, in self-knowledge; of Hăng, in uniformity of virtue; of Sun, in keeping what is harmful at a distance; of Yî, in the promotion of what is advantageous; of Khwăn, in the diminution of resentments; of Žing, in the discrimination of what is righteous; and of Sun, in the doing of what is appropriate to time and to circumstances.

Chapter VIII. 53. The Yî is a book which should not be let slip from the mind. Its method (of teaching) is marked by the frequent changing (of its lines). They change and move without staying (in one place), flowing about into any one of the six places of the hexagram. They ascend and descend, ever inconstant. The strong and the weak lines change places, so that an invariable and compendious rule cannot be derived from them; — it must vary as their changes indicate.

54. The goings forth and comings in (of the lines) are according to rule and measure. (People) learn from them in external and internal affairs to stand in awe.

55. (The book), moreover, makes plain the nature of anxieties and calamities, and the causes of them. Though (its students) have neither master nor guardian, it is as if their parents drew near to them.

56. Beginning with taking note of its explanations, we reason out the principles to which they point. We thus find out that it does supply a constant and standard rule. But if there be not the Proper men (to carry this out), the course cannot be pursued without them.

Chapter IX. 57. The Yî is a book in which the form (of each diagram) is determined by the lines from the first to the last, which must be carefully observed. The six lines are mixed together, according to the time (when they enter the figure) and their substance (as whole and divided).

58. There is difficulty in knowing (the significance of) the first line, while to know that of the topmost line is easy; — they form the beginning and the end (of the diagram). The explanation of the first line tasks the calculating (of the makers), but in the end they had (but) to complete this.

59. As to the variously-disposed intermediate lines with their diverse formations, for determining their qualities, and discriminating the right and wrong in them, we should be unprovided but for the explanations of them.

60. Yea, moreover, if we wish to know what is likely to be preserved and what to perish, what will be lucky and what will be unlucky, this may easily be known (from the explanations of the different lines). But if the wise will look at the explanations of the entire diagrams, their thoughts will embrace more than half of this knowledge.

61. The second and fourth lines are of the same quality (as being in even places), but their positions (with respect to the fifth line) are different, and their value is not the same; but the second is the object of much commendation, and the fourth the subject of many apprehensions, — from its nearness (to that line). But for a line in a place of weakness it is not good to be far (from the occupant of the place of strength), and what its subject should desire in such a case is

(merely) to be without blame. The advantage (here) is in (the second line) being in the central place.

62. The third and fifth lines are of the same quality, (as being in odd places), but their positions are different; and the (occupant of) the third meets with many misfortunes, while the occupant of the fifth achieves much merit: — this arises from one being in the noble position and the other in the mean. Are they occupied by the symbol of weakness? There will be peril. By that of strength? There will be victory.

Chapter X. 63. The Yî is a book of wide comprehension and great scope, embracing everything. There are in it the way of heaven, the way of man, and the way of earth. It then takes (the lines representing) those three Powers, and doubles them till they amount to six. What these six lines show is simply this, — the way of the three Powers.

64. This way is marked by changes and movements, and hence we have the imitative lines. Those lines are of different grades (in the trigrams), and hence we designate them from their component elements. These are mixed together, and elegant forms arise. When such forms are not in their appropriate places, the ideas of good fortune and bad are thus produced.

Chapter XI. 65. Was it not in the last age of Yin, when the virtue of *K*âu had reached its highest point, and during the troubles between king Wăn and (the tyrant) *K*âu, that the (study of the Yî) began to flourish? On this account the explanations (in the book) express (a feeling of) anxious apprehension, (and teach) how peril may be turned into security, and easy carelessness is sure to meet with overthrow. The method in which these things come about is very comprehensive, and must be acknowledged in every sphere of things. If at the beginning there be a cautious apprehension as to the end, there will probably be no error or cause for blame. This is what is called the way of the Yî.

Chapter XII. 66. (The hexagram) Khien represents the strongest of all under the sky. Through this quality its operations are always manifested with ease, for it knows where there would be peril and embarrassment. (The hexagram) Khwăn represents the most docile of all under the sky. Through this quality its operations are always manifested with the promptest decision, for it knows where there would be obstruction.

67. (The sages, who are thus represented, and who made the Yî,) were able to rejoice in heart (in the absolute truth of things), and were able (also) to weigh carefully all matters that could occasion anxiety; (thus) they fixed the good and bad fortune (of all things) under the sky, and could accomplish the things requiring strenuous efforts.

68. Therefore amid the changes and transformations (taking place in heaven and earth), and the words and deeds of men, events that are to be fortunate have their happy omens. (The sages) knew the definite principles underlying the prognostications of the former class, and the future of those of the latter, (now to be) ascertained by divination.

69. The places of heaven and earth (in the diagrams) having been determined, the sages were able (by means of the Yî) to carry out and complete their ability. (In this way even) the common people were able to share with them in (deciding about) the counsels of men and the counsels of spiritual beings.

70. The eight trigrams communicate their information by their emblematic figures. The explanations appended to the lines and the completed figures tell how the contemplation of them affected (the makers). The strong and the weak lines appear mixed in them, and (thus) the good and the evil (which they indicate) can be seen.

71. The changes and movements (which take place in the manipulation of the stalks and the formation of the diagrams) speak as from the standpoint of what is advantageous. The (intimations of) good and evil vary according to the place and nature (of the lines). Thus they may indicate a mutual influence (in any two of them) of love or hatred, and good or evil is the result; or that mutual influence may be affected by the nearness of the lines to, or their distance from, each other, and then repentance or regret is the result; or the influence may be that of truth or of hypocrisy, and then the result is what is advantageous, or what is injurious. In all these relations of the (lines in the) Yî, if two are near and do not blend harmoniously, there may be (all these results), — evil, or what is injurious, or occasion for repentance and regret.

72. The language of him who is meditating a revolt (from the right) betrays his inward shame; that of him whose inward heart doubts about it diverges to other topics. The words of a good man are few; those of a coarse man are many. The words of one who slanders what is good are unsubstantial;

those of him who is losing what he ought to keep are crooked.

FOOTNOTES

I Chapter I, paragraphs 1-10, is an amplification, according to Khung Ying-tâ and the editors of the imperial edition of the present dynasty, of the second chapter of Section i. The latter say that as all the chapters of Section i from the third onwards serve to elucidate chapter 2, so it is with this chapter and all that follow in this Section. The formation of the diagrams, and of their several lines,

their indication of good fortune and bad, and the analogy between the processes of nature and the operations of divination, and other kindred subjects, are all touched on.

The order of the eight trigrams in paragraph 1, is *kh*ien, tui, lî, *k*ăn, sun, khan, kăn, khwăn. The three lines of each are emblematic, — the first of heaven, the second of man, the third of earth. This is the most likely explanation of hsiang, 'the emblems' or 'similitudes' here. Why the maker— 'sages' — stopt at sixty-four figures, of six lines each, is a question that cannot be answered.

Paragraph 2. Of course it was a great delusion to suppose that the changes of lines consequent on divination could be so connected with the movements of life as to justify the characterising them as good or evil, or afford any guidance in the ordering of conduct.

Paragraph 4. Who can tell 'the requirements of the time' amid the complexity of the phenomena of nature or the ever-varying events of human experience and history? The wiser men are, the more correct will be their judgments in such matters; but is there any reason for trusting to divination about them?

Paragraphs 5, 6. It is difficult to say what is 'the exact rule' intended here; unless it be that the factors in every movement shall act according to their proper nature. The Khang-hsî editors say:— 'We see the good sometimes meeting with misfortune, and the bad with good fortune; but such is not the general rule.' 'The lessons that heaven and earth give forth' are those concerning the method of their operation as stated in paragraph 7, and more fully in 6, 7, 8 of Section i.

What is said in paragraph 10 is striking and important, and in harmony with the general strain of Confucian teaching; — as in the Great Learning, chapter 10, and many other places; but I fail to see its appropriateness in its present place in the Yî.

II Chapter II, paragraphs 11-23, treats of the progress of civilisation in China, and how the great men of antiquity who led the way in the various steps of that progress were guided by the Yî. Only five of these are mentioned; — the first, Fû-hsî, the beginning of whose reign, according to the least unlikely of the chronological accounts, must be placed in the 34th century B. C., while Shun's reign ended in B. C. 2203. The time embraced in this chapter therefore is about twelve centuries and a half. But the writer gives his own opinion that the various discoveries and inventions mentioned were suggested to their authors by certain hexagrams of the Yî. The most commonly received view, however, is that Fû-hsî had only the eight trigrams, and that the multiplication of them to the 64 hexagrams was the work of king Wăn, fully a thousand years later than Shun. This is the view of the editors of the imperial Yî. If it be contended that Fû-hsî himself multiplied his trigrams, and gave their names to the resulting hexagrams,

how could he have wrapped tip in them the intimations of discoveries which were not made till many centuries after his death? The statements in the chapter cannot be received as historical. It came from another hand, and not from Confucius himself. The writer or compiler gives the legends current about the various inventions of his time. The making of the trigrams is placed first of all to do honour to the Yî. The account of it is different from that given in paragraph 73 of the former Section, and we hear nothing of the Ho map or Lo writing.

Paragraph 11. Pâo-hsî here and in 13 is the same as Fû-hsî. As Pâo is written here, there is no meaning in it; but another character Phâo ( ) is more common, and Phâo-hsî would mean the inventor of the kitchen and cookery. This was the first step towards civilisation, and was appropriately followed by the hunting and fishing — both by means of nets — in paragraph 12.

Paragraphs 13, 14 celebrate the work of Shăn-năng, ‘the marvellous or spirit-like husbandman.’ There was no metal about the primitive plough. The market for the exchange of commodities, without the use of coin, was an important advance.

The invention of the robes, or of dress, mentioned in paragraph 15, would seem to show that previously men had been in a very rude state. The passage indicates, however, the courtesies and proprieties of social life, in which dress plays an important part, and which now began to be organised.

The infant navigation in paragraph 16 was as little indebted to the use of metal as the agriculture of 13.

Paragraphs 17 and 18 show that in those primitive times there were already the practices of rapine and war. ‘The double gates’ were those of the city wall, and of the enclosed suburb. The clapper may still be heard all over China. Bows and arrows, however, came rather later, as in 20.

I suppose ‘the sages’ in paragraphs 21, 22, 23 refer generally to the great names mentioned in the previous chapters; nor can we define the distinction in the writer or compiler’s mind between ‘antiquity’ and ‘the highest antiquity.’ Compare what is said on the rise of the coffin in 22 with Mencius’ remarks on the same subject in Book III, ii, 5. 4. He would hardly have expressed himself as he did, if he had been familiar with this text. The invention of written characters is generally ascribed to Fû-hsî. Paragraph 23 does not say so, but the inventor is said to have been a sage of a subsequent age to the time of ‘high antiquity.’ That ‘high antiquity’ must stretch back very far.

III Chapter III, paragraphs 24-27, treats of the Yî as made up of figurative diagrams, which again are composed of lines ever changing, in accordance with

the phenomena of nature and human experience, while to the resulting figures their moral character and providential issues are appended by the sages. It may be regarded as an epitome of chapter 2 in Section i.

Paragraph 24. It is observed by the editors of the imperial edition that a chapter should not begin with a 'therefore;' and they are inclined to agree with many critics who would enter this as the last paragraph of the preceding chapter. In that case it would be a summing-up of the concluding sentences of the different paragraphs, the truth and genuineness of which are deservedly suspected. The characters for 'therefore,' however, are very loosely used in these Appendixes. — The lines, as they were intended by Fû-hsî, were emblematic; and they are still more so, as interpreted by the duke of Kâu. Meanings are drawn from the figures that resemble or illustrate principles in the subjects to which they are applied.

Paragraph 25. The character rendered 'the significance' means materials, and is illustrated by reference to all the different materials out of which a house is composed. So there are half-a-dozen things about the diagrams, their lineal structure, emblematic intention, their attributes, &c., out of which their interpretation is fashioned.

Paragraph 26. *E.g.* an undivided line may appear in an odd place, which is right, or in an even place, which is wrong; and the case is the opposite with the divided lines. But what has this to do with the right or wrong of the events divined about?

IV Chapter IV, paragraphs 28-30. Of the distinction of the trigrams into Yang and Yin.

The trigrams that contain only one undivided line — *k*ăn (), khan (), and kăn () — are called Yang. The undivided line is called 'the lord' in them. It is just the opposite with the Yin trigrams, in which there are two undivided lines, and one divided, — sun (), lî (), and tui (). These together constitute the 'six children,' or 'three sons' and 'three daughters' in the later arrangement of the trigrams, ascribed to king Wăn.

Paragraph 29. Each part of the divided line counts as one hence a yang trigram counts as 1 + 2 + 2 = 5 strokes, four of which are yin, while a yin trigram counts as 2 + 1 + 1 = 4, only two of which are yang. But this is mere trifling.

In explanation of paragraph 30 it is said that 'we have in the yang trigrams two (or more) subjects serving one ruler, and in the yin one subject serving two rulers, and two rulers striving together for the allegiance of one Subject.' This is ingenious, but fanciful; as indeed this distinction of the trigrams into a yang class and a yin is a mere play of fancy.

V Chapter V, paragraphs 31-44, gives the words of the duke of *K*âu on eleven

different lines in the Text of the Yî, along with remarks of Confucius in farther illustration of them. But they seem also to be intended to bring forth more fully the meaning of certain previous utterances about the structure and scope of the Yî.

Paragraphs 31-34 start from the fourth line of the 31st hexagram, which would seem merely to require a steady and unvarying purpose in any one, in order to the full development of his influence. The editors of the imperial edition, however, make the whole a sequel of paragraph 5. But granted that there is no 'anxious scheming' in the processes of the natural world or in the phenomena of insect life, there is really no analogy to their proceedings in the course of the man who makes himself master of 'the nature and reasons of things,' as described in 33 and 34. Nor are 'the nature and reasons of things' to be found in the Yî, as the writer believed they were. Such as it is, it requires immense thought to understand it, and when we have laid hold of it, there is nothing substantial in our grasp. The 'virtue' predicated of such attainment is not so much moral excellence, as apprehension and the power and ability to invent, and to affect others.

Paragraph 35. See on the third line of Khwăn, the 47th hexagram. If we were to translate the explanations of the line after Confucius, we should put the first two statements hypothetically; but the four that compose it seem to run on in the same way. They are all, I apprehend, hypothetical.

Paragraph 36. See on the last line of *K*ieh, the 40th hexagram.

Paragraph 37. See on the first line of Shih Ho, the 21st hexagram. The 'self-correction in what is small' implies of course that the small man has been 'awed.' What is said about him here is true; but we hardly expect it in this place.

Paragraph 38 should probably begin, like those before and after it, with 'The Master said.' The characters quoted from the Yî are again from the text of Shih Ho, on the last line.

Paragraph 39. See on the fifth line of Phî, the 12th hexagram.

Paragraph 40 gives Confucius' views on the fourth line of Ting, the 50th hexagram.

In paragraph 41 we are conducted to the 16th 'hexagram, — the second line of it. The being 'firm as a rock' is understood to symbolise the state of 'rest,' the quiet self-possession out of which successful movement and action is understood to spring.

In paragraph 42, 'the son of the Yen family' is Yen Hui, the favourite disciple of Confucius. The passage quoted from the Yî is that on the first line of Fû, the 24th hexagram.

To paragraph 43, as to paragraph 38, I would prefix the characters for ‘The Master said.’ ‘Male and female’ is to be taken generally, and not confined to the individuals of the human pair. One Chinese writer says that in the transformations ascribed to heaven and earth, birds, fishes, animals, and plants are included, but from the ‘transformation in its living types’ plants are excluded, because in their generation there is nothing analogous to the emission and reception of seed. Other Chinese writers, however, are well enough acquainted with the sexual system of plants. It would seem to me that Confucius, if the paragraph were really his, intended only plants or the vegetable world in his reference to the operation of heaven and earth, and had all living tribes in view in his mention of male and female. The passage of the Yî referred to is on the third line of Sun, the 41st hexagram. The application of it is far-fetched.

Paragraph 44. See on the fifth line of Yî, the 42nd hexagram.

VI The principal object, it is said, of chapter VI, paragraphs 45-48, is to set forth the views of king Wăn and his son in the explanations which they appended to the diagrams and lines; and in doing this the writer begins in 45, with Fû-hsî’s starting, in the formation of his eight trigrams, from the devising of the whole and divided lines, to represent the two primitive forms in nature. The two ‘pure’ trigrams formed of these lines, unmixed, give rise to all the others, or rather the lines of which they are formed do so; and are thus compared to a gate by which the various diagrams enter to complete the system that is intended to represent the changing phenomena of nature and experience. The next sentence in the above version of paragraph 45 appears in Canon McClatchie’s translation of the Yî, as follows:— ‘*Kh*ien is the membrum virile, and Khwăn is the pudendum muliebre (the sakti of *Kh*ien).’ It is, hardly possible, on reading such a version, to suppress the exclamation proh pudor! Can a single passage be adduced in support of it from among all the Chinese critics in the line of centuries? I believe not. The ideas which it expresses are gratuitously and wantonly thrust into this text of the Yî. ‘*Kh*ien’ and ‘Khwăn’ are not spoken of thus. If the latter half of the paragraph be unintelligible, this interpretation of the former would make the whole disgusting.

In paragraph 46 the writer passes from the work of Fû-hsî to that of king Wăn and his son, and the composition of the written Yî is referred to ‘a decaying age,’ — the age, namely, of the tyrant Eau. Then king Wan and the duke of *K*âu, it is said, deploring the degeneracy of their times and the enormities of the government, indicated, by their treatment of the ancient symbols, their sense of right and wrong, and the methods by which the prevailing evils might be rectified.

Paragraphs 47 and 48 follow and expand the meaning of 45. The editors of the imperial edition say that the former sentence of 47 is the sequel of 45, and the latter of 46, bringing us finally to the explanations and decisions of king Wăn, as the most important portion of the Yî. *K*û Hsî, moreover, observes that throughout the chapter, as well as in the chapters that follow, there must be many characters wanting in the text, while there are many also that are doubtful. This is specially the case with 48. Where the order of the characters has been disarranged merely, correction is easy; but where characters are evidently missing, attempts to fill the lacunae are merely guess-work.

VII Chapter VII, paragraphs 49-52, is occupied with nine hexagrams, as specially indicating how the superior man, or the ruler, should deal with a time of trouble and solicitude, specially by the cultivation of his own virtue. Not, we are told, that the same thing might not be learned from other diagrams, but these nine specially occurred to the writer, or, as many think, to Confucius.

Paragraph 49 is important as agreeing in its testimony with 46. The Yî was made in middle-antiquity; that is, in the end of the Shang dynasty, and the rise of the *K*âu; and the maker or makers had personal and public reasons for anxiety about the signs of the times.

Paragraph 50 shows the particular phase of virtue in each of the nine hexagrams that are mentioned; 51, the marvellous characteristics of each phase; and 52, its use. The ‘therefore’ with which paragraph 50 commences shows the process of thought by which the writer passed from the anxiety that possessed the mind of the author of the Yî to the use to be derived, in such circumstances, from the study of Lî and the other hexagrams.

VIII Chapter VIII, paragraphs 53-56, describes the method of studying the Yî as consisting very much in watching the changes that take place in the lines, and reflecting on the appended explanations; while, after all, much must depend on there being ‘the proper men,’ to carry its lessons into practice. There seems to be a contradiction between the statements in paragraphs 53 and 56 about the book supplying, and not supplying, a standard rule; but the meaning, probably, is that while it does not give a rule generally applicable, it gives rules for particular cases.

*K*û Hsî says he does not understand 54, and thinks some characters must have been lost. ‘The six places of the hexagram’ in 53 are, literally, ‘the six empties.’ The places are so called, because it is only a temporary possession of them, which is held by the fugitive lines, whether whole or divided.

IX Chapter IX, paragraphs 56-62, speaks of the hexagrams as made up of the different lines, and various things to be attended to in those lines to determine their meaning.

Paragraph 57. The time or order in which the lines enter determines of course the place and number of each in the figure. Their ‘substance’ is their form, as whole or divided, being yang or yin.

Paragraph 58 belongs to the first and sixth lines. We are hardly prepared for the statement that ‘the maker or makers’ had so much difficulty in determining the meaning of the first line. Of course when they had fixed that and completed the figure, explaining all the lines, it was easy for the student to follow their exposition, as paragraph 59 says.

Paragraph 60 seems to say that the work of the duke of *K*âu on each line was but an indicating in detail of the processes of his father’s mind in explaining the whole figure.

The last two paragraphs mention several points important to be attended to in studying, more especially, the duke of Kâu on the several lines. Three different views of the concluding statement,— ‘are they occupied,’ &c., — are given in the imperial edition. ‘It belongs,’ says Wû *K*ăng, ‘to the fifth line;’ ‘to the third line,’ says Hû Ping-wăn (also of the Yüan dynasty); while Hân Hsing-kwo (of the Thang dynasty) held that it belonged to both. The Khang-hsî editors say that ‘by discriminating and combining these views, we get to the meaning of the text.’ I am unable to do so.

X Chapter X, paragraphs 63, 64, speaks of the great comprehensiveness of the Yî, its figures and explanations being applicable to the three Powers — heaven, earth, and man.

With paragraph 63, compare paragraph 4, Appendix VI. In the trigram the upper line represents heaven, the middle line man, and the lowest earth. This paragraph and that other are the nearest approach I know to an attempt to account for the doubling of the number of lines, and stopping with the hexagram; but the doing so was entirely arbitrary. *K*û Hsî says:— ‘The upper two characters belong to heaven, the middle two to man, and the lower two to earth.’ No words could be more express; and yet Canon McClatchie says ():— ‘The two upper strokes represent Heaven, or Thâi-yî, the husband; the two middle strokes, Earth, his wife; and the two lower strokes, Man, their son; all being animated by the same Divine Reason (tâo) or Supreme God (Chih Shăn).’ This note shows how one error, or misunderstanding of the Chinese original, draws other errors with it. The character tâo in the paragraph has not at all the sense of reason, human or divine, but its primary and ordinary signification of the path or course. As Lû Žî (Han dynasty) says:— ‘In the way of heaven there are the changes of day and night, sun and moon; in that of earth, those of hardness and softness, dryness and moisture; in that of man, those of action and rest, of movement and stillness, of good fortune and bad, of good and evil.’

'The imitative lines' in the translation of 64, is simply 'the Yâo' in the Chinese text, which I have rendered according to the account of them in paragraph 8, *et al.* Their different grades are their position as high or low in the figures (paragraph 1, Section i), and their 'component elements,' literally 'their substance, or thing-nature,' is their structure as being yang or yin, according to the use of wuh in paragraphs 57, 59, *et al.* A yang line in an even place, or a yin line in an odd, is not in its appropriate place, and gives an indication of what is bad.

XI Chapter XI, paragraph 65. P. Regis observes on this chapter:— 'I do not hesitate to say that there is found nowhere in the whole Yî a passage which affords more light for the explanation of the book.' Paragraph 49 told us that 'the study of the Yî flourished in the middle period of antiquity, and that the author of it was familiar with anxiety and troubles.' That information becomes here more particular. The Yî, existing when this Appendix was written, was made in the closing period of the Yin dynasty, and the making of it was somehow connected with the attempts of the tyrant *K*âu against king Wăn. We are not told expressly that the book was written, in part at least, by king Wăn; but the tradition to that effect derives a certain amount of support from what is said here. The general object of the author is also stated clearly enough, — to inculcate a cautious and reverent administration of affairs, never forgetful of the uncertainties of life and fortune.

XII Chapter XII, paragraphs 66-72, is generally divided into three sections; — the first, embracing 66-68, and treating of the sages, the makers of the Yî, as themselves independent of it, knowing all that it enables us to know, and able to accomplish all that it enables us to accomplish; the second, embracing 69-71, and telling how the sages formed the Yî, and made all men, by means of it, partakers of their now unlimited knowledge and power; the third, comprised in paragraph 72, and saying, if it be genuine and in its proper place, that the ordinary speech of men is as mysterious and indicative of what is in them, as the explanations of the Yî are, when we consider who were its authors.

'The sages,' who are the subject of 65-68, are not mentioned in the text; but 67 makes it plain that the subject must be some personal being or beings. Neither Khien nor Khwăn can 'rejoice in heart, and weigh carefully matters occasioning anxiety.' The commentators generally interpolate 'the sages;' even Ying-tâ of the Thang dynasty, who doer, not introduce the sages in his exposition, yet makes the subject to be 'the disposer and nourisher of all things.' He gets to his view by an unnatural interpretation of two characters in 67, which are now thrown out of the text by all critics as not genuine. That 'the sages' is really the subject in the mind of the writer appears from the express mention of them in 69,

when also ‘heaven and earth’ take the place of *Khi*en and Khwăn. It is absurd, not to say blasphemous, to assume that the sages who made the Yî had the knowledge and ability here ascribed to them; but the theory of the Yî as containing a scheme for the discovery of the future necessitated the ascribing such attributes to them. Compare with the whole Section, and especially with paragraph 68, what is said in ‘the Doctrine of the Mean,’ chapter 24.

The first Section shows how the sages were themselves independent of the Yî, and had no need of it; the second goes on to tell how they devised and constructed it, to make all men equal to themselves in a knowledge of phenomena and human events, and of their indications of, and issues in, the future. Summing up its lessons, the editors of the imperial edition say, ‘There is no passage in the Appendix more full and clear than this on the five points in regard to the lines which the student of the Yî has to attend to. Those points are: — their time, position, quality, mutual nearness, and responsive relation. It is by a consideration of the two latter points, moreover, that he must form his judgment on their appropriateness or inappropriateness in the three others.’

Paragraph 72 has really no connexion with the rest of the chapter. I have stated above how the critics attempt to make out such a connexion; but I agree myself with P. Regis, who appends to his version of the paragraph this note:— ‘Quae sententiae quidem sapiunt doctrinam Confucianam, at non ordinem, utpote cum praecedentibus minime cohaerentes, sed omnino ab iis abscissae avulsaeque.’

APPENDIX IV

Supplementary to the Thwan and Yâo on the first and second Hexagrams, and showing how they may be interpreted of man's nature and doings 1

SECTION I. *KH*IEN

Chapter I. 1. What is called (under Khien) 'the great and originating' is (in man) the first and chief quality of goodness; what is called 'the penetrating' is the assemblage of excellences; what is called 'the advantageous' is the harmony of all that is right; and what is called 'the correct and firm' is the faculty of action.

2. The superior man, embodying benevolence, is fit to preside over men; presenting the assemblage of excellences, he is fit to show in himself the union of all propriety; benefiting (all) creatures, he is fit to exhibit the harmony of all that is right; correct and firm, he is fit to manage (all) affairs.

3. The fact that the superior man practises these four virtues justifies the application to him of the words— '*Kh*ien represents what is great and originating, penetrating, advantageous, correct and firm.'

Chapter II. 4. What is the meaning of the words under the first NINE, (undivided), 'The dragon lies hid (in the deep); — it is not the time for active doing?' The Master said: — There he is, with the powers of the dragon, and yet lying hid. The influence of the world would make no change in him; he would do nothing (merely) to secure his fame. He can live, withdrawn from the world, without regret; he can experience disapproval without trouble of mind. Rejoicing (in opportunity), he carries his principles into action; sorrowing (for want of opportunity), he keeps with them in retirement. Yes, he is not to be torn from his root (in himself).' This is 'the dragon lying hid.'

5. What is the meaning of the words under the second NINE, 'The dragon shows himself and is in the field; — it will be advantageous to see the great man?' The Master said:— 'There he is, with the dragon's powers, and occupying exactly the central place. He is sincere (even) in his ordinary words, and earnest in his ordinary conduct. Guarding against depravity, he preserves his sincerity. His goodness is recognised in the world, but he does not boast of it. His virtue is extensively displayed, and transformation ensues. The language of the Yî, "The dragon shows himself and is in the field; — it will be advantageous to see the great man." refers to a ruler's virtue.'

6. What is the meaning of the words under the third NINE,' The superior man is active and vigilant all the day, and in the evening (still) careful and

apprehensive; — the position is dangerous, but there will be no mistake?' The Master said:— 'The superior man advances in virtue, and cultivates all the sphere of his duty. His leal-heartedness and good faith are the way by which he advances in virtue. His attention to his words and establishing his sincerity are the way by which he occupies in his sphere. He knows the utmost point to be reached, and reaches it, thus showing himself in accord with the first springs (of things); he knows the end to be rested in, and rests in it, thus preserving his righteousness in accordance with that end. Therefore he occupies a high position without pride, and a low position without anxiety. Thus it is that, being active and vigilant, and careful (also) and apprehensive as the time requires, though his position be perilous, he will make no mistake.'

7. What is the meaning of the words under the fourth NINE, 'He is as if he were leaping up, (but still) is in the deep; — there will be no mistake?' The Master said:— 'He finds no permanent place either above or below, but he does not commit the error (of advancing). He may advance or recede; — there is no permanent place for him: but he does not leave his fellows. The superior man, advancing in virtue and cultivating the sphere of his duty, yet wishes (to advance only) at the (proper) time, and therefore there is no mistake.'

8, What is the meaning of the words under the fifth NINE, 'The dragon is on the wing in the sky; — it will be advantageous to see the great man?' The Master said:— 'Notes of the same key respond to one another; creatures of the same nature seek one another; water flows towards the place that is (low and) damp; fire rises up towards what is dry; clouds follow the dragon, and winds follow the tiger:(so) the sage makes his appearance, and all men look to him. Things that draw their origin from heaven move towards what is above; things that draw their origin from the earth cleave to what is below: — so does everything follow its kind.'

9. What is the meaning of the words under the topmost NINE, 'The dragon exceeds the proper limits; — there will be occasion for repentance?' The Master said:— 'The position is noble, but it is not that of office; (its occupant) dwells on high, but he has no people (to rule); and the men of talent and virtue in the positions below will give him no aid; — should he move in such a case, there will be occasion for repentance.'

Chapter III. 10. 'The dragon lies hid; — it is not the time for active doing:' — the position is (too) low.

11. 'The dragon shows himself and is in the field:' — the time (requires him still) to be unemployed.

12. 'All the day active and vigilant:' — (he now) does his (proper) business.

13. ‘He is as if he were leaping up, (but still) is in the deep:’ — he is making trial of himself.

14. ‘The dragon is on the wing in the sky:’ — (the subject of the line) is on high and ruling.

15. ‘The dragon exceeds the proper limit, and there will be occasion for repentance:’ — when things have been carried to extremity, calamity ensues.

16. Undivided lines appear in all these representations of the great and originating power denoted by Khien: — (what follows in the Yâo tells us how) all under the sky there will be good order.

Chapter IV. 17. ‘The dragon lies hid in the deep; — it is not the time for active doing:’ — the energy denoted by the undivided line is laid up and hid away as in the deep.

18. ‘The dragon appears in the field:’ — all under heaven (begins to be) adorned and brightened.

19. ‘All the day active and vigilant:’ — continually, as the time passes and requires, does he act.

20. ‘He is as if he were leaping up, (but still) is in the deep:’ — a change is taking place in the method indicated by (this) Khien diagram.

21. ‘The dragon is on the wing in the sky this shows that his place is based on his heavenly virtue.

22. ‘The dragon exceeds the (proper) limit; — there will be occasion for repentance:’ — the time is come to an end, and so also is his opportunity.

23. Undivided NINES appear in all these representations of the great and originating power denoted by *Kh*ien: — and (from what follows in the Yâo) we see the model (of action) afforded by heaven.

Chapter V. 24. The ‘greatness’ and ‘originating’ represented by *Kh*ien refer to it as (the symbol of) what gives their beginning (to all things), and (also) secures their growth and development.

25. ‘The advantageousness and the correctness and firmness’ refer to its nature and feelings (as seen in all the resulting things).

26. *Kh*ien, (thus) originating, is able with its admirable benefits to benefit all under the sky. We are not told how its benefits are conferred; but how great is (its operation)!

27. How great is (what is emblemed by) *Kh*ien! — strong, vigorous, undeflected, correct, and (in all these qualities) pure, unmixed, exquisite!

28. The six lines, as explained (by the duke of *K*âu), bring forth and display (its meaning), and everything about it is (thus) indirectly exhibited.

29. (The great man) at the proper time drives with these six dragons through the sky. The clouds move, and the rain is distributed; all under heaven enjoys repose.

Chapter VI. 30. In the superior man his conduct is (the fruit of) his perfected virtue, which might be seen therefore in his daily course; but the force of that phrase, ‘lying hid,’ requires him to keep retired, and not yet show himself, nor proceed to the full development of his course. While this is the case, the superior man (knows that) it is not the time for active doing.

31. The superior man learns and accumulates the results of his learning; puts questions, and discriminates among those results; dwells magnanimously and unambitiously in what he has attained to; and carries it into practice with benevolence. What the Yî says, ‘The dragon appears in the field: — it will be advantageous to meet with the great man,’ has reference to the virtuous qualities of a ruler (as thus described).

32. In the third NINE, there is a twofold symbol of) strength, but (the position) is not central. (Its occupant) is not in heaven above, nor is he in the field beneath. Therefore there must be active vigilance and cautious apprehension as the time requires; and though (the position be) perilous, there will be no mistake.

33. In the fourth NINE, there is (the symbol of) strength, but (the position) is not central. (Its occupant) is not in heaven above, nor is he in the field beneath, nor is he in the place of man intermediate. Hence he is in perplexity; and being so, he has doubts about what should be his movements, and so will give no occasion for blame.

34. The great man is he who is in harmony, in his attributes, with heaven and earth; in his brightness, with the sun and moon; in his orderly procedure, with the four sea-sons; and in his relation to what is fortunate and what is calamitous, in harmony with the spirit-like operations (of Providence). He may precede Heaven, and Heaven will not act in opposition to him; he may follow Heaven, but will act (only) as Heaven at the time would do. If Heaven will not act in opposition to him, how much less will men! how much less will the spirit-like operation (of Providence)!

35. The force of that phrase— ‘exceeding the proper limits’ — indicates the knowing to advance but not to retire; to maintain but not to let perish to get but not to lose.

36. He only is the sage who knows to advance and to retire, to maintain and to let perish; and that without ever acting incorrectly. Yes, he only is the sage!

FOOTNOTES

1 The title of this Appendix is in Chinese the Wăn Yen *K*wan, 'The Record of Wăn Yen;' and according to the analogy of the titles of the three Appendixes that follow, Wăn should perform the part of a verb and Yen that of a substantive. So the characters are usually taken, and to Wăn is given the meaning of 'Explaining (Shih);' and to Yen that of 'Words or Sentences,' meaning the Thwan of king Wăn, and the Yâo of the duke of *K*âu on the first two hexagrams. The document treats of these, and of no others. 'It shows the amount and depth of meaning in them,' says Kû Hsî, 'and the other hexagrams may be treated after the analog supplied here.' Confucius, it is said by others, died before he was able to carry out the plan which he had formed. But, as I have shown in the Introduction (p-30), it is more than doubtful whether we have in this Appendix anything at all directly from the sage.

I Chapter I, paragraphs 1-3, shows how the attributes of *Kh*ien, as explained by king Wăn, are to be understood of the constituent principles of human nature. What is remarkable is, that we find paragraphs 1, 2, with very little variation, in one of the narratives of the Žo Kwan, as having been spoken by a marchioness-dowager of Lû in B.C. several years before Confucius was born One so familiar as *K*û Hsî was with all the classical literature of his country could not be ignorant of this. His solution of the questions arising from it is, that anciently there was this explanation of the characters of king Wăn; that it was employed by Shû *K*iang (of Lû), and that Confucius also availed himself of it; while the chronicler used, as he does below, the phraseology of 'The Master said,' to distinguish the real words of Confucius from such ancient sayings. But who was this chronicler? No one can tell. The legitimate conclusion from *K*û's criticism is this, that so much of this Appendix as is preceded by 'The Master said' is from Confucius; — so much and no more.

The ascription in paragraph 3 of 'the four virtues' to the superior-or normal man, man in his best estate, and yet inferior to 'the sagely man,' is Confucian, — after the style of the teaching of the Master in the Analects.

II In chapter II, paragraphs 4-9, Confucius is introduced, explaining, with considerable amplification, what is said by the duke of *K*âu under the several lines of the hexagram. 'The dragon' becomes the symbol of 'the superior man;' and of the great man,' or the sage upon the throne. The language approaches at times to the magniloquence of Mencius, while in paragraph 8 the voice hardly seems to be that of the sage at all.

With paragraph 5, compare chapters 8 and 14 of' the Doctrine of the Mean,' agreeing much in language and sentiment with what we have here. The line, a

strong or undivided line, and therefore yang, is said to be ‘exactly in the central place;’ but the line is in the second, an even place, that proper to a yin line; and in other passages this might be explained in an unfavourable way. The Chinese character *k*ăng has the meaning given to it, now of ‘exact,’ and now of ‘correct,’ the latter being always favourably interpreted.

Paragraph 8. The fifth is almost always the place of honour and authority in the hexagram, and therefore ‘the great man’ here continues to be the great man, ‘the sage.’ The argument is that as things of the same kind respond to and seek one another, so is it with the sage and ordinary man. They are of the same kind, though far apart; and when a sage appears, all other men look to him with admiration and hope. The continuity of the illustrations, however, is broken by the introduction of the dragon and clouds, and the tiger and wind. Are these of the same kind? *K*û Hsî says he does not think that the real dragon and real tiger are intended; but he does not tell us how he understood the terms. Žâi *Kh*ing (early in the Ming dynasty) says:— ‘The dragon feels the influence of the clouds surcharged with rain, and rises from the deep, and when the tiger feels the approach of the cold winds he roars. Thus when the dragon rises, the clouds are sure to collect; and when the tiger screams, the winds follow,’ but all this does not help us to appreciate any better the words of the text. And the concluding illustration is nearly as foreign to our way of conceiving things. By ‘things that draw their origin from heaven’ all animals — moving creatures — are intended; and by those that draw their origin from the earth are intended all plants, — things that stand and do not move. The former turn their heads to the sky, and the latter their roots to the earth. So we read in *K*û Hsî; but I continue to wonder that Confucius selected such illustrations and spoke in such a style.

Paragraph 9. As I have said above, the place of honour and authority in the hexagram belongs to the fifth line, and no other plays so unimportant a part as the sixth; and hence it is represented here as having ‘no place’ at all. Before he whom it represents is called to act, the battle has been won or lost. Movement from him will only accelerate and intensify the result.

III Chapter III, paragraphs 10-16, goes over again the Yâo of the duke of *K*âu with very brief explanations, grounded chiefly on the consideration of the place or position occupied by the several lines, and the time of their introduction into the action of the hexagram.

Paragraph 16. See the note on the Text of *Kh*ien, corresponding to this line, page 58, and also that on paragraph 7 of the symbolism of the figures and lines, Section i, page 165. There is the same difficulty in understanding the first part of

the short paragraph; the conclusion of it must be a consequence of the language of the Yâo, though it is not repeated here.

IV Chapter IV, paragraphs 7-23, goes over the same ground for a third time, treating the various paragraphs chiefly from the standpoint of time.

Paragraph 17 tells us that time and circumstances are essential, as well as inward power, to successful development and demonstration. In paragraph 18, the words of the Yâo about meeting with the great man are not quoted, but they prompted the latter half of it.

Paragraph 19. Compare the language on paragraph 6, towards the end.

Paragraph 20. The subject passes here from the lower trigram and enters into the upper. We are told not to lay stress on 'the method of *Kh*ien.' In paragraph 21 we have the sage upon the throne. Time and opportunity are both in progress in 19; here in 22, they are both passed, have reached their extremity or end.

Paragraph 23: — see on paragraph 16. 'The model of heaven,' says Wû *Kh*ăng, 'is the due blending of the strong and active with the weak and passive, the regulation of movement in accordance with the highest reason, so that there shall be neither excess nor deficiency.'

V Chapter V, paragraphs 24-29. The author here, leaving the treatise on the symbolism of the Yâo, turns to that on the Thwan, or expositions of king Wăn, and amplifies it, not quoting from it, however, so fully and exactly, as he has done in the previous chapters from the Yâo.

Paragraphs 24 and 25 are based on the statement of the significance of the Thwan under *Kh*ien, and not on the treatise on the symbolism. The originating power cannot be separated from that of penetration and development. The latter issues from the former as the summer follows on the spring, according to an illustration of *K*û Hsî. 'The advantageousness' and 'firm correctness,' he compares also to the autumn and winter, saying that the *Kh*ien power in its essence, as it is in itself, is best described by these two latter characteristics, while the two former describe it in its operation. It is thus that he tries to give his readers an idea of what he understood by 'nature and feelings' in 25. But this chapter treats of the *Kh*ien power in nature rather than in humanity. Confining our view to the power so operating, we cannot say that the description of it in 26 and 27 is magniloquent or hyperbolical.

Paragraph 28 returns to the explanations of the lines of the hexagram by the duke of *K*âu, which exhibit the power in different positions and relations, bringing out all its significance; and then 29 confines us to the fifth line, in which we have its ideal. The spheres of nature and of men seem to be in the view of the author, and therefore I introduce 'the great man,' as the subject, after the

example of the best critics. Like the clouds and the rain to the thirsty earth, so is the rule of the sage to expectant humanity.

VI Chapter VI, paragraphs 30-36., The author leaving the Thwan, turns again to the treatise on the symbolism of the Yâo, his main object being to show how reasonable are the decisions and lessons of the duke of *K*âu.

The subject of paragraph 30 has the virtue; but his position in the lowest place shows that his time is not yet come.

In paragraph 31 we have the superior man developing, by means of the processes described, into 'the great man,' with the attributes of a ruler, the appearance of whom is a blessing to men.

The twofold symbol of strength in paragraph 32 is the yang or undivided line in the third place (odd) proper to it. There will be no mistake, because the subject of the line, in the exercise of his caution, will abstain from any forward movement.

According to paragraph 63 of last Appendix, Section ii, both the third and fourth lines in the hexagram belong to man, and are intermediate between those of heaven and those of earth. Khung Ying-tâ, to get over the difficulty in what is said on the fourth line, says that, as a matter of fact and locally, man is nearer earth than heaven, and is aptly represented therefore by the third line and not by the fourth; — I prefer to point out the inconsistency, and leave it. The subject of this fourth line will move very cautiously, and so escape blame.

The eulogium of 'the great man' in paragraph 34 cannot fail to recall to the classical scholar the thirty-first and other chapters of 'the Doctrine of the Mean,' where the sage is described as 'The Equal of Heaven.' In one sentence here he is spoken of as sometimes taking precedence of Heaven, which then does not act in opposition to him! I do not know of any statement about the sage, coming without doubt from Confucius, that is so extravagant as this. It is difficult — in fact impossible — to say from the Yî itself, what we are to understand by the kwei shăn, which I have translated here by the spirit-like operations (of Providence).' The compound denomination does not often occur in the book. In Appendix III, Section i, 21, kwei is the anima and shăn the animus; and in paragraph 50, I have translated the terms by 'the contracting and expanding operations.' In Appendix I, page 226 and page 259, the name is used as in the present text. That second instance and this paragraph were evidently constructed, the one on the model of the other. I think it likely that the breath or air, *khî*, became the name with the earliest Chinese for their first concept of spirit; then the breath inspired or inhaled was called kwei, and became the name for the grosser part of the spirit, returning to the earth; and shin, the breath exhaled or expired, the name for the subtler and intellectual spirit, ascending to a state of

activity and enjoyment. The explanations of the terms in the *R* Yâ and other dictionaries seem to justify this view. The combination kwei shin is sometimes best translated by 'spiritual beings.' The school of the Sung philosophy understand by it — the contracting and expanding of the primary matter, or that matter conceived of in two forms or with two opposite qualities. *Kh*ăng-žze says here: that I Heaven and earth are another name for tâo, and kwei shăn another name for "the vestiges of making and transformation;" and that the sage being in harmony with the tâo or practical reason of the universe, how can men or the kwei shăn be contrary to him?' Whatever be thought of the Sung speculations and theories, I think that a translator ought to give an indication of the primary meaning of the name kwei shăn.

Paragraphs 35 and 36 suggest the description of Confucius by Mencius, V, ii, 1, 5, as the one among the sages who was most governed by the consideration of time, doing continually what the circumstances of the time required.

SECTION II: KHWĂN 1

Chapter I. 1. (What is indicated by) Khwăn is most gentle and weak, but, when put in motion, is hard and strong; it is most still, but is able to give every definite form.

2. 'By following, it obtains its (proper) lord,' and pursues its regular (course).

3. It contains all things in itself, and its transforming (power) is glorious.

4. Yes, what docility marks the way of Khwăn! It receives the influences of heaven, and acts at the proper time.

Chapter II. 5. The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery. The murder of a ruler by his minister, or of his father by a son, is not the result of the events of one morning or one evening. The causes of it have gradually accumulated, — through the absence of early discrimination. The words of the Yî, 'He treads on the hoar-frost; the strong ice will come (by and by),' show the natural (issue and growth of things).

6. 'Straight' indicates the correctness (of the internal principle), and 'square,' the righteousness (of the external act). The superior man, (thus represented), by his self-reverence maintains the inward (correctness), and in righteousness adjusts his external acts. His reverence and righteousness being (thus) established, his virtues are not solitary instances or of a single class. 'Straight, square, and great, working his operations, without repeated efforts, in every respect advantageous:' — this shows how (such a one) has no doubts as to what he does.

7. Although (the subject of) this divided line has excellent qualities, he (does not display them, but) keeps them under restraint. 'If he engage with them in the service of the king, and be successful, he will not claim that success for himself:' — this is the way of the earth, of a wife, of a minister. The way of the earth is-'not to claim the merit of achievement,' but on behalf (of heaven) to bring things to their proper issue.

8. Through the changes and transformations produced by heaven and earth, plants and trees grow luxuriantly. If (the reciprocal influence of) heaven and earth were shut up and restrained, we should have (a state that might suggest to us) the case of men of virtue and ability lying in obscurity. The words of the Yî, 'A sack tied up: — there will be no ground for blame or for praise,' are in reality a lesson of caution.

9. The superior man (emblemed here) by the yellow' and correct (colour), is possessed of comprehension and discrimination. He occupies the correct position (of supremacy), but (that emblem) is on (the lower part of) his person. His excellence is in the centre (of his being), but it diffuses a complacency over his four limbs, and is manifested in his (conduct of) affairs: — this is the perfection of excellence.

10. (The subject of) the yin (or divided line) thinking himself equal to the (subject of the) yang, or undivided line, there is sure to be 'a contest.' As if indignant at there being no acknowledgment of the (superiority of the subject of the) yang line, (the text) uses the term 'dragons.' But still the (subject of neither line) can leave his class, and hence we have 'the blood' mentioned. The mention of that as being (both) 'azure and yellow' indicates the mixture of heaven and earth. Heaven's (colour) is azure and earth's is yellow.

FOOTNOTES

1 The hexagram Khwăn is dealt with in Section ii, and much wore briefly than *Kh*ien in Section i. Much less distinct, moreover, is the attempt in it to show how the attributes of the hexagram are to be understood of the principles of human nature. The most important portion of the Section, perhaps, is paragraph 5, the first of chapter II, and I have spoken of it in the Introduction, pages 47 and 48.

APPENDIX V

Treatise of Remarks on the Trigrams Chapter I. 1. Anciently, when the sages made the Yî, in order to give mysterious assistance to the spiritual Intelligences, they produced (the rules for the use of) the divining plant.

2. The number 3 was assigned to heaven, 2 to earth, and from these came the (other) numbers.

3. They contemplated the changes in the divided and undivided lines (by the process of manipulating the stalks), and formed the trigrams; from the movements that took place in the strong and weak lines, they produced (their teaching about) the separate lines. There ensued a harmonious conformity to the course (of duty) and to virtue, with a discrimination of what was right (in each particular case). They (thus) made an exhaustive discrimination of what was right, and effected the complete development of (every) nature, till they arrived (in the Yî) at what was appointed for it (by Heaven).

Chapter II. 4. Anciently, when the sages made the Yî, it was with the design that (its figures) should be in conformity with the principles underlying the natures (of men and things), and the ordinances (for them) appointed (by Heaven). With this view they exhibited (in them) the way of heaven, calling (the lines) yin and yang; the way of earth, calling (them) the weak (or soft) and the strong (or hard); and the way of men, under the names of benevolence and righteousness. Each (trigram) embraced (those) three Powers; and, being repeated, its full form consisted of six lines. A distinction was made of (the places assigned) to the yin and yang lines, which were variously occupied, now by the strong and now by the weak forms, and thus the figure (of each hexagram) was completed.

Chapter III. 5. (The symbols of) heaven and earth received their determinate positions; (those for) mountains and collections of water interchanged their influences; (those for) thunder and wind excited each other the more; and (those for) water and fire did each other no harm. (Then) among these eight symbols there was a mutual communication.

6. The numbering of the past is a natural process.; the knowledge of the coming is anticipation. Therefore in the Yî we have (both) anticipation (and the natural process).

Chapter IV. 7. Thunder serves to put things in motion; wind to scatter (the genial seeds of) them; rain to moisten them; the sun to warm them; (what is symbolised by) Kăn, to arrest (and keep them in their places); (by) Tui, to give them joyful course; (by) *Kh*ien, to rule them; and by Khwăn, to store them up.

Chapter V. 8. God comes forth in *K*ăn (to His producing work); He brings (His processes) into full and equal action in Sun; they are manifested to one another in Lî; the greatest service is done for Him in Khwăn; He rejoices in Tui; He struggles in *Kh*ien; He is comforted and enters into rest in Khân; and He completes (the work of the year) in Kăn.

9. All things are made to issue forth in *K*ăn, which is placed at the east. (The processes of production) are brought into full and equal action in Sun, which is placed at the south-east. The being brought into full and equal action refers to the purity and equal arrangement of all things. Lî gives the idea of brightness. All things are now made manifest to one another. It is the trigram of the south. The sages turn their faces to the south when they give audience to all under the sky, administering government towards the region of brightness: — the idea in this procedure was taken from this. Khwăn denotes the earth, (and is placed at the south-west). All things receive from it their fullest nourishment, and hence it is said, 'The greatest service is done for Him in Khwăn.' Tui corresponds (to the west) and to the autumn, — the season in which all things rejoice. Hence it is said, 'He rejoices in Tui.' He struggles in *Kh*ien, which is the trigram of the north-west. The idea is that there the inactive and active conditions beat against each other. Khan denotes water. It is the trigram of the exact north, — the trigram of comfort and rest, what all things are tending to. Hence it is said, 'He is comforted and enters into rest in Khan. Kăn is the trigram of the north-east. In it all things bring to a full end the issues of the past (year), and prepare the commencement of the next. Hence it is said, 'He completes (the work of the year) in Kăn.'

Chapter VI. 10. When we speak of Spirit we mean the subtle (presence and operation of God) with all things. For putting all things in motion there is nothing more vehement than thunder; for scattering them there is nothing more effective than wind; for drying them up there is nothing more parching than fire; for giving them pleasure and satisfaction there is nothing more grateful than a lake or marsh; for moistening them there is nothing more enriching than water; for bringing them to an end and making them begin again there is nothing more fully adapted than Kăn. Thus water and fire contribute together to the one object; thunder and wind do not act contrary to each other; mountains and collections of water interchange their influences. It is in this way, that they are able to change and transform, and to give completion to all things.

Chapter VII. 11. *Kh*ien is (the symbol of) strength; Khwăn, of docility; *K*ăn, of stimulus to movement; Sun, of penetration; Khan, of what is precipitous and

perilous; Lî, of what is bright and what is catching; Kăn, of stoppage or arrest; and Tui, of pleasure and satisfaction.

Chapter VIII. 12. *Kh*ien (suggests the idea of) a horse; Khwăn, that of an ox; *K*ăn, that of the dragon; Sun, that of a fowl; Khan, that of a pig; Lî, that of a pheasant; Kăn, that of a dog; and Tui, that of a sheep.

Chapter IX, 13. *Kh*ien suggests the idea of the head; Khwăn, that of the belly; *K*ăn, that of the feet Sun, that of the thighs; Khan, that of the cars Lî, that of the eyes; Kăn, that of the hands and Tui, that of the mouth.

Chapter X. 14. *Kh*ien is (the symbol of) heaven, and hence has the appellation of father. Khwăn is (the symbol of) earth, and hence has the appellation of mother, *K*ăn shows a first application (of Khwăn to *Kh*ien), resulting in getting (the first of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence is called 'the oldest son.' Sun shows a first application (of *Kh*ien to Khwăn), resulting in getting (the first of) its female (or divided lines), and hence is called 'the oldest daughter.' Khan shows a second application

(of Khwăn to *Kh*ien), resulting in getting (the second of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence is called 'the second son.' Lî shows a second application (of *Kh*ien to Khwăn), resulting in getting the second of its female (or divided lines), and hence is called 'the second daughter.' Kăn shows a third application (of Khwăn to *Kh*ien), resulting in getting (the third of) its male (or undivided lines), and hence is called 'the youngest son.' Tui shows a third application (of *Kh*ien to Khwăn), resulting in getting (the third of) its female (or divided lines), and hence is called 'the youngest daughter.'

Chapter XI. 15. *Kh*ien suggests the idea of heaven; of a circle; of a ruler; of a father; of jade; of metal; of cold; of ice; of deep red; of a good horse; of an old horse; of a thin horse; of a piebald horse; and of the fruit of trees.

16. Khwăn suggests the idea of the earth; of a mother; of cloth; of a caldron; of parsimony; of a turning lathe; of a young heifer; of a large waggon; of what is variegated; of a multitude; and of a handle and support. Among, soils it denotes what is black.

17. *K*ăn suggests the idea of thunder; of the dragon; of (the union of) the azure and the yellow; of development; of a great highway; of the eldest son; of decision and vehemence; of bright young bamboos; of sedges and rushes; among horses, of the good neigher; of one whose white hind-leg appears, of the prancer, and of one with a white star in his forehead. Among the productions of husbandry it suggests the idea of what returns to life from its disappearance (beneath the surface), of what in the end becomes the strongest, and of what is the most luxuriant.

18. Sun suggests the idea of wood; of wind; of the oldest daughter; of a plumb-line; of a carpenter's square; of being white; of being long; of being lofty; of advancing and receding; of want of decision; and of strong scents. It suggests in the human body, the idea of deficiency of hair; of a wide forehead; of a large development of the white of the eye. (Among tendencies), it suggests the close pursuit of gain, even to making three hundred per cent in the market. In the end it may become the trigram of decision.

19. Khan suggests the idea of water; of channels and ditches (for draining and irrigation); of being hidden and lying concealed; of being now straight, and now crooked; of a bow, and of a wheel. As referred to man, it suggests the idea of an increase of anxiety; of distress of mind; of pain in the ears; — it is the trigram of the blood; it suggests the idea of what is red. As referred to horses, it suggests the idea of the horse with an elegant spine; of one with a high spirit; of one with a drooping head; of one with a thin hoof; and of one with a shambling step. As referred to carriages, it suggests one that encounters many risks. It suggests what goes right through; the moon; a thief. Referred to trees, it suggests that which is strong, and firm-hearted.

20. Lî suggests the emblem of fire; of the sun; of lightning; of the second daughter; of buff-coat and helmet; of spear and sword. Referred to men, it suggests the large belly. It is the trigram of dryness. It suggests the emblem of a turtle; of a crab; of a spiral univalve; of the mussel; and of the tortoise. Referred to trees, it suggests one which is hollow and rotten above.

21. Kăn suggests the emblem of a mountain; of a by-path; of a small rock; of a gateway; of the fruits of trees and creeping plants; of a porter or a eunuch; of the (ring) finger; of the dog; of the rat; of birds with powerful bills; among trees, of those which are strong, with many joints.

22. Tui suggests the emblem of a low-lying collection of water; of the youngest daughter; of a sorceress; of the mouth and tongue; of the decay and putting down (of things in harvest); of the removal (of fruits) hanging (from the stems or branches); among soils, of what is strong and salt; of a concubine; and of a sheep.

FOOTNOTES

I Chapter I, paragraphs 1-3, treats of the rise of the scheme of the Yî from the wonderful qualities of the divining plant, the use of certain numbers, and the formation of the lineal figures.

P. Regis translates paragraph 1 by— ‘The ancient (sages), the most excellent men, were the authors of the Yî-king, in making which they were assisted by an intelligent spirit, who for their help produced the plant called Shih.’

But the text will not admit of this version, nor have I found the view given in it in any Chinese writer. It is difficult to make up one’s mind whether to translate — ‘the sage,’ or ‘the sages.’ Khung Yin-tâ contends that the writer had Fû-hsî and him alone in his mind. To me it seems otherwise. Fû-hsî, if we accept the testimony of universal Chinese consent, made the eight trigrams; but he did not make the Yî, which, by the same consent, was the production of king Wăn and his son.

The text would seem to say that the sages ‘produced’ the plant, but this is so extravagant that the view indicated in my supplementary clause appears in all the best commentators. So understood, the Yî may be said to ‘give mysterious assistance to the spiritual Intelligences,’ or, if we take that name as singular (according to the analogy of chapter 6), to the Divine Being in affording a revelation of His will, as in paragraph 3. We may well say that it is a pity the revelation should be so enigmatical; but the author, it must be remembered, is writing from his own standpoint. Wăn and his son, as I have endeavoured to show in the Introduction, merely wished to convey, under the style and veil of divination, their moral and political lessons.

On paragraph 2 it is said that heaven is round; and as the circumference of a circle is three times its diameter, hence 3 is the number of heaven. Again, earth is square, and as the circumference of a square is four times its length or breadth, or it consists of two pairs of equal sides, hence 2 is the number of earth.

The concluding statement about I the other numbers’ is understood of the manipulation of the divining stalks, as in Appendix III, i, 51. That manipulation, thrice repeated, might leave three stalks each time, and 3 x 3 = 9; or 2, being in the same way in all = 6; or twice 3 and once 2 = 8; or twice 2 and once 3 = 7. These are the numbers of the 4 binary symbols, employed in forming the new figures;, the old yang, = 9;, the young yin, = 8;, the young yang, = 7; and, the old yin, = 6.

II Chapter II. The top line in each trigram thus belongs to the category of heaven; the bottom line to that of earth; and the middle line to that of man. The odd places should be occupied, 1 correctly,’ by the undivided lines; and the even by the divided. The trigram being increased to the hexagram, lines 5 and 6 were assigned to heaven; 1 and 2 to earth; and 3 and 4 to man. 5 is the yang characteristic of heaven, and 6 the yin; so 1 and 2 in regard to earth; while 3 represents the benevolence of man, and 4 his righteousness. But all this is merely the play of fancy, and confuses the mind of the student.

III Chapter III, paragraphs 5 and 6, is understood, though not very clearly, by referring to the circular arrangement of the trigrams according to Fû-hsî, as shown in Figure 2, of Plate III. Paragraph 5 refers to the correlation of *Kh*ien and Khwăn, Kăn and Tui, *K*ăn and Sun, Khân and Lî. Paragraph 6 is less easy of apprehension. Starting in the same figure from Khien and numbering on the left we come to *K*ăn by a natural process. Then we turn back, and numbering on the right, from Sun, we come by a backward process to Khwăn. The same process is illustrated on a large scale by the circular arrangement of the 64 hexagrams in Plate I. But what the scope of the paragraph is I cannot tell, and am tempted to say of it, as P. Regis does, 'Haec observatio prorsus inanis est.'

IV In chapter IV we have the same circular arrangement of the trigrams, though they are named in a different order; the last first and the first last. The first four are mentioned by their elemental names; the last four by the names of their lineal figures. No special significance is attached to this. If it ever had any, it has been lost.

V Chapter V, paragraphs 8 and 9, sets forth the operations of nature in the various seasons, as being really the operations of God, who is named Tî, 'the Lord and Ruler of Heaven.' Those operations are represented in the progress by the seasons of the year, as denoted by the trigrams, according to the arrangement of them by king Wăn, as shown also in Plate III, Figure 2.

'The greatest service is done for Tî in Khwăn;' Yang Wan-lî (of our twelfth century, but earlier than *K*û Hsî) says:— 'Khwăn is a minister or servant. Tî is his ruler, All that a ruler has to do with his minister is to require his service.' 'On the struggles in *Kh*ien' he says:— '*Kh*ien is the trigram of the north-west, when the yin influence is growing strong and the yang diminishing.'

The 'purity' predicated in paragraph 9 of things in Sun, was explained by *K*ăng Khang-*kh*ăng (our second century) as equivalent to 'newness,' referring to the brightness of all things in the light of spring and summer. On 'all things receive from the earth their fullest nourishment' the same Yang, quoted above, says:— 'The earth performs the part of a mother, All things are its children. What a mother has to do for her children is simply to nourish them.'

VI Chapter VI is the sequel of the preceding. There ought to have been some mention of Shăn or, Spirit' in chapter 5. It is the first character in this chapter, and the two characters that follow show that it is here resumed for the purpose of being explained. As it does not occur in chapter 5, we must suppose that the author of it here brings forward and explains the idea of it that was in his mind. Many of the commentators recognise this, — *e.g.* Liang Yin, as quoted in the Introduction, .

Two other peculiarities in the style of the chapter are pointed out and explained (after a fashion) by Žhui *K*ing (earlier, probably, than the Sung dynasty):— 'The action of six of the trigrams is described, but no mention is made of *Kh*ien or Khwăn. But heaven and earth do nothing, and yet do everything; hence they are able to perfect the spirit-like subtilty of the action of thunder, wind, and the other things. (Moreover), we have the trigram Kân mentioned, the only one mentioned by its name, instead of our reading "mountains," The reason is, that the putting in motion, the scattering, the parching, and the moistening, are all the palpable effects of thunder, wind, fire, and water. But what is ascribed to Kăn, the ending and the recommencing all things, is not so evident of mountains. On this account the name of the trigram is given, while the things in nature represented by the trigrams are given in those other cases. The style suitable in each case is employed.'

VII Chapter VII mentions the attributes, called also the 'virtues,' of the different trigrams. It is not easy to account for the qualities— 'their nature and feelings' — ascribed to them. Khung Ying-tâ says:— '*Kh*ien is represented by heaven, which revolves without ceasing, and so it is the symbol of strength; Khwăn by the earth, which receives docilely the action of heaven, and so it is the symbol of docility; *K*ân by thunder, which excites and moves all things, and so it is the symbol of what produces movement; Sun by Wind, which enters everywhere, and so it is the symbol of penetration; Khân by water, found in a place perilous and precipitous, and the name is explained accordingly; Lî by fire, and fire is sure to lay hold of things, and so it is the symbol of being attached to; Kân by a mountain, the mass of which is still and arrests progress, and so it is the symbol of stoppage or arrest; and Tui by a lake or marsh, which moistens all things, and so it is the symbol of satisfaction.'

The Khang-hsî editors consider this explanation of the qualities of the trigrams to be unsatisfactory, and certainly it has all the appearance of an e x post facto account. They prefer the views of the philosopher Shâo (of our eleventh century), which is based on the arrangement of the undivided and divided lines in the figures. This to me is more unsatisfactory than the other. The editors say, moreover, that Shâo's account of the three yang trigrams, *K*ăn, Khan, and Kăn is correct, and that of the three yin, Sun, Lî, and Tui incorrect; but this would be based on king Wăn's arrangement, which does not appear to have place here.

VIII Chapter VIII. In the Great Appendix, , it is said that Fû-hsî, in making his trigrams, was guided by 'the consideration of things apart from his own person.' Of such things we have a specimen here. The creatures are assigned, in

their classes, to the different trigrams, symbolising the ideas in the last chapter. We must not make any difference of sex in translating their names.

IX Chapter IX. Fû-hsî found also ‘things near at hand, in his own person,’ while making the trigrams. We have here a specimen of such things.

X Chapter X has been discussed in the Introduction, p and 50. Let it simply be added here, that the account which it does give of the formation of the six subsidiary trigrams is inconsistent with their gradual rise from the mutual imposition of the undivided and divided lines.

XI Chapter XI may be made to comprehend all the paragraphs from the 15th to the end, and shows how universally the ideas underlying the Yî are diffused through the world of nature. The quality of the several trigrams will be found with more or less of truth, and with less or more of fancy, in the objects mentioned in connexion with them. More needs not to be said on the chapter than has been done in the Introduction, p and 54.

APPENDIX VI

The Orderly Sequence of the Hexagrams a

SECTION I

1-3. When there were heaven and earth, then afterwards all things were produced. What fills up (the space) between heaven and earth are (those) all things. Hence (*Kh*ien and Khwăn) are followed by *K*un 1. *K*un denotes filling up.

3-6. *K*un is descriptive of things on their first production. When so produced, they are sure to be in an undeveloped condition. Hence *K*un is followed by Măng. Măng is descriptive of what is undeveloped, — the young of creatures and things. These in that state require to be nourished. Hence Măng is followed by Hsü. Hsü is descriptive of the way in which meat and drink (come to be supplied) 2. Over meat and drink there are sure to be contentions 2. Hence Hsü is followed by Sung.

6-8. Sung is sure to cause the rising up of the multitudes 3; and hence it is followed by Sze. Sze has the signification of multitudes 3, and between multitudes there must be some bond of union. Hence it is followed by Pî, which denotes being attached to.

8-11. (Multitudes in) union must be subjected to some restraint. Hence Pî is followed by Hsiâo

Khû. When things axe subjected to restraint, there come to be rites of ceremony, and hence Hsiâo Khû is followed by Lî 4. The treading (on what is proper) leads to Thâi, which issues in a state of freedom and repose, and hence Lî is followed by Thâi.

11-16. Thâi denotes things having free course. They cannot have that for ever, and hence it is followed by Phî (denoting being shut up and restricted). Things cannot for ever be shut up, and hence Phî is followed by Thung Žân. To him who cultivates union with men, things must come to belong, and hence Thung Žân is followed by Tâ Yû. Those who, have what is great should not allow in themselves the feeling of being full, and hence Tâ Yû is followed by *Kh*ien. When great possessions are associated with humility, there is sure to be pleasure and satisfaction; and hence *Kh*ien is followed by Yü.

16-19. Where such complacency is awakened, (he who causes it) is sure to have followers 5. They who follow another are sure to have services (to perform), and hence Sui is followed by Kû 6. Kû means (the performance of)

services. He who performs such services may afterwards become great, and hence Kû is followed by Lin. Lin means great 6.

19-23. What is great draws forth contemplation, and hence Lin is followed by Kwân. He who attracts contemplation will then bring about the union of others with himself, and hence Kwân is followed by Shih Ho. Shih Ho means union. But things should not be united in a reckless or irregular way, and hence Shih Ho is followed by

Pî. Pî denotes adorning. When ornamentation has been carried to the utmost, its progress comes to an end; and hence Pî is followed by Po. Po denotes decay and overthrow.

23-26. Things cannot be done away for ever. When decadence and overthrow have completed their work at one end, reintegration commences at the other; and hence Po is followed by Fû. When the return (thus indicated) has taken place, we have not any rash disorder, and Fû is followed by Wû Wang. Given the freedom from disorder and insincerity (which this name denotes), there may be the accumulation (of virtue), and Wû Wang is followed by Tâ *Kh*û.

26-30. Such accumulation having taken place, there will follow the nourishment of it; and hence Tâ *Kh*û is followed by Î. Î denotes nourishing. Without nourishment there could be no movement, and hence Î is followed by Tâ Kwo. Things cannot for ever be in a state of extraordinary (progress); and hence Tâ Kwo is followed by Khân. Khân denotes falling into peril. When one falls into peril, he is sure to attach himself to some person or thing; and hence Khân is followed by Lî. Lî denotes being attached, or adhering, to.

SECTION II

31, 32. Heaven and earth existing, all (material) things then got their existence. All (material) things having existence, afterwards there came male and female. From the existence of male and female there came afterwards husband and wife. From husband and wife there came father and son. From father and son there came ruler and minister. From ruler and minister there came high and low. When (the distinction of) high and low had existence, afterwards came the arrangements of propriety and righteousness.

The rule for the relation of husband and wife is that it should be long-enduring. Hence Hsien is followed by Hăng. Hăng denotes long enduring 7.

32-37. Things cannot long abide in the same place; and hence Hăng is followed by Thun. Thun denotes withdrawing. Things cannot be for ever withdrawn; and hence Thun is succeeded by Tâ *K*wang. Things cannot remain forever (simply) in the state of vigour; and hence Tâ *K*wang is succeeded by Žin.

Žin denotes advancing. (But) advancing is sure to lead to being wounded; and hence Žin is succeeded by Ming Î. Î denotes being wounded. He who is wounded abroad will return to his home; and hence Ming Î is followed by Kiâ *Z*ăn.

37-40. When the right administration of the family is at an end, misunderstanding and division will ensue; and hence Kiâ *Z*ăn is followed by Khwei. Khwei denotes misunderstanding and division; and such a state is sure to give rise to difficulties and complications. Khwei therefore is followed by *K*ien. *K*ien denotes difficulties; but things cannot remain for ever in such a state. *K*ien therefore is followed by *K*ieh, which denotes relaxation and ease.

40-44. In a state of relaxation and ease there are sure to be losses; and hence *K*ieh is followed by Sun. But when Sun (or diminution) is going on without end, increase is sure to come. Sun therefore is followed by Yî. When increase goes on without end, there is sure to come a dispersing of it, and hence Yî is followed by Kwâi. Kwâi denotes dispersion. But dispersion must be succeeded by a meeting (again). Hence Kwâi is followed by Kâu, which denotes such meeting.

44-48. When things meet together, a collection is then formed. Hence Kâu is followed by Žhui, which name denotes, being collected. When (good men) are collected and mount to the highest places, there results what we call an upward advance; and hence Žhui is followed by Shăng. When such advance continues without stopping, there is sure to come distress; and hence Shăng is followed by Khwăn. When distress is felt in the height (that has been gained), there is sure to be a return to the ground beneath; and hence Khwăn is followed by Žing.

48, 49. What happens under Žing requires to be changed, and hence it is followed by Ko (denoting change).

49-55. For changing the substance of things there is nothing equal to the caldron; and hence Kö is followed by Ting. For presiding over (that and all other) vessels, no one is equal to the eldest son, and hence Ting is followed by *K*ăn. *K*ăn conveys the idea of putting in motion. But things cannot be kept in motion forever. The motion is stopped; and hence *K*ăn is followed by Kăn, which gives the idea of arresting or stopping. Things cannot be kept for ever in a state of repression, and hence Kăn is followed by *K*ien, which gives the idea of

(gradually) advancing. With advance there must be a certain point that is arrived at, and hence Kien is succeeded by Kwei Mei. When things thus find the proper point to which to come, they are sure to become great. Hence Kwei Mei is succeeded by Făng, which conveys the idea of being great.

55-57. He whose greatness reaches the utmost possibility, is sure to lose his dwelling; and hence Făng is succeeded by Lü (denoting travellers or strangers).

We have in it the idea of strangers who have no place to receive them, and hence Lü is followed by Sûn, which gives the idea of (penetrating and) entering.

57-59. One enters (on the pursuit of his object), and afterwards has pleasure in it; hence Sûn is followed by Tui. Tui denotes pleasure and satisfaction. This pleasure and satisfaction (begins) afterwards to be dissipated, and hence Tui is followed by Hwan, which denotes separation and division.

59-62. A state of division cannot continue for ever, and therefore Hwan is followed by Žieh. Žieh (or the system of regulations) having been established, men believe in it, and hence it is followed by *K*ung Fû. When men have the belief which *K*ung Fû implies, they are sure to carry it into practice; and hence it is succeeded by Hsiâo Kwo.

62-64. He that surpasses others is sure to remedy (evils that exist), and therefore Hsiâo Kwo is succeeded by *K*î Žî. But the succession of events cannot come to an end, and therefore *K*î Žî is succeeded by Wei Žî, with which (the hexagrams) come to a close.

FOOTNOTES

The few sentences on this Appendix in the Introduction, p, 55, are sufficient. It shows the importance of the meaning of the name in an attempt to explain the lineal figures, and prepares us to expect on each one a brief enigmatical essay, which, it has been seen, is the nature of the Text. But the writer, whoever he was, is by no means careful always to follow that Text in the significance of the characters, as will appear in the few instances to which attention is called in the following notices. The treatise is too slight to require, or to justify, an exhibition of all its inaccuracies.

1 But *K*un does not denote filling up. It is the symbol of being in a state of distress and difficulty. The writer is thinking of the result of the interaction of heaven and earth as being to fill all between them with the various forms of living beings; and to represent that he gives the result of Kun, and not its meaning. He makes a blunder which might have been easily avoided, for he adds immediately that the character is descriptive of things on their first production.

2 It is difficult to follow the writer here. Hsü in the Text is the symbol of the idea of waiting. Does he mean that a provision of food and drink can only be made gradually? There is nothing in the character Hsü to awaken in the mind the idea of nourishment, Then the genesis of contention which is given is strange. The writer probably had in his mind the lines of the Shih, II, i, ode 5. 3: —

‘The loss of kindly feeling oft
  From slightest things shall grow.
Where all the fare is dry and spare,
  Resentments fierce may glow.’

But what is allowable, good even, in poetry, is out of place in this treatise.

3 Contention on a great scale will put all the population of a state in excitement and motion, and military measures of repression will be necessary. But the idea of the multitudes in Sze would seem to be simply that of number, and not that of a numerous host. In a feudal kingdom, however, all the able-bodied people might be required to join the army.

4 Lî, the name of the 10th hexagram, is the symbol for a shoe, and the act of treading or walking. It seems here to be derived from the homophonous lî, the symbol of acts of ceremony. The identity of sound or name must be considered as accidental. A measured step would be one of the first ways in which the inward sense of propriety would manifest itself.

5 By the subject of Tâ Yû and *Kh*ien we must understand the possessor of the kingdom — the great man who in his greatness is yet distinguished by humility. He attracts followers.

6 For the true meaning of *K*û and Lin, the names of hexagrams 18, 19, see what is said in the notes on the Text of them.

7 The same reference should be made to the notes on the Text of Hsien and many of the other hexagrams that follow.

APPENDIX VII

Treatise on the Hexagrams taken promiscuously, according to the opposition or diversity of their meaning.

This last of the Appendixes is touched on very briefly in the concluding paragraph of the Introduction, . It is stated there to be in rhyme, and I have endeavoured to give a similar form to the following version of it. The rhymes and length of the lines in the original, however, are very irregular, and I found it impossible to reproduce that irregularity in English.

1, 2. Strength in *Kh*ien, weakness in Khwăn we find.

8, 7. Pî shows us joy, and Sze the anxious mind.

19, 20. Lin gives, Kwân seeks; — such are the several themes Their different figures were to teach designed.

3. *K*un manifests itself, yet keeps its place; 4. 'Mid darkness still, to light Măng sets its face.

51, 52. *K*ăn starts; Kăn stops. In Sun and Yî are seen 41, 42. How fulness and decay their course begin.

26. Tâ *Kh*û keeps still, and waits the proper time.

25. Wû Wang sets forth how evil springs from crime.

45, 46. Good men in Žhui collect; in Shang they rise: 15, 16. *Kh*ien itself, Yü others doth despise.

21, 22. Shih Ho takes eating for its theme; and Pî Takes what is plain, from ornament quite free.

58, 57. Tui shows its scope, but Sun's we do not see.

17, 18. Sui quits the old; Kû makes a new decree.

23. We see in Po its subject worn away;

24. And Fû shows its recovering from decay.

35. Above in Žin the sun shines clear and bright;

36. But in Ming Î 'tis hidden from the sight.

48,47. Progress in Žing in Khwăn encounters blight.

31. Effect quick answering cause in Hsien appears;

32. While Hăng denotes continuance for years.

59,60. Hwân scatters; but Žieh its code of rules uprears.

40. Relief and ease with *K*ieh are sure to come; 41. Hard toil and danger have in *K*ien their home.

38. Khwei looks on others as beyond its care;

37. Kiâ *Z*ăn all includes within its sphere.

12, 11. While Phî and Thâi their different scopes prefer, 34, 33. Tâ *K*wang stops here as right; withdraws Thun there.

14. Tâ Yû adhering multitudes can show;

13. Thung *Z*ăn reflects their warm affection's glow.

50, 51. Ting takes what's new; the old is left by Ko.

61, 62. Sincere is *K*ung Fû; but exceeds, Hsiâo Kwo.

55, 56. Făng tells of trouble; Lü can boast few friends.

30, 29. Fire mounts in Lî; water in Khân descends.

9. Hsiâo *Kh*û with few 'gainst many foes contends.

10. Movement in Lî, unresting, never ends.

5. Hsü shows its subject making no advance:

6. In Sung we seek in vain a friendly glance;

28. And Tâ Kwo's overthrown with sad mischance.

44. Kâu shows a meeting, where the many strong Are met by one that's weak, yet struggles long.

53. In *K*ien we see a bride who will delay To move until the bridegroom takes his way.

27. Body and mind are nourished right in Î;

63. All things are well established in Kî Žî.

54. Kwei Mei reveals how ends the virgin life;

64. Wei Žî how fails the youth (to get a wife).

43. The strong disperse the weak; Kwâi teaches so.

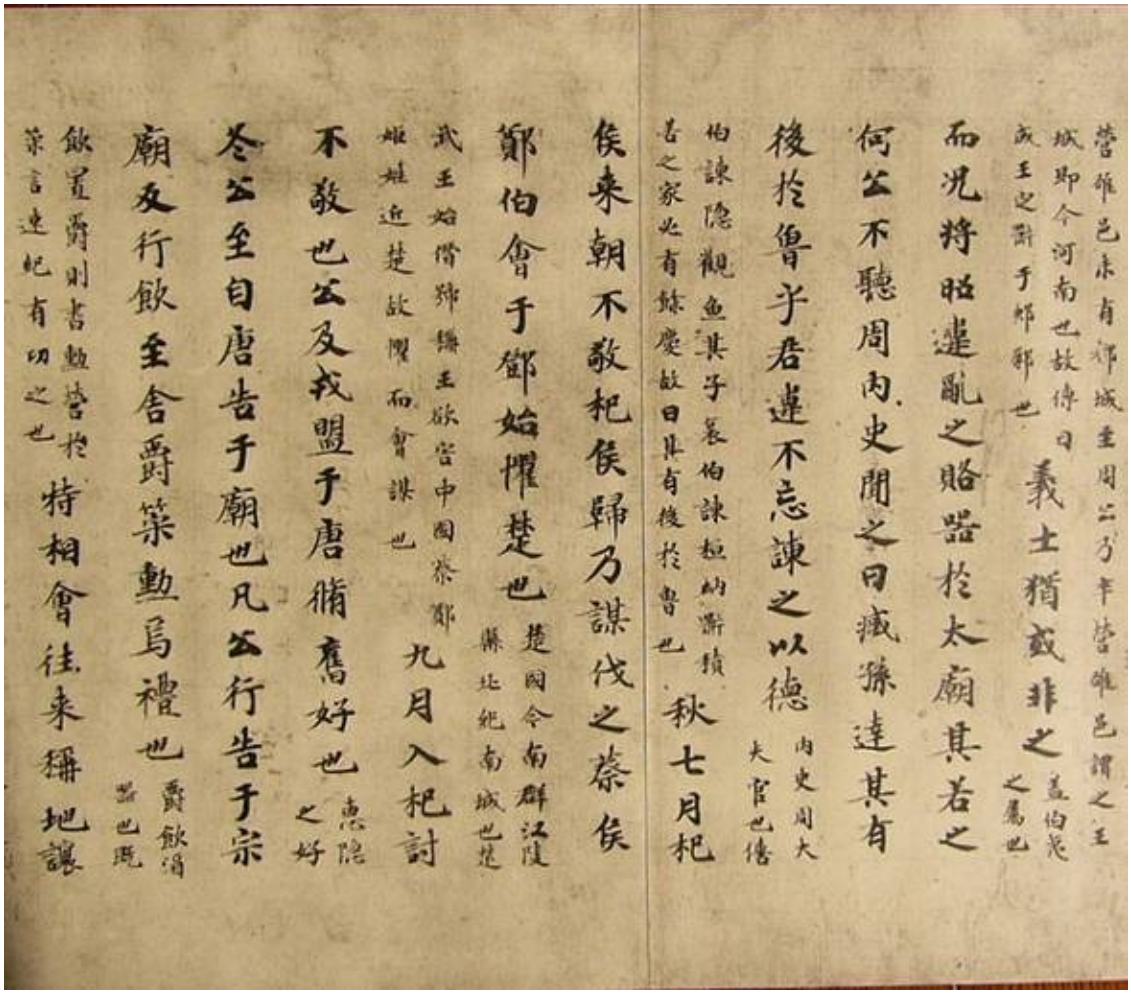
Prospers the good man's way; to grief all small men go.

SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS — 春秋

Translated by James Legge The Spring and Autumn Annals is the official chronicle of the State of Lu and covers a 241-year period from 722 to 481 BC. The earliest surviving Chinese historical text to be arranged in annals form, it was traditionally regarded as having been compiled by Confucius (after a claim to this effect by Mencius), for which reason it was included as one of the Five Classics of Chinese literature. *The Spring and Autumn Annals* records main events that occurred in Lu during each year, such as the accessions, marriages, deaths, and funerals of rulers, battles fought, sacrificial rituals observed, celestial phenomena considered ritually important, and natural disasters. The entries are written concisely, averaging only ten characters per entry, and contain no elaboration on events or recording of speeches.

The text was likely composed in the fifth century BC and apart from the *Bamboo Annals* is the only work to have survived from that period. By the time of Confucius, in the sixth century BC, the term "springs and autumns" had come to mean "year" and was probably becoming a generic term for "annals" or "scribal records". *The Spring and Autumn Annals* was not the only work of its kind, as many other Eastern Zhou states also kept annals in their archives.

The text is one of the core Chinese classics and had an enormous influence on Chinese intellectual discourse for nearly 2500 years. This was due to Mencius' assertion in the fourth century BC that Confucius himself edited *The Spring and Autumn Annals*, an assertion that was accepted by the entire Chinese scholarly tradition and went almost entirely unchallenged until the early twentieth century. The terse style was interpreted as Confucius' deliberate attempt to convey lofty principles in subtle words. However, not all scholars accepted this explanation: Tang dynasty historiographer Liu Zhiji believed the *Commentary of Zuo* was far superior to the *Annals*, and Song dynasty prime minister Wang Anshi famously dismissed the Annals as "a fragmentary court gazette".



Nineteenth century replica of Du Yu's third century AD annotated Annals

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BOOK I. DUKE YIN.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. [It was his] first year, the spring, the king’s first month.

2. In the third month, the duke and Yifu of Zhu made a covenant in Mie.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, the earl of Zheng overcame Duan in Yan.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, the king [by] Heaven’s [grace] sent the [sub] administrator Xuan with a present of [two] carriages and their horses for the funerals of duke Hui and [his wife] Zhong Zi.

5. In the ninth month, [the duke] and an officer of Song made a covenant in Su.

6. In winter, in the twelfth month, the earl of Zhai came [to Lu].

7. Gongzi Yishi died.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In his second year, in spring, the duke had a meeting with the [chief of the] Rong at Qian.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, an army of Ju entered Xiang.

3. Wuhai led a force and entered Ji.

4. In autumn, in the eighth month, [on the day] Gengchen, the duke made a covenant with the Rong at Tang.

5. In the ninth month, Liexu of Ji came to meet the bride [for his prince].

6. In winter, in the tenth month, the duke's eldest daughter went to her home in Ji.

7. Zibo of Ji and the count of Ju made a covenant at Mi.

8. In the twelfth month, on the day Yimao, the [duke's] wife, the lady Zi, died.

9. An army of Zheng invaded Wey.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In his third year, in spring, in the king's second month, on the day Jisi, the sun was eclipsed.

2. In the third month, on the day Gengxu, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on the day Xinmao, [an officer of] the Yin family died.

4. In autumn, a son of the Wu family came [to Lu] to ask for the contribution of money towards the [king's] burial.

5. In the eighth month, on the day Gengchen, He, duke of Song, died.

6. In winter, in the twelfth month, the marquis of Qi and the earl of Zheng made a covenant at Shimen.

7. [On the day] Guiwei, there was the burial of duke Mu of Song.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, an army of Ju invaded Qi, and took Moulou.

2. [On the day] Wushen, Zhouyu of Wey murdered his ruler, Huan.

3. In summer, the duke and the duke of Song met at Qing.

4. The duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, an army of Cai, and an army of Wey invaked Zheng.

5. In autumn, Hui led a force, and joined the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the army of Cai, and the army of Wey, in the invasion of Zheng.

6. In the ninth month, the people of Wey put Zhouyu to death in Pu.

7. In winter, in the twelfth month, the people of Wey raised Jin [to be marquis of the State].

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In his fifth year, in spring, the duke [went] to see the fishermen at Tang.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Huan of Wey.

3. In autumn, an army of Wey entered Cheng.

4. In the ninth month, [the duke] completed the shrine-palace of Zhong Zi. For the first time he exhibited [only] six rows of pantomimes.

5. An army of Zhu and an army of Zheng invaded Song.

6. There were the ming-insects.

7. In winter, in the twelfth month, duke [Xiao's] son Kou died.

8. An army of Song invaded Zheng, and besieged Changge.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. In [the duke's] sixth year, in spring, an officer of Zheng came [to Lu] with overtures of peace.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on [the day] Xinyou, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, when they made a covenant at Ai.

3. [It was] autumn, the seventh month.

4. In winter, an army of Song took Changge.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In his seventh year, in spring, in the king's third month, the duke's third daughter went to the harem of Ji.

2. The marquis of Teng died.

3. In summer, we walled Zhongqiu.

4. The marquis of Qi sent his younger brother Nian [to Lu] with friendly inquiries.

5. In autumn, the duke invaded Zhu.

6. In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the earl of Fan to Lu with friendly inquiries.

7. The Rong attacked the earl of Fan at Chuqiu, and carried him back with them.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In [the duke's] eighth year, in spring, the duke of Song and the marquis of Wey met at Chui.

2. In the third month, the earl of Zheng sent Yuan [to Lu] to give up Beng.

3. On [the day] Gengyin we entered Beng.

4. In summer, in the sixth month, on [the day] Jihai, Kaofu, marquis of Cai, died.

5. On [the day] Xinhai, the baron of Su died.

6. In autumn, in the seventh month, on [the day] Gengwu, the duke of Song, the marquis of Qi, and the marquis of Wey made a covenant at Wawu.

7. In the eighth month, there was the burial of duke Xuan of Cai.

8. In the ninth month, on [the day] Xinmao, the duke and an officer of Ju made a covenant at Fulai.

9. There were the ming-insects.

10. In winter, in the twelfth month, Wuhai died.

IX.NINTH YEAR.

1. In [the duke's] ninth year, in spring, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Nan Ji to Lu with friendly inquiries.

2. In the third month, on the day Guiyou, there was great rain, with thunder and lightning. On [the day] Gengchen there was a great fall of snow.

3. Xie died.

4. In summer, we walled Lang.

5. It was autumn, the seventh month.

6. In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Fang.

X.TENTH YEAR.

1. In his tenthyear, in spring, in the king’s second month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi and the earl of Zheng in Zhongqiu.

2. In summer, Hui led a force, and joined an officer of Qi and an officer of Zheng in an invasion of Song.

3. In the sixth month, on [the day] Renxu, the duke defeated an army of Song at Jian.

4. On the day Xinwei, we took Gao; on the day Xinsi, we took Fang.

5. In autumn, an army of Song and an army of Wey entered Zheng.

6. The army of Song, the army of Cai, and the army of Wey attacked Dai. The earl of Zheng attacked and took them [all.]

7. In winter, in the tenth month, on the day Renwu, an army of Qi and an army of Zheng entered Cheng.

XI.ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. In [the duke's] eleventh year, in spring, the marquis of Teng and the marquis of Xue appeared at the court [of Lu].

2. In summer, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Zheng at Shilai.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on the day Renwu, the duke, with the marquis of Qi and the earl of Zheng, entered Xu.

4. In winter, in the eleventh month, on [the day] Renchen, the duke died.

BOOK II. DUKE HUAN.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. In his first year, in spring, in the king’s first month, the duke succeeded duke Yin.

2. In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Zheng in Chui.

3. The earl of Zheng borrowed the fields of Xu for a bi symbol.

4. In summer, in the fourth month, on [the day] Dingwei, the duke and the earl of Zheng made a covenant in Yue.

5. In autumn there were great floods.

6. It was winter, the tenth month.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, on [the day] Wushen, Du of Song murdered his ruler Yuyi, and the great officer Kongfu.

2. The viscount of Teng appeared at the court of Lu.

3. In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the marquis of Chen, and the earl of Zheng, at Ji, to settle the confusion of Song.

4. In summer, in the fourth month, the duke brought the tripod of Gao from Song, and on [the day] Wushen deposited it in the Grand temple.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, the marquis of Qi came to the court of Lu.

6. The marquis of Cai and the earl of Zheng had a meeting at Deng.

7. In the ninth month we entered Qi.

8. The duke and the Rong made a covenant in Tang.

9. In winter the duke arrived from Tang.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In his third year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Ying.

2. In summer, the marquis of Qi and the marquis of Wey pledged each other at Pu.

3. In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Cheng.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, on [the day] Renchen, the first day of the moon, the sun was totally eclipsed.

5. Duke [Xiao's] son, Hui, went to Qi, to meet the [duke's] bride.

6. In the ninth month, the marquis of Qi escorted his daughter to Huan.

7. The duke and the marquis of Qi had a meeting in Huan.

8. The [duke's] wife, the lady Jiang, arrived from Qi.

9. In winter, the marquis of Qi, sent his younger brother Nian with friendly inquiries.

10. There was a good year. [Zuoshi here continues his narrative of events in Jin: — In the 3d year, in spring, duke Wu of Quwo [son of earl Zhuang], proceeded against Yi, and halted in Xingting. [His uncle], Han Wan drove his chariot, having on his right Liang Hong. They pursued the marquis of Yi [i.e., Jin] to the banks of the Fen, when the trace of one of his outside horses got entangled about the yoke, and the carriage stopped. They caught him in the night, and Gongshu of Luan with him.']

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In his fourth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke hunted in Lang.

2. In summer, the king [by] Heaven's [grace], sent the [sub-] administrator, Qu Bojiu, to Lu with friendly inquiries.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the first month, on Jiaxu or Jichou, Bao, marquis of Chen, died.

2. In summer, the marquis of Qi and the earl of Zheng went to Ji.

3. The king [by] Heaven's [grace], sent the son of Reng Shu to Lu with friendly inquiries.

4. There was the burial of duke Huan of Chen.

5. We walled Zhuqiu.

6. In autumn, an army of Cai, an army of Wey, and an army of Chen followed the king and invaded Zheng.

7. There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

8. There were locusts.

9. In winter the duke of Zhou went to Cao.

VI.SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke’s sixth year, in spring, in the first month, Shi came to Lu.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ji in Cheng.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Renwu, [the duke] held a grand military review.

4. The people of Cai put to death Tuo of Chen.

5. In the ninth month, on [the day] Dingmao, the [duke’s] son, Tong, was born.

6. In winter, the marquis of Ji came to [our] court.

VII.SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In his seventh year, in spring, in the second month, on Jihai, the duke hunted with fire in Xianqiu.

2. In summer, Sui, earl of Gu, came to [our] court.

3. Wuli, marquis of Deng, came to [our] court.

VIII.EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the first month, on Jimao, we offered the winter sacrifice.

2. The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Jia Fu to Lu with friendly inquiries.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, on Dingchou, we offered the winter sacrifice.

4. In autumn, we invaded Zhu.

5. In winter, in the tenth month, there was snow.

6. The duke of Zhai came [to Lu], and immediately after went to meet the king's bride in Ji.

IX.NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the lady Jiang, fourth daughter of [the marquis of] Ji, went to her palace in the capital.

2. It was summer, the fourth month.

3. It was autumn, the seventh month.

4. In winter, the earl of Cao sent his heir-son, Yigu, to our court.

X.TENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Gengshen, Zhongsheng, earl of Cao, died.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, there was the burial of duke Huan of Cao.

3. In autumn, the duke [went to] have a meeting with the marquis of Wey in Taoqiu, but did not meet with him.

4. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Bingwu, the marquis of Qi, the marquis of Wey, and the earl of Zheng came and fought [with us] at Lang.

XI.ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's]. eleventh year, in spring, in the first month, an officer of Qi, an officer of Wey, and an officer of Zheng made a covenant in E'cao.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on [the day] Guiwei, Wusheng, earl of Zheng, died.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, there was the burial of duke Zhuang of Zheng.

4. In the ninth month, the people of Song seized Zhai Zhong of Zheng.

5. Tu returned to Zheng.

6. Hu of Zheng fled to Wey.

7. Rou had a meeting with the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, and the third brother of [the marquis of] Cai, in Zhe.

8. The duke had a meeting with the duke of Song in Fuzhong.

9. In winter, in the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Song in Kan.

XII.TWELFTH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] twelfth year, the spring, the first month.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, on Renyin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi and the viscount of Ju, when they made a covenant at Quchi.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Dinghai, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Song, and an officer of Yan, when they made a covenant at Guqiu.

4. In the eighth month, on Renchen, Yue, marquis of Chen, died.

5. The duke had a meeting with the duke of Song in Xu.

6. In winter, in the eleventh month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Song in Gui.

7. On Bingxu, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Zheng, when they made a covenant at Wufu.

8. On Bingxu, Jin, marquis of Wey, died.

9. In the twelfth month, [our army] and the army of Zheng invaded Song; and on Dingwei a battle was fought in Song.

XIII.THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. In his thirteenth year, in spring, in the second month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Ji and the earl of Zheng; and on Jisi they fought with the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, and an officer of Yan, when the armies of Qi, Song, Wey, and Yan received a severe defeat.

2. In the third month there was the burial of duke Xuan of Wey.

3. In summer there were great floods.

4. It was autumn, the seventh month.

5. It was winter, the tenth month.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In his fourteenth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the earl of Zheng in Cao.

2. There was no ice.

3. In summer, in the 5th [month], — the earl of Zheng sent his younger brother Yu to Lu to make a covenant.

4. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Renshen, the granary of the ancestral temple was struck with lightning.

5. On Yihai we offered the autumnal sacrifice.

6. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Dingsi, Lufu, marquis of Qi, died.

7. An officer of Song, with an officer of Qi, an officer of Cai, an officer of Wey, and an officer of Chen, invaded Zheng.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the second month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Jia Fu to Lu to ask for carriages.

2. In the third month, on Yiwei, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Jisi, there was the burial of duke Xi of Qi.

4. In the fifth month, Tu, earl of Zheng, fled to Cai.

5. Hu, heir-son of Zheng, returned to his dignity in Zheng.

6. The third brother of [the baron of] Xu entered into Xu.

7. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Ai.

8. An officer of Zhu, an officer of Mou, and an officer of Ge came to [our] court.

9. In autumn, in the ninth month, Tu, earl of Zheng, entered into Li.

10. In winter, in the eleventh month, the duke joined the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, and the marquis of Chen, at Chi, and they invaded Zheng.

XVI. SIXTEENTH YEAR.

1. In his sixteenth year, in spring, in the first month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Song, the marquis of Cai, and the marquis of Wei, in Cao.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, the duke joined the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the marquis of Chen, and the marquis of Cai, in invading Zheng.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Zheng.

4. In winter, we walled Xiang.

5. In the eleventh month, Shuo, marquis of Wey, fled to Qi.

XVII. SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

1. In his seventeenth year, in spring, in the first month, on Bingchen, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi and the marquis of Ji, when they made a covenant in Huang.

2. In the second month, on Bingwu, the duke had a meeting with Yifu of Zhu, when they made a covenant in Cui.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, on Bingwu, we fought with the army of Qi at Xi.

4. In the sixth month, on Dingchou, Fengren, marquis of Cai, died.

5. In autumn, in the eighth month, the fourth brother of [the marquis of] of Cai returned from Chen to Cai.

6. On Guixi there was the burial of the marquis Huan of Cai.

7. Along with an army of Song and an army of Wey, [we] invaded Zhu.

8. In winter, in the tenth month, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

XVIII. EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

1. In his eighteenth year, in spring, in the king’s first month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, near the Luo, after which the duke and his wife, the lady Jiang, went to Qi.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Bingzi, the duke died in Qi; and on Dingyou, his coffin arrived from Qi.

3. It was autumn, the seventh month.

4. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Jichou, we buried our ruler, duke Huan.

BOOK III. DUKE ZHUANG.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. [It was] the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In the third month, the [late duke's] wife retired to Qi.

3. In summer, the earl of Shan escorted the king's daughter.

4. In autumn, a reception house was built for the king's daughter outside [the city wall].

5. In winter, in the tenth month, on Yihai, Lin, marquis of Chen, died.

6. The king sent Shu of Rong [to Lu] to confer on duke Huan [certain] symbols of his favour.

7. The king's daughter went to her home in Qi.

8. An army of Qi carried away [the inhabitants of] Ping, Zi, and Wu, [cities of] Ji.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke Zhuang of Chen.

2. In summer, duke [Huan's] son Qingfu led a force, and invaded Yuyuqiu.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, the king's daughter, [married to the marquis] of Qi, died.

4. In winter, in the twelfth month, the [late duke's] wife, the lady Jiang, had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Zhuo.

5. On Yiyou, Ping, duke of Song, died.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Ni joined an army of Qi in invading Wey.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Zhuang of Song.

3. In the fifth month, there was the burial of king Huan.

4. In autumn, the third brother of [the marquis of] Ji entered with [the city of] Xi under [the protection of] Qi.

5. In winter the duke halted in Hua.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, [duke Huan's] wife, the lady Jiang, feasted the marquis of Qi at Zhuqiu.

2. In the third month, [duke Yin's] eldest daughter, [who had been married to the marquis] of Ji, died.

3. In summer, the marquis of Qi, the marquis of Chen, and the earl of Zheng met at Chui.

4. The marquis of Ji made a grand leaving of his State.

5. In the sixth month, on Yichou, the marquis of Qi interred [duke, Yin's] eldest daughter of Ji.

6. It was autumn, the seventh month.

7. In winter, the duke and an officer of Qi hunted in Zhuo.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. It was [the duke's] fifth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, [duke Huan's] wife, the lady Jiang went to the army of Qi.

3. In autumn, Lilai of Ni paid a visit to our court.

4. In winter, the duke joined an officer of Qi, and an officer of Song, an officer of Chen, and an officer of Cai, and invaded Wey.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Zitu, an officer of the king, [endeavoured to] relieve [the capital of] Wey.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, Shuo, marquis of Wei, entered [the capital of] Wey.

3. In autumn, the duke arrived from the invasion of Wey.

4. There were the ming-insects.

5. In winter, an officer of Qi came to present [to Lu] the spoils of Wey.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, [duke Huan's] wife, the lady Jiang, had a meeting with the marquis of Qi at Fang.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Xinmao, at night, the regular stars were not visible. At midnight, there was a fall of stars like rain.

3. In autumn, there were great floods, so that there was no wheat nor other grain in the blade.

4. In winter, [duke Huan's] wife, the lady Jiang, had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Gu.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, [our] army halted at Lang, to wait for the troops of Chen, and the troops of Cai.

2. On Jiawu, we exercised the soldiers in the use of their weapons.

3. In summer, [our] army and the army of Qi besieged Cheng. Cheng surrendered to the army of Qi.

4. In autumn, [our] army returned.

5. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Guiwei, Wuzhi of Qi murdered his ruler, Zhu'er.

IX. NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the people of Qi killed Wuzhi.

2. The duke made a covenant with [some] great officers of Qi at Ji.

3. In summer, the duke invaded Qi, intending to instate Jiu; [but] Xiaobo [had already] entered Qi.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Dingyou, there was the burial of duke Xiang of Qi.

5. In the eighth month, on Gengshen, we fought with the army of Qi at Ganshi, when our army received a severe defeat.

6. In the ninth month, the people of Qi took Zijiu, and put him to death.

7. In winter, we deepened the Zhu.

X. TENTH YEAR.

1. In his tenth year, in spring, in the king’s first month, the duke defeated the army of Qi at Changzhuo.

2. In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Song.

3. In the third month, the people of Song removed [the State of] Su.

4. In summer, in the sixth month, an army of Qi and an army of Song halted at Lang. The duke defeated the army of Song at Shengqiu.

5. In autumn, in the ninth month, Jing defeated the army of Cai at Shen, and carried Xianwu, marquis of Cai, back [to Jing].

6. In winter, in the tenth month, an army of Qi extinguished Tan. The viscount of Tan fled to Ju.

XI. ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] eleventh, year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Wuyin, the duke defeated an army of Song at Zi.

3. In autumn, there were great floods in Song.

4. In winter, a daughter of the king went to her home in Qi.

XII. TWELFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's first month, duke [Yin's] third daughter, [who had been married to the marquis] of Ji, went [from Lu] to Xi.

2. It was summer, the fourth month.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jiawu, Wan of Song murdered his ruler Jie, and his great officer Qiuwmu.

4. In winter, in the tenth month, Wan of Song fled to Chen.

XIII. THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Qi, an officer of Song, an officer of Chen, an officer of Cai, and an officer of Zhu, had a meeting at Beixing.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, an army of Qi extinguished Sui.

3. It was autumn, the seventh month.

4. In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, when they made a covenant at Ke.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, an army of Qi, an army of Chen, and an army of Cao, invaded Song.

2. In summer, the earl of Shan joined in the invasion of Song.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, Jing entered [the capital of] Cai.

4. In winter, the earl of Shan had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, and the earl of Zheng, at Juan.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, and the earl of Zheng, had a meeting at Juan.

2. In summer, [duke Huan's] wife, the lady Jiang, went to Qi.

3. In autumn, a body of men from Song, one from Qi, and one from Zhu, invaded Ni.

4. A body of men from Zheng made an inroad into Song.

5. It was winter, the tenth month.

XVI. SIXTEENTH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] sixteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, a body of men from Song, one from Qi, and one from Wey, invaded Zheng.

3. In autumn, Jing invaded Zheng.

4. In winter, in the twelfth month, [the duke] had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, the earl of Hua, and the viscount of Teng, when they made a covenant together in You.

5. Ke, viscount of Zhu, died.

XVII. SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's seventeenth year, in spring, the people of Qi made Zhan of Zheng prisoner.

2. In summer, the men of Qi in Sui were all slaughtered.

3. In autumn, Zhan of Zheng made his escape from Qi [to Lu].

4. In winter there were many deer.

XVIII. EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, the sun was eclipsed.

2. In summer, the duke pursued the Rong to the west of the Ji.

3. In autumn there were yu.

4. It was winter, the tenth month.

XIX. NINETEENTH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] nineteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. It was summer, the fourth month.

3. In autumn, Jie, a son of duke [Huan], was escorting to Juan a daughter to accompany to the harem the wife of an officer of Chen, when he took occasion to make a covenant with the marquis of Qi and the duke of Song.

4. [Duke Huan's] wife, the lady Jiang went to Ju.

5. In winter, a body of men from Qi, a body from Song, and one from Chen, invaded our western borders.

XX. TWENTIETH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twentieth year, in spring, in the king's second month, [duke Huan's] wife, the lady Jiang, went to Ju.

2. In summer, there was a great disaster from fire in Qi.

3. It was autumn, the seventh month.

4. In winter, a body of men from Qi smote the Rong.

XXI. TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] twenty-first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Xinyou, Tu, earl of Zheng, died.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Wuxu, [duke Huan's] wife, the lady Jiang, died.

4. In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Li of Zheng.

XXII. TWENTY-SECOND YEAR.

1. In his twenty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, [the duke] pardoned [all] inadvertent offences however great.

2. On Guichou we buried our duchess, Wen Jiang.

3. The people of Chen put to death Yukou, son of their marquis.

4. It was summer, the fifth month.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Bingshen, the duke made a covenant with Gao Xi of Qi in Fang.

6. In winter, the duke went to Qi, and presented the marriage-offerings of silk.

XXIII. TWENTY-THIRD YEAR.

1. In his twenty-third year, in spring, the duke arrived from Qi.

2. Shu of Zhai came to Lu with friendly inquiries.

3. In summer, the duke went to Qi to see [the service at] the altar to the Spirits of the land.

4. The duke arrived from Qi.

5. An officer of Jing came to Lu with friendly inquiries.

6. The duke and the marquis of Qi met at Gu.

7. Shu of Xiao paid a court visit to the duke.

8. In autumn, the duke painted red the pillars of [duke] Huan's temple.

9. In winter, in the eleventh month, Yigu, earl of Cao died.

10. In the twelfth month, on Jiayin, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, when they made a covenant at Hu.

XXIV. TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR.

1. In the duke's twenty-fourth year, in spring, in the king's third month, he carved the rafters of [duke] Huan's temple.

2. There was the burial of duke Zhuang of Cao.

3. In summer, the duke went to Qi to meet his bride.

4. In autumn, the duke arrived from Qi.

5. In the eighth month, his wife, the lady Jiang, entered [the capital]

6. On Wuyin, the great officers belonging to the ducal House, and their wives, had an interview with her, and presented offerings of silks.

7. There were great floods.

8. In winter, the Rong made an inroad into Cao, when Ji of Cao fled to Chen, and Chi returned to Cao.

9. The duke of Guo —

XXV. TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, the marquis of Chen sent Ru Shu to Lu with friendly inquiries.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Guichou, Shuo, marquis of Wey, died.

3. In the sixth month, on Xinwei, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed, when we beat drums, and offered victims at the altar of the land.

4. The duke's eldest daughter went to her home in Qi.

5. In autumn, there were great floods, when we beat drums, and offered victims at the altar of the land, and at the [city] gates.

6. In winter, duke [Huan's] son You went to Chen.

XXVI. TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR.

1. In his twenty-sixth year, in spring, the duke invaded the Rong.

2. In summer, the duke arrived from the invasion of the Rong.

3. Cao put to death one of its great officers.

4. In autumn, the duke joined an officer of Song and an officer of Qi in invading Xu.

5. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Guihai, the first day of the moon the sun was eclipsed.

XXVII. TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In his twenty-seventh year, in spring, the duke had a meeting with his eldest daughter, [married to the heir] of Qi, in Tao.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, and the earl of Zheng, when they made a covenant together in You.

3. In autumn, duke [Huan's] son, You, went to Chen to the burial of Yuan Zhong.

4. In winter, the duke's eldest daughter — she of Qi — came [to Lu].

5. Qing of Ju came to meet the duke's third daughter as his bride.

6. The earl of Qi appeared at our court.

7. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Chengpu.

XXVIII. TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Jiayin, an army of Qi invaded Wey. The men of Wey and the men of Qi fought a battle, when the men of Wey received a disgraceful defeat.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Dingwei, So, viscount of Zhu, died.

3. In autumn, Jing invaded Zheng.

4. The duke joined an officer of Qi and an officer of Song in relieving Zheng.

5. In winter we enclosed Mei.

6. There was a great want of wheat and rice.

7. Zangsun Chen represented the case to Qi, [and obtained leave] to buy grain there.

XXIX. TWENTY-NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, in spring he repaired his stables.
2. In summer, a body of men from Zheng made an incursion into Xu.
3. In autumn, there was [a plague of] fei insects.
4. In winter, [duke Yin's] third daughter — she of Ji — died.
5. We walled Zhu and Fang.

XXX. THIRTIETH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] thirtieth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, [our] troops halted at Cheng.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, a body of men from Qi reduced Zhang.

4. In the eighth month, on Guihai, we buried [duke Yin's] third daughter, — her of Ji.

5. In the ninth month, on Gengwu, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed, when we beat drums and offered victims at the altar of the land.

6. In winter, the duke and the marquis of Qi met on the Lu side of the Ji.

7. An officer of Qi invaded the hill Rong.

XXXI. THIRTY-FIRST YEAR.

1. In his thirty-first year, in spring, [the duke] built a tower in Lang.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, the earl of Xue died.

3. [The duke] built a tower in Xue.

4. In the sixth month, the marquis of Qi came and presented [to the duke some of the] prisoners and spoils of the Rong.

5. In autumn, [the duke] built a tower in Qin.

6. In winter, there fell no rain.

XXXII. THIRTY-SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirty-second year, in spring, he walled Xiaogu.
2. In summer, the duke of Song and the marquis of Qi met in Liangqiu.
3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Guisi, duke [Huan's] son, Ya, died.
4. In the eighth month, on Guihai, the duke died in the State-chamber.
5. In winter, in the tenth month, on Jiwei, the [duke's] son, Ban, died.
6. Duke [Huan's] son, Qingfu, went to Qi.
7. The Di invaded Xing.

BOOK IV. DUKE MIN.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. It was [the duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. A body of men from Qi [went to] relieve Xing.

3. In summer, in the sixth month, on Xinyou, we buried our ruler, duke Zhuang.

4. In autumn, the duke made a covenant with the marquis of Qi at Luogu.

5. The officer Ji came back to Lu.

6. In winter, Zhongsun of Qi came [to Lu].

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, a force from Qi removed [the people of] Yang.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Yiyou, [the duke] offered the fortunate di sacrifice on [placing the tablet of] duke Zhuang [in the ancestral temple].

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Xinchou, the duke died.

4. In the ninth month, [duke Zhuang's] wife, the lady Jiang, withdrew to Zhu.

5. Duke [Huan's] son, Qingfu, fled to Ju.

6. In winter, the officer Gao of Qi came and made a covenant.

7. In the twelfth month, the Di entered [the capital of] Wey.

8. Zheng threw away its army.

BOOK V. DUKE XI.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] first year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. An army of Qi, an army of Song, and an army of Cao halted at Niebei, [in proceeding] to the rescue of Xing.

3. In summer, in the sixth month, Xing removed [its capital] to Yiyi.

4. The army of Qi, the army of Song, and the army of Cao walled [the new capital of] Xing.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Wuchen, duke [Zhuang's] wife, the lady Jiang, died at Yi, an officer of Qi taking her [body] back with him.

6. A body of men from Chu invaded Zheng.

7. In the eighth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the earl of Zheng, the earl of Cao, and an officer of Zhu, in Cheng.

8. In the ninth month, the duke defeated an army of Zhu at Yan.

9. In winter, in the tenth month, on Renwu, duke [Huan's] son You led an army and defeated an army of Ju at Li, taking Ru of Ju.

10. In the twelfth month, on Dingsi, the coffin of duke [Zhuang's] wife arrived from Qi.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, we [aided in the] walling of Chuqiu.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Xinsi, we buried our duchess, Ai Jiang.

3. An army of Yu and an army of Jin extinguished Xiayang.

4. In autumn, in the ninth month, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, an officer of Jiang, and an officer of Huang, made a covenant in Guan.

5. In winter, in the tenth month, there was no rain.

6. A body of men from Chu made an incursion into Zheng.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, it did not rain.
2. In summer, in the fourth month, it did not rain.
3. A body of men from Xu took Shu.
4. In the sixth month, it rained.
5. In autumn, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, an officer of Jiang, and an officer of Huang, had a meeting at Yanggu.
6. In winter, duke [Huan's] son, You, went to Qi to make a covenant.
7. A body of men from Chu invaded Zheng.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke joined the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, and the earl of Cao, in an incursion into Cai. [The people of] Cai dispersed, when the [allies] proceeded to invade Chu, and halted at Xing.

2. In summer, Xinchen, baron of Xu, died.

3. Qu Wan of Chu came to make a covenant in [the camp of] the armies. The covenant was made at Shaoling.

4. The army of Qi made Yuan Taotu of Chen prisoner.

5. In autumn, [the duke], with an officer of Jiang and an officer of Huang, invaded Chein.

6. In the eighth month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Chu.

7. There was the burial of duke Mu of Xu.

8. In winter, in the twelfth month, Gongsun Ci led a force, and joined an officer of Qi, an officer of Song, an officer of Wey, an officer of Zheng, an officer of Xu, and an officer of Cao, in an incursion into Chen.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifth year in spring, the marquis of Jin put to death his heirson Shinsang.

2. Duke Zhuang's eldest daughter came from Qi, and presented her son at our court.

3. In summer, Gongsun Ci went to Mou.

4. The duke, and the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, and the earl of Cao, had a meeting with the king's heirson in Shouzhi.

5. In autumn, in the eighth month, the [above] princes made a covenant in Shouzhi.

6. The earl of Zheng stole away home, and did not join in the covenant.

7. An officer of Chu extinguished Xian. The viscount of Xian. fled to Huang.

8. In the ninth month, on Wushen, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

9. In winter, the people of Jin seized the duke of Yu.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] sixth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, the duke joined the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, and the earl of Cao, in invading Zheng, when they besieged Xincheng.

3. In autumn, a body of men from Chu besieged Xu, and the princes went from Zheng to relieve it.

4. In winter, the duke arrived from the invasion of Zheng.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, an officer of Qi invaded Zheng.

2. In summer, the viscount of Little Zhu paid a court visit [to Lu.]

3. Zheng put to death its great officer, Shen Hou.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, Kuan, heir-son of Chen, and Hua, heir-son of Zheng, when they made a covenant in Ningmu.

5. Ban, earl of Cao, died.

6. Duke [Huan's] son, You, went to Qi.

7. In winter, there was the burial of duke Zhao of Cao.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke had a meeting with an officer of the king, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the baron of Xu, the earl of Cao, and Kuan, heir-son of Chen, when they made a covenant in Tao.

2. The earl of Zheng begged [to be admitted to] the covenant.

3. In summer, the Di invaded Jin.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke offered the great sacrifice in the grand temple, and [at the same time] placed the tablet of [duke Zhuang's] wife in his shrine.

5. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Dingwei, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

XI. NINTH YEAR.

1. In the duke's ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Dingchou, Yuyue, duke of Song, died.

2. In summer, the duke had a meeting with the [king's] chief minister, the duke of Zhou, and with the marquis of Qi, the son [of the late duke] of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, and the earl of Cao, in Kuiqiu.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Yiyou, the duke's eldest daughter died.

4. In the ninth month, on Wuchen, the princes made a covenant in Kuiqiu.

5. On Jiazi, Guizhu, marquis of Jin, died.

6. In winter, Li Ke put to death Xiqi, the son of his [deceased] ruler.

X. TENTH YEAR.

1. In his tenth year, in spring, in the king’s first month, the duke went to Qi.

2. The Di extinguished Wen; and the viscount of Wen fled to Wey.

3. Li Ke of Jin murdered his ruler Zhuo, and the great officer Xun Xi.

4. In summer, the marquis of Qi and the baron of Xu invaded the northern Rong.

5. Jin put to death its great officer Li Ke.

6. It was autumn, the seventh month.

7. In winter, there was a great fall of snow.

XI. ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eleventh year, Jin put to death its great officer, Pi Zhengfu.

2. In summer, the duke and his wife, the lady Jiang, had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Yanggu.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

4. In winter, a body of men from Chu invaded Huang.

XII. TWELFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Gengwu, the sun was eclipsed.

2. In summer, a body of men from Chu extinguished Huang.

3. It was autumn, the seventh month.

4. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Dingchou, Chujiu, marquis of Chen, died.

XIII. THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the Di made an incursion into Wey.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, there was the burial of duke Xuan of Chen.

3. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, and the earl of Cao, in Xian.

4. In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

5. In winter, duke [Huan's] son, You, went to Qi.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, the States walled Yuanling.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, the duke's youngest daughter and the viscount of Zeng met in Fang, when she caused the viscount to come and pay the duke a court-visit.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Xinmao, [part of the hill of] Shalu fell down.

4. The Di made an incursion into Zheng.

5. In winter, Xi, marquis of Cai, died.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In his fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Qi.

2. A body of men from Chu invaded Xu.

3. In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, and the earl of Cao, when they made a covenant in Muqiu, and then went on till they halted at Kuang.

4. Kungsun Ao led a force, and, with the great officers of the [other] princes, [endeavoured to] relieve Xu.

5. In summer, in the fifth month, the sun was eclipsed.

6. In autumn, in the seventh month, an army of Qi and an army of Cao invaded Li.

7. In the eighth month, there were locusts.

8. In the ninth month, the duke arrived from the meeting [with the other princes].

9. The duke's third daughter went to her home in Zeng.

10. On Jimao, the last day of the moon, the temple of Yibo was struck by lightning.

11. In winter, a body of men from Song invaded Cao.

12. The men of Chu defeated Xu at Loulin.

13. In the eleventh month, on Renxu, the marquis of Jin and the earl of Qin fought at Han, when the marquis of Jin was taken.

XVI. SIXTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Wushen, the first day of the moon, there fell stones in Song, — five [of them]. In the same month, six fish-hawks flew backwards, past the capital of Song.

2. In the third month, on Renshen, duke [Huan's] son, Ji You, died.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Bingshen, the duke's youngest daughter — she of Zeng — died.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jiazi, Gongsun Ci died.

5. In winter, in the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, the marquis of Xing, and the earl of Cao in Huai.

XVII. SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, a body of men from Qi and a body from Xu invaded Yingshi.

2. In summer, we extinguished Xiang.

3. In autumn, the [duke's] wife, the lady Jiang, had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Bian.

4. In the ninth month, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Huai].

5. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yihai, Xiaobo, marquis of Qi, died.

XVIII. EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke of Song, the earl of Cao, an officer of Wey, and an officer of Zhu invaded Qi.

2. In summer, an army [of ours went to] relieve Qi.

3. In the fifth month, on Wuyin, the army of Song and the army of Qi fought at Yan, when the latter was disgracefully defeated.

4. The Di [came to] succour Qi.

5. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Dinghai, there was the burial of duke Huan of Qi.

6. In winter, a body of men from Xing and a body of the Di invaded Wey.

XIX. NINETEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] nineteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, the people of Song seized Yingqi, viscount of Teng.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, the duke of Song, an officer of Cao, and an officer of Zhu, made a covenant in the south of Cao.

3. The viscount of Zeng met and covenanted [with them] in Zhu.

4. On Jiyou, the people of Zhu seized the viscount of Zeng, and used him [as a victim].

5. In autumn, a body of men from Song invested [the capital of] Cao.

6. A body of men from Wey invaded Xing.

7. In winter, [the duke] had a meeting with an officer of Chen, an officer of Cai, an officer of Chu, and an officer of Zheng, when they made a covenant in Qi.

8. Liang perished.

XX. TWENTIETH YEAR.

1. In his twentieth year, in spring, [the duke] renewed and altered the south gate [of the capital].

2. In summer, the viscount of Gao came [to Lu] on a court-visit.

3. In the fifth month, on Yisi, the western palace was burnt.

4. A body of men from Zheng entered Hua.

5. In autumn, an officer of Qi and an officer of the Di made a covenant in Xing.

6. In winter, a body of men from Chu invaded Sui.

XXI. TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] Twenty-first year, in spring, the Di made an incursion into Wey.

2. An officer of Song, an officer of Qi, and an officer of Chu, made a covenant at Lushang.

3. In summer, there was great drought.

4. In autumn, the duke of Song, the viscount of Chu, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Cai, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, and the earl of Cao, had a meeting in Yu, when the others seized the duke of Song, and went on to invade Song.

5. In winter, the duke invaded Zhu.

6. The people of Chu sent Yishen to Lu, to present [some of the] spoils [of Song.]

7. In the twelfth month, on Guichou, the duke had a meeting with [several of] the princes, when they made a covenant in Bo, and liberated the duke of Song.

XXII. TWENTY-SECOND YEAR.

1. In his twenty-second year, the duke invaded Zhu, and took Xuqu.

2. In summer, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the baron of Xu, and the viscount of Teng, invaded Zheng.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Dingwei, we fought with an army of Zhu at Shengxing.

4. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Jisi, the first day of the moon, the duke of Song fought with an army of Chu near the Hong, when the army of Song was disgracefully defeated.

XXIII. TWENTY-THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, the marquis of Qi invaded Song, and laid siege to Min.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Gengyin, Zifu, duke of Song, died.

3. In autumn, an officer of Chu invaded Chen.

4. In winter, in the eleventh month, the viscount of Qi died.

XXIV. TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR.

1. It was the duke’s twenty-fourth year, the spring, the king’s first month.
2. In summer, the Di invaded Zheng.
3. It was autumn, the seventh month.
4. In winter, the king [by] Heaven’s [grace] left [Zhou], and resided in Zheng.
5. Yiwu, marquis of Jin, died.

XXV. TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Bingwu, Hui, marquis of Wey, extinguished Xing.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Guiyou, Hui, marquis of Wey, died.

3. The duke's eldest daughter, married to a Dang of Song, came [to Lu] to meet the wife [for her son].

4. Song put to death [one of] its great officers.

5. In autumn, a body of men from Chu invested [the capital of] Chen, and restored the viscount of Dun to Dun.

6. There was the burial of duke Wen of Wey.

7. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Guihai, the duke had a meeting with the heir-son of Wey and Qing of Ju, when they made a covenant in Tao.

XXVI. TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR.

1. In his twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Jiwei, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Ju and Ning Su of Wey, when they made a covenant in Xiang.

2. A body of men from Qi made an incursion into our western borders, when the duke pursued the army of Qi to Xi, but did not come up with it.

3. In summer, a body of men from Qi invaded our northern borders.

4. A body of men from Wey invaded Qi.

5. Sui, son of duke [Zhuang], went to Chu, to beg [the assistance of] an army.

6. In autumn, an officer of Chu extinguished Kui, and carried the viscount of Kui back with them.

7. In winter, a body of men from Chu invaded Song, and besieged Min.

8. The duke, with an army of Chu, invaded Qi, and took Gu.

9. The duke arrived from the invasion of Qi.

XXVII. TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-seventh year, the viscount of Qi paid a courtvisit to Lu.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, on Gengyin, Zhao, marquis of Qi, died.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Yiwei, there was the burial of duke Xiao of Qi.

4. On Yisi, Sui, son of duke [Zhuang], led an army and entered Qi.

5. In winter, an officer of Chu, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Cai, the earl of Zheng, and the baron of Xu, laid siege to [the capital of] Song.

6. In the twelfth month, on Jiaxu, the duke had a meeting with the [above] princes, when they made a covenant in Song.

XXVIII. TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In the duke's twenty-eighth year, in spring, the marquis of Jin made an incursion into Cao. He [also] invaded Wey.

2. Mai, son of duke [Zhuang], was guarding Wey. [Because] he did not do so successfully, [the duke] put him to death.

3. A body of men from Chu [endeavoured to] relieve Wey.

4. In the third month, on Bingwu, the marquis of Jin entered [the capital of] Cao, seized the earl of Cao, and gave him to the people of Song.

5. In summer, in the fourth month, on Jisi, the marquis of Jin, and the armies of Qi, Song, and Qin, fought with the men of Chu in Chengpu, when the army of Chu was disgracefully defeated.

6. Chu put to death its great officer, Dechen.

7. The marquis of Wey left his State, and fled to Chu.

8. In the fifth month, on Guichou, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Cai, the earl of Zheng, the viscount of Wey, and the viscount of Ju, when they made a covenant at Jiantu.

9. The marquis of Chen went to the [above] meeting.

10. The duke paid a court-visit in the place where the king was.

11. In the sixth month, Zheng, marquis of Wey, returned from Chu to his rule in Wey. Yuan Xuan of Wey left the State, and fled to Jin.

12. Kuan, marquis of Chen, died.

13. In autumn, duke [Zhuang's] eldest daughter, [married to the former viscount] of Qi, came to Lu.

14. Sui, son of duke [Zhuang], went to Qi.

15. In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Cai, the earl of Zheng, the heir-son of Chen, the viscount of Ju, the viscount of Zhu, and an officer of Qin, in Wen.

16. The king [by] Heaven's [grace] held a court of reception in Heyang.

17. On Renshen, the duke paid a court-visit in the place where the king was.

18. An officer of Jin seized the marquis of Wey, and carried him to the capital.

19. Yuan Xuan of Wey returned from Jin to his place in Wey.

20. The princes then besieged [the capital of] Xu.

21. Xiang, earl of Cao, was restored to his State, and forthwith joined the other princes in the siege of Xu.

XXIX. TWENTY-NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, in spring, Gelu of Jie came to Lu.

2. The duke arrived from the siege of [the capital of] Xu.

3. In summer, in the sixth month, [the duke] had a meeting with an officer of the king, an officer of Jin, an officer of Song, an officer of Qi, an officer of Chen, an officer of Cai, and an officer of Qin, when they made a covenant in Diquan.

4. In autumn, there was great fall a of hail.

5. In winter, Gelu of Jie came [again] to Lu.

XXX. THIRTIETH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] thirtieth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, the Di made an incursion into Qi.

3. In autumn, Wey put to death its great officer, Yuan Xuan, and duke [Wen's] son, Xia.

4. Zheng, marquis of Wey, returned to Wey.

5. A body of men from Jin and one from Qin laid siege to [the capital of] Zheng.

6. A body of men from Jie made an incursion into Xiao.

7. In winter, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent his chief minister, the duke of Zhou, to Lu, on a mission of friendly inquiries.

8. Duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, went to the capital, and at the same time went to Jin.

XXXI. THIRTY-FIRST YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirty-first year, we took the lands of Jixi.

2. Duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, went to Jin.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, [the duke] divined a fourth time for [the day of] the border sacrifice.

4. The divination was adverse, and so the victim was let go.

5. Still he offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.

6. It was autumn, the seventh month.

7. In winter, duke [Zhuang's] eldest daughter — she of Qi — came [to Lu], seeking for a wife [for her son].

8. The Di besieged [the capital of] Wey.

9. In the twelfth month, Wey removed its capital to Diqiu.

XXXII. THIRTY-SECOND YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] thirty-second year, the spring, the king's first month.
2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Jichou, Jie, earl of Zheng, died.
3. A body of men from Wey made an incursion into [the country of] the Di.
4. In autumn, an officer of Wey made a covenant with the Di.
5. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Jimao, Chong'er, marquis of Jin, died.

XXXIII. THIRTY-THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirty-third year, in spring, in the king's second month, an army from Qin entered Hua.

2. The marquis of Qi sent Guo Guifu to the duke on a mission of friendly inquiries.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Xinsi, the men of Jin and the Jiang Rong defeated [the army of] Qin at Yao.

4. On Guisi there was the burial of duke Wen of Jin.

5. The Di made an incursion into Di.

6. The duke invaded Zhu, and took Zilou.

7. In autumn, duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, led an army, and invaded Zhu.

8. A body of men from Jin defeated the Di in Ji.

9. In winter, in the tenth month, the duke went to Qi.

10. In the twelfth month, the duke arrived from Qi.

11. On Yisi, the duke died in the Small chamber.

12. There fell hoar-frost without killing the grass. Plum trees bore their fruit.

13. A body of men from Jin, one from Chen, and one from Zheng, invaded Xu.

BOOK VI. DUKE WEN.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. In the first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

2. In the second month, on Guihai, the sun was eclipsed.

3. The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Shufu to be present at the burial [of duke Xi].

4. In summer, in the fourth month, in Dingsi, we buried our ruler, duke Xi.

5. The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent the earl of Mao to confer on the duke the symbol [of investiture].

6. The marquis of Jin invaded Wey.

7. Shusun Dechen went to the capital.

8. A body of men from Wey invaded Jin.

9. In autumn, Gongsun Ao had a meeting with the marquis of Jin in Qi.

10. In winter, in the tenth month, on Dingwei, Shangchen, heir-son of Chu, murdered his ruler, Jun.

11. Gongsun Ao went to Qi.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Jiazi, he marquis of Jin and the army of Qin fought a battle in Pengya, when the army of Qin was disgracefully defeated.

2. On Dingchou, [the duke] made the Spirit-tablet of duke Xi.

3. In the third month, on Yisi, [the duke] made a covenant with Chufu of Jin.

4. In summer, in the sixth month, Gongsun Ao had a meeting with the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the earl of Zheng, and Shi Hu of Jin, when they made a covenant in Chuilong.

5. From the twelfth month [of the last year] it had not rained until the autumn [of this] in the seventh month.

6. In the eighth month, on Dingmao, there was the great [sacrificial] business in the grand temple, when [the tablet of] duke Xi was advanced [to the place of that of duke Min].

7. In winter, a body of men from Jin, one from Song, one from Chen, and one from Zheng invaded Qin.

8. Duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, went to Qi, with the marriage offerings [for the duke].

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Shusun Dechen joined an officer of Jin, an officer of Song, an officer of Chen, an officer of Wey, and an officer of Zheng, in invading Shen, the people of which dispersed.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, king [Xi's] son, Hu, died.

3. A body of men from Qin invaded Jin.

4. In autumn, a body of men from Chu besieged Jiang.

5. It rained locusts in Song.

6. In winter, the duke went to Jin; and in the twelfth month, on Jisi, he made a covenant with the marquis of Jin.

7. Yang Chufu of Jin led a force, and invaded Chu, in order to relieve Jiang.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In his fourth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Jin.

2. In summer, [the duke] met his wife Jiang in Qi.

3. The Di made an incursion into Qi.

4. In autumn, a body of men from Chu extinguished Jiang.

5. The marquis of Jin invaded Qin.

6. The marquis of Wey sent Ning Yu to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

7. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Renyin, the wife [of duke Zhuang], the lady Feng, died.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the king sent Shu of Rong, with mouth-jewels and a carriage and horses [for the funeral of Cheng Feng.]

2. In the third month, on Xinhai, we buried our duchess, Cheng Feng.

3. The king sent the earl of Shao to be present at the burial.

4. In summer, Gongsun Ao went to Jin.

5. A body of men from Qin entered Ruo.

6. In autumn, a body of men from Chu extinguished Liu.

7. In winter, in the tenth month, on Jiashen, Ye, baron of Xu, died.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, there was the burial of duke Xi of Xu.

2. In summer, Jisun Hangfu went to Chen.

3. In autumn, Jisun Hangfu went to Jin.

4. In the eighth month, on Yihai, Huan, marquis of Jin, died.

5. In winter, in the tenth month, duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, went to Jin, to [be present at] the burial of duke Xiang of Jin.

6. Jin put to death its great officer, Yang Chufu.

7. Hu Yigu of Jin fled to the Di.

8. In the intercalary month, [the duke] did not inaugurate the month with the usual ceremonies, but still he appeared in the ancestral temple.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In his seventh year, in spring, the duke invaded Zhu.

2. In the third month, on Jiaxu, he took Xuqu, and went on in consequence to wall Woo.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, Wangchen, duke of Song, died.

4. The people of Song put to death [some of] their great officers.

5. On Wuzi, an army of Jin and one of Qin fought a battle at Linghu.

6. Xian Mie of Jin fled to Qin.

7. The Di made an incursion into our western borders.

8. In autumn, in the eighth month, the duke had a meeting with other princes and a great officer of Jin, when they made a covenant in Hu.

9. In winter, Xu invaded Ju.

10. Gongsun Ao went to Ju to superintend a covenant.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] eighth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. It was summer, the fourth month.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Wushen, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

4. In winter, in the tenth month, on Renwu, duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, had a meeting with Zhao Dun of Jin, when they made a covenant in Hengyong.

5. On Yiyou, duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, had a meeting with the Luo Rong, and made a covenant with them at Bao.

6. Gongsun Ao left to go to the capital, but he retraced his steps before he got to it. On Bingxu he fled to Ju.

7. There were locusts.

8. The people of Song put to death their great officer, the minister of War. The minister of Works of Song came to Lu a fugitive.

XI. NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, the earl of Mao came to Lu, to ask for [a contribution of] money.

2. The duke's wife, the lady Jiang, went to Qi.

3. In the second month, Shusun Dechen went to the capital.

4. On Xinchou there was the burial of king Xiang.

5. The people of Jin put to death their great officer Xian Du.

6. In the third month, the duke's wife, the lady Jiang, arrived from Qi.

7. The people of Jin put to death their great officers, Shi Hu and Ji Zhengfu.

8. A body of men from Chu invaded Zheng. Sui, duke [Zhuang's] son, joined an officer of Xu, to relieve Zheng.

9. In summer, the Di made an incursion into Qi.

10. In autumn, in the eighth month, Xiang, earl of Cao, died.

11. In the ninth month, on Guiyou, there was an earthquake.

12. In winter, the viscount of Chu sent Jiao to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

13. An officer from Qin came to present grave-clothes for duke Xi and Cheng Feng.

14. There was the burial of duke Gong of Cao.

X. TENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Xinmao, Zangsun Chen died.
2. In summer, Qin invaded Jin.
3. Chu put to death its great officer, Yishen.
4. From the first month, it did not rain till autumn in the seventh month.
5. The [duke] made a covenant with the viscount of Su at Ruli.
6. In winter, the Di made an incursion into Song.
7. The viscount of Chu and the marquis of Cai halted in Juemo.

XI. ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, the viscount of Chu invaded Jun.

2. In summer, Shuzhong Pengsheng had a meeting with Xi Que of Jin in Chengkuang.

3. In autumn, the earl of Cao paid a court-visit to Lu.

4. Duke Zhuang's son, Sui, went to Song.

5. The Di made an incursion into Qi.

6. In winter, in the tenth month, on Jiawu, Shusun Dechen defeated the Di in Xian.

XII. TWELFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the earl of Cheng came a fugitive to Lu.

2. The earl of Qi came to Lu on a court-visit.

3. In the second month, on Gengzi, duke [Xi's] daughter — the second one — died.

4. In summer, a body of men from Chu laid siege to Chao.

5. In autumn, the viscount of Teng came to Lu on a court-visit.

6. The earl of Qin sent Shu to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

7. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Wuwu, the troops of Jin and those of Qin fought at Hequ.

8. Jisun Hangfu led a force, and walled Zhu and Yun.

XIII. THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] thirteenth year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Renwu, Shuo, marquis of Chen, died.

3. Quchu, viscount of Zhu, died.

4. From the first month it did not rain till autumn, in the seventh month.

5. The roof of the permanent shrine-house went to ruin.

6. In winter, the duke went to Jin; and the marquis of Wey had a meeting with him in Ta.

7. The Di made an incursion into Wey.

8. In the twelfth month, on Jichou, the duke and the marquis of Jin made a covenant. The duke was returning from Jin, when the earl of Zheng had a meeting with him in Fei.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In his fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from Jin.

2. A body of men from Zhu invaded our southern border; [and] Shu Pengsheng led a force, and invaded Zhu.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, on Yihai, Pan, marquis of Qi, died.

4. In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, the earl of Cao, and Zhao Dun of Jin; [and] on Guiyou they made a covenant together in Xincheng.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, there was a comet, which entered the Northern Bushel.

6. The duke arrived from the meeting.

7. The people of Jin undertook to establish Jiezi as viscount of Zhu, but did not do so.

8. In the ninth month, on Jiashen, Gongsun Ao died in Qi.

9. Shangren, a son of duke [Huan] of Qi, murdered his ruler, She.

10. Zi'ai of Song came to Lu, a fugitive.

11. In winter, the earl of Shan went to Qi; and the people of Qi seized him and held him prisoner.

12. The people of Qi [also] seized the second daughter of our house, who was there, and held her prisoner.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, Jisun Hangfu went to Jin.

2. In the third month, Huasun, minister of war, of Song, came and made a covenant.

3. In summer, the earl of Cao came to Lu on a court-visit.

4. The people of Qi sent back to Lu the coffin of Gongsun Ao.

5. In the sixth month, on Xinchou, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed. Drums were beaten, and victims were offered at the altar of the land.

6. The earl of Shan arrived from Qi.

7. Xi Que of Jin led a force and invaded Cai; and on Wushen, he entered [the capital of] Cai.

8. In autumn, a body of men from Qi made an incursion into our western borders.

9. Jisun Hangfu went to Jin.

10. In winter, in the eleventh month, [many of] the States made a covenant at Hu.

11. In the twelfth month, an officer of Qi came to Lu with the second daughter of our House.

12. The marquis of Qi made an incursion into our western borders, and then proceeded to invade Cao, entering within the outer suburbs of its capital.

XVI. SIXTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, Jisun Hangfu had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Yanggu; but the marquis would not make a covenant with him.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, the duke for the fourth time did not give audience to his ministers on the first day of the moon.

3. In the sixth month, on Wuchen, duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, and the marquis of Qi, made a covenant in Xiqiu.

4. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Xinwei, [duke Xi's] wife, the lady Jiang, died.

5. [The duke] pulled down the tower of Quan.

6. A force from Chu, one from Qin, and one from Ba, extinguished Yong.

7. In winter, in the eleventh month, the people of Song murdered their ruler, Chujiu.

XVII. SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, an officer of Jin, an officer of Wey, an officer of Chen, and an officer of Zheng, invaded Song.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Guihai, we buried our duchess, Sheng Jiang.

3. The marquis of Qi invaded our western borders. In the sixth month, on Guiwei, the duke and the marquis of Qi made a covenant in Gu.

4. [Several] of the States had a meeting in Hu.

5. In autumn, the duke arrived from Gu.

6. Duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, went to Qi.

XVIII. EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

1. In his eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Dingchou, the duke died, [in a chamber] beneath [one] of his towers.

2. Ying, earl of Qin, died.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, on Wuxu, the people of Qi murdered their ruler, Shangren.

4. In the sixth month, on Guiyou, we buried our ruler, duke Wen.

5. In autumn, duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, and Shusun Dechen, went to Qi.

6. In winter, in the tenth month, the [duke's] son died.

7. The [duke's] wife, the lady Jiang, went back to Qi.

8. Jisun Hangfu went to Qi.

9. Ju murdered its ruler, Shuqi.

BOOK VII. DUKE XUAN.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

2. Duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, went to Qi, to meet the [duke's] bride.

3. In the third month, Sui arrived with the [duke's] wife, the lady Jiang, from Qi.

4. In summer, Jisun Hangfu went to Qi.

5. Jin banished its great officer, Xu Jiafu, to Wey.

6. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi in Pingzhou.

7. Duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, went to Qi.

8. In the sixth month, a body of men from Qi took the lands of Jixi.

9. In autumn, the viscount of Zhu came to Lu on a court-visit.

10. The viscount of Chu and an officer of Zheng made an incursion into Chen, and went on to make one into Song.

11. Zhao Dun of Jin led a force to relieve Chen.

12. The duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, and the earl of Cao, joined the army of Jin at Feilin, and invaded Zheng.

13. In winter, Zhao Chuan of Jin led a force, and made an incursion into Chong.

14. A body of men from Jin and one from Song invaded Zheng.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Renzi, Hua Yuan of Song, at the head of a force, and duke [Wen's] son, Guisheng of Zheng, [also] at the head of a force, fought at Daji, when the army of Song was shamefully defeated, and Hua Yuan was made prisoner.

2. An army of Qin invaded Jin.

3. In summer, a body of men from Jin, one from Song, one from Wey, and one from Chen, made an incursion into Zheng.

4. In autumn, in the ninth month, on Yichou, Zhao Dun of Jin murdered his ruler, Yigao.

5. In winter, in the tenth month, on Yihai, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, the bull for the border sacrifice received some injury in its mouth. It was changed, and the tortoise-shell consulted about the [other] bull. That died, and so the border sacrifice was not offered.

2. Still [the duke] offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.

3. There was the burial of king Kuang.

4. The viscount of Chu invaded the Rong of Luhun.

5. In summer, a body of men from Chu made an incursion into Zheng.

6. In autumn, the Red Di made an incursion into Qi.

7. An army of Song laid siege to [the capital] of Cao.

8. In winter, in the tenth month, on Bingxu, Lan, earl of Zheng, died.

9. There was the burial of duke Mu of Zheng.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In his fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke and the marquis of Qi [tried to] reconcile Ju and Tan. The people of Ju were not willing [to be reconciled], and the duke invaded Ju and took Xiang.

2. Dao, earl of Qin, died.

3. In summer, in the sixth month, on Yiyou, duke [Wen's] son, Guisheng of Zheng, murdered his ruler, Yi.

4. The Red Di made an incursion into Qi.

5. In autumn, the duke went to Qi.

6. The duke arrived from Qi.

7. In winter, the viscount of Chu invaded Zheng.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In his fifth year, in spring, the duke went to Qi.

2. In summer, the duke arrived from Qi.

3. In autumn, in the ninth month, Gao Gu of Qi came to meet [his bride], the duke’s second daughter.

4. Shusun Dechen died.

5. In winter, Gao Gu of Qi and the duke’s second daughter came to Lu.

6. A body of men from Chu invaded Zheng.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, Zhao Dun of Jin and Sun Mian of Wey made an incursion into Chen.

2. It was summer, the fourth month.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, there were locusts.

4. It was winter, the tenth month.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In his seventh year, in spring, the marquis of Wey sent Sun Liangfu to Lu, to make a covenant [with the duke].

2. In summer, the duke joined the marquis of Qi in invading Lai.

3. In autumn, the duke arrived from the invasion of Lai.

4. There was great drought.

5. In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, and the earl of Cao, in Heirang.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In his eighth year, in spring, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Heirang].

2. In summer, in the sixth month, duke [Zhuang's] son, Sui, went to Qi. When he had got to Huang, he returned.

3. On Xinsi, there was a sacrifice in the grand temple; and Zhong Sui died at Chui.

4. On Renwu, the sacrifice was repeated for the next day; but when the pantomimes entered, they put away their flutes.

5. On Wuzi, [duke Wen's] wife, the lady Ying, died.

6. An army of Jin and the White Di invaded Qin.

7. A body of men from Chu extinguished Shuliao.

8. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jiazi, the sun was totally eclipsed.

9. In winter, in the tenth month, on Jichou, we [had arranged to] bury our duchess, Jing Ying.

10. Because of rain the interment was not effected; but on [the next day] Gengyin, at mid-day, it was completed.

11. [The duke] walled Pingyang.

12. An army of Chu invaded Chen.

IX. NINTH YEAR.

1. In his ninth year, in spring, in the king’s first month, the duke went to Qi.

2. The duke arrived from Qi.

3. In summer, Zhongsun Mie went to the capital.

4. The marquis of Qi invaded Lai.

5. In autumn, [we] took Genmou.

6. In the eighth month, the viscount of Teng died.

7. In the ninth month, the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, and the earl of Cao, had a meeting in Hu.

8. Xun Linfu of Jin led the armies [of the above States], and invaded Chen.

9. On Xinyou, Heitun, marquis of Jin, died in Hu.

10. In winter, in the tenth month, on Guiyou, Zheng, marquis of Wey, died.

11. A body of men from Song laid siege to [the capital of] Teng.

12. The viscount of Chu invaded Zheng; [and] Xi Que of Jin led a force, and relieved it.

13. Chen put to death its great officer Xie Ye.

X. TENTH YEAR.

1. In his tenth year, in spring, the duke went to Qi. The duke arrived from Qi, 2. The people of Qi restored to us the lands of Jixi.

3. In summer, in the the fourth month, on Bingchen, the sun was eclipsed.

4. On Jisi, Yuan, marquis of Qi, died.

5. The Head of the Cui family of Qi left the State, and fled to Wey.

6. The duke went to Qi.

7. In the fifth month, the duke arrived from Qi.

8. On Guisi, Xia Zhengshu of Chen murdered his ruler, Pingguo.

9. In the sixth month, an army of Song invaded Teng.

10. Gongsun Guifu went to Qi, to the burial of duke Hui of Qi.

11. A body of men from Jin, one from Song, one from Wey, and one from Cao, invaded Zheng.

12. In autumn, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent his youngest brother to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

13. Gongsun Guifu led a force to invade Zhu, and took Yi.

14. There were great floods.

15. Jisun Hangfu went to Qi.

16. In winter, Gongsun Guifu went to Qi.

17. The marquis of Qi sent Guo Zuo to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

18. There was famine.

19. The viscount of Chu invaded Zheng.

XI. ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. It was the [duke's] eleventh year, the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, the viscount of Chu, the marquis of Chen, and the earl of Zheng, made a covenant in Chenling.

3. Gongsun Guifu joined an officer of Qi in invading Ju.

4. In autumn, the marquis of Jin had a meeting with the Di in Cuanhan.

5. In winter, in the tenth month, the people of Chu put to death Xia Zhengshu of Chen.

6. On Dinghai, the viscount of Chu entered [the capital of] Chen.

7. He restored Gongsun Ning and Yi Hangfu to Chen.

XII. TWELFTH YEAR.

1. In the duke's twelfth year, in spring, there was the burial of duke Ling of Chen.

2. The viscount of Chu laid siege to [the capital of] Zheng.

3. In summer, in the sixth month, on Yimao, Xun Linfu of Jin led a force, and fought with the viscount of Chu at Bi, when the army of Jin was disgracefully defeated.

4. It was autumn, the seventh month.

5. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Wuyin, the viscount of Chu extinguished Xiao.

6. An officer of Jin, one of Song, one of Wey, and one of Cao, made a covenant together at Qingqiu.

7. An army of Song invaded Chen, [but] a body of men from Wey relieved it.

XIII. THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, an army of Qi invaded Ju.
2. In summer, the viscount of Chu invaded Song.
3. In autumn, there were locusts.
4. In winter, Jin put to death its great officer, Xian Hu.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, Wey put to death its great officer, Kong Da.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Renshen, Shou, earl of Cao, died.

3. The marquis of Jin invaded Zheng.

4. In autumn, in the ninth month, the viscount of Chu laid siege to [the capital of] Song.

5. There was the burial of duke Wen of Cao.

6. In winter, Gongsun Guifu had a meeting with the marquis of Qi at Gu.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, Gongsun Guifu had an interview with the viscount of Chu in Song.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, the people of Song made peace with the people of Chu.

3. In the sixth month, on Guimao, an army of Jin extinguished the Lu tribe of the Red Di, and carried Ying'er, viscount of Lu, back with it to Jin.

4. A body of men from Qin invaded Jin.

5. The king's son Zha put to death the earls of Shao and Mao.

6. In autumn, there were locusts.

7. Zhongsun Mie had a meeting with Gao Gu of Qi in Wulou.

8. For the first time an [additional] tithe was levied from the acre.

9. In winter, the larvæ of locusts were produced.

10. There was famine.

XVI. SIXTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, a body of men from Jin extinguished the Jia and Liuyu tribes of the Red Di.

2. In summer, the archery-court of [king] Xuan at Chengzhou was set on fire.

3. In autumn, the duke's eldest daughter, who had been married to [the viscount of] Tan, returned to Lu [divorced].

4. In winter, there was a very plentiful year.

XVII. SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Gengzi, Xiwo, baron of Xu, died.

2. On Dingwei, Shen, marquis of Cai, died.

3. In summer there were the burials of duke Zhao of Xu, and of duke Wen of Cai.

4. In the sixth month, on Guimao, the sun was eclipsed.

5. On Jiwei, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, and the viscount of Zhu, when they made a covenant together in Duandao.

6. In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.

7. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Renwu, the duke's younger brother, Shuxi, died.

XVIII. EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Jin and Zang, heir-son of Wey, invaded Qi.

2. The duke invaded Qi.

3. It was summer, the fourth month.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, an officer of Zhu murdered the viscount of Zeng in his capital.

5. On Jiaxu, Lü, viscount of Chu, died.

6. Gongsun Guifu went to Jin.

7. In winter, in the tenth month, on Renxu, the duke died in the State-chamber.

8. Guifu was returning from Jin; but when he got to Sheng, he fled to Qi.

BOOK VIII. DUKE CHENG.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. In his first year, in spring, in the king’s first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

2. In the second month, on Xinyou, we buried our ruler, duke Xuan.

3. There was no ice.

4. In the third month, the Qiu and buff-coat ordinance was made.

5. In summer, Zangsun Xu and the marquis of Jin made a covenant in Chiji.

6. In autumn, the king’s army was disgracefully defeated by the Maoujung.

7. It was winter, the tenth month.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, the marquis of Qi invaded our northern border.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Bingxu, Sun Liangfu of Wey led a force, and fought with the army of Qi at Xinzhu, when the army of Wey received a severe defeat.

3. In the sixth month, on Guiyou, Jisun Hangfu, Zangsun Xu, Shusun Qiaoru, and Gongsun Yingqi, led a force, and joined Xi Ke of Jin, Sun Liangfu of Wey, and the Gongzi Shou of Cao, [after which] they fought with the marquis of Qi at An, when the army of Qi received a severe defeat.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, the marquis of Qi sent Guo Zuo to the army [of the allies], which made a covenant with him on Jiyou at Yuanlou.

5. In the eighth month, on Renwu, Bao, duke of Song, died.

6. On Gengyin, Su, marquis of Wey, died.

7. We took the lands of Wenyang.

8. In winter, an army of Chu and an army of Zheng made an incursion into Wey.

9. In the eleventh month, the duke had a meeting with the Gongzi Yingqi of Chu in Shu.

10. On Bingshen, the duke made a covenant in Shu with an officer of Chu, an officer of Qin, an officer of Song, an officer of Chen, an officer of Wey, an officer of Zheng, an officer of Qi, an officer of Cao, an officer of Zhu, an officer of Xue, and an officer of Zeng.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In his third year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, and the earl of Cao, in invading Zheng.

2. On Xinhai there was the burial of duke Mu of Wey.

3. In the second month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Zheng.

4. On Jiazi the new temple took fire, when we wailed for it three days.

5. On Yihai there was the burial of duke Wen of Song.

6. In Summer, the duke went to Jin.

7. Quji, duke [Mu's] son, of Zheng led an army, and invaded Xu.

8. The duke arrived from Jin.

9. In autumn, Shusun Qiaoru led an army, and laid siege to Ji.

10. There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

11. Xi Ke of Jin, and Sun Liangfu of Wey, invaded the Qianggaoru.

12. In winter, in the 11th month, the marquis of Jin sent Xun Geng to Lu on a friendly mission; and the marquis of Wey sent Sun Liangfu on the same.

13. On Bingwu we made a covenant with Xun Geng, and on Dingwei we made one with Sun Liangfu.

14. Zheng invaded Xu.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, the duke of Song sent Hua Yuan to Lu on a friendly mission.
2. In the third month, on Renshen, Jian, earl of Zheng, died.
3. The earl of Qi paid a courtvisit to Lu.
4. In summer, in the fourth month, on Jiayin, Zangsun Xu died.
5. The duke went to Jin.
6. There was the burial of duke Xiang of Zheng.
7. In autumn, the duke arrived from Jin.
8. In winter, we walled Yun.
9. The earl of Zheng invaded Xu.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the third daughter [of duke Wen, who had been married to the earl] of Qi, came back to Lu.

2. Zhongsun Mie went to Song.

3. In summer, Shusun Qiaoru had a meeting with Xun Shou of Jin in Gu.

4. [A part of] mount Liang fell down.

5. In autumn, there were great floods.

6. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Jiyou, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

7. In the twelfth month, on Jichou, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the earl of Cao, the viscount of Zhu, and the earl of Qi, when they made a covenant together in Chonglao.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. In his sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from the meeting [at Chonglao].

2. In the second month, on Xinsi, we set up a temple to [duke] Wu.

3. We took Zhuan.

4. Sun Liangfu of Wey led a force, and made an incursion into Song.

5. In summer, in the sixth month, the viscount of Zhu came to Lu on a court-visit.

6. Gongsun Yingqi went to Jin.

7. On Renshe, Fei, earl of Zheng, died.

8. In autumn, Zhongsun Mie and Shusun Qiaoru led a force, and made an incursion into Song.

9. The Gongzi Yingqi of Chu led a force, and invaded Zheng.

10. In winter, Jisun Hangfu went to Jin.

11. Luan Shu of Jin led a force and relieved Zheng.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, some field mice ate the horns of the bull for the border sacrifice. It was changed, and another divined for; but the mice again ate its horns, on which the bull was let go.

2. Wu invaded Tan.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, the earl of Cao came to Lu on a court-visit.

4. There was no border sacrifice, but still we offered the sacrifices to the three objects of Survey.

5. In autumn, the Gongzi Yingqi of Chu led a force and invaded Zheng. The duke joined the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, the viscount of Ju, the viscount of Zhu, and the earl of Qi, in relieving Zheng; and in the 8th month, on Wuchen [these princes] made a covenant together in Maling.

6. The duke arrived from the [above] meeting.

7. Wu entered Zhoulai.

8. In winter, there was a great sacrifice for rain.

9. Sun Linfu of Wey fled from that State to Jin.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, the marquis of Jin sent Han Chuan to Lu, to speak about the lands of Wenyang, which were [in consequence] restored to Qi.

2. Luan Shu of Jin led a force, and made an incursion into Cai.

3. Gongsun Yingqi went to Ju.

4. The duke of Song sent Hua Yuan to Lu on a friendly mission.

5. In summer, the duke of Song sent Gongsun Shou to Lu, to present his marriage-offerings.

6. Jin put to death its great officers, Zhao Tong and Zhao Kuo.

7. In autumn, in the seventh month, the son of Heaven sent the earl of Shao to confer on the duke the symbol [of investiture].

8. In winter, in the tenth month, on Guimao, [duke Wen's] third daughter, [who had been married to the earl] of Qi, died.

9. The marquis of Jin sent Shi Xie to Lu on a friendly mission.

10. Shusun Qiaoru joined Shi Xie of Jin, an officer of Qi, and an officer of Zhu, in invading Tan.

11. An officer came from Wey, with ladies of that State to accompany to her harem [the bride of the duke of Song.]

IX. NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the earl of Qi came to Lu, to meet the coffin of duke Wen's third daughter, and took it back with him to Qi.

2. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the earl of Cao, the viscount of Ju, and the earl of Qi, when they made a covenant together in Pu.

3. The duke arrived from the meeting.

4. In the second month, duke [Xuan's] eldest daughter went to her home in Song.

5. In summer, Jisun Hangfu went to Song, to celebrate the completion of the above lady's union with the duke of Song.

6. An officer came from Jin with ladies of that State to go to the harem [of Son].

7. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Bingzi, Wuye, marquis of Qi, died.

8. The people of Jin seized and held the earl of Zheng, and Luan Shu of Jin led a force and invaded Zheng.

9. In winter, in the eleventh month, there was the burial of duke Qing of Qi.

10. The Gongzi Yingqi of Chu led a force and invaded Ju. On Gengshen the people of Ju dispersed, and the troops of Chu entered Yun.

11. A body of men from Qin and the white Di invaded Jin.

12. A body of men from Zheng laid siege to [the capital of] Xu.

13. We walled Zhongcheng.

X. TENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, Heibei, younger brother of the marquis of Wey, led a force and made an incursion into Zheng.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a fifth time about the border sacrifice. The result was unfavourable, and we did not offer the sacrifice.

3. In the fifth month, the duke joined the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, and the earl of Cao, in invading Zheng.

4. An officer came from Qi with ladies of that State to go to the harem [of Song].

5. On Bingwu, Nou, marquis of Jin, died.

6. In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke went to Jin.

7. It was winter, the tenth month.

XI. ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. In his eleventh year, in spring, in the king’s third month, the duke arrived from Jin.

2. The marquis of Jin sent Xi Chou to Lu on a friendly mission; and on Jichou the duke made a covenant with him.

3. In summer, Jisun Hangfu went to Jin.

4. In autumn, Shusun Qiaoru went to Qi.

5. It was winter, the tenth month.

XII. TWELFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's], twelfth year, in spring, the duke of Zhou left and fled to Jin.

2. In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin and the marquis of Wey in Suoze.

3. In autumn, a body of men from Jin defeated the Di at Jiaogang.

4. It was winter, the tenth month.

XIII. THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Jin sent Xi Qi to Lu, to beg the assistance of an army.

2. In the third month, the duke went to the capital.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, the duke, going on from the capital, joined the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao [Zheng?], an officer of Zhu, and an officer of Teng, in invading Qin.

4. Lu, earl of Cao, died in the army.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Qin.

6. In winter, there was the burial of duke Xuan of Cao.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Zhu, viscount of Ju, died.

2. In summer, Sun Linfu of Wey returned from Jin to Wey.

3. In autumn, Shusun Qiaoru went to Qi, to meet the [duke's] bride.

4. The Gongzi Xi of Zheng led a force, and invaded Xu.

5. In the ninth month, Qiru arrived from Qi with the [duke's] wife, the lady Jiang.

6. In winter, in the tenth month, on Gengyin, Zang, marquis of Wey, died.

7. The earl of Qin died.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke Ding of Wey.

2. In the third month, on Yisi, Zhong Yingqi died.

3. On Guichou, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the earl of Cao, Cheng the heir-son of Song, Guo Zuo of Qi, and an officer of Zhu, when they made a covenant together in Qi.

4. The marquis of Jin seized the earl of Cao, and delivered him at the capital.

5. The duke arrived from the meeting [at Qi.]

6. In summer, in the sixth month, Gu, duke of Song, died.

7. The viscount of Chu invaded Zheng.

8. In autumn, in the eighth month, there was the burial of duke Gong of Song.

9. Hua Yuan of Song left the State and fled to Jin. From Jin he returned to Song. Song put to death its great officer Shan. Yu Shi of Song fled to Chu.

10. In winter, in the eleventh month, Shusun Qiaoru joined Shi Xie of Jin, Gao Wujiu of Qi, Hua Yuan of Song, Sun Linfu of Wey, the Gongzi Qiu of Zheng, and an officer of Zhu, in having a meeting with Wu at Zhongli.

11. Xu removed its capital to She.

XVI. SIXTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, it rained, and the trees became encrusted with ice.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Xinwei, the viscount of Teng died.

3. Duke [Mu's] son, Xi, of Zheng led a force, and made an inroad into Song.

4. In the sixth month, on Bingyin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

5. The marquis of Jin sent Luan Yan to Lu, to ask the assistance of an army.

6. On Jiawu, the last day of the moon, the marquis of Jin fought with the viscount of Chu and the earl of Zheng at Yanling, when the viscount of Chu and the army of Zheng received a great defeat.

7. Chu put to death its great officer, the Gongzi Ce.

8. In autumn, the duke [went to have] a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Qi, the marquis of Wey, Hua Yuan of Song, and an officer of Zhu, in Shasui; [but the marquis of Jin] would not see him.

9. The duke arrived from the meeting.

10. The duke went to join the viscount of Yin, the marquis of Jin, Guo Zuo of Qi, and an officer of Zhu, in invading Zheng.

11. The earl of Cao returned from the capital.

12. In the ninth month, the people of Jin seized Jisun Hangfu, and lodged him in Tiaoqiu.

13. In winter, in the tenth month, on Yihai, Shusun Qiaoru fled to Qi.

14. In the twelfth month, on Yichou, Jisun Hangfu and Xi Chou of Jin made a covenant in Hu.

15. The duke arrived from the meeting.

16. On Yiyou we put to death the duke's half-brother, Yan.

XVII. SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventeenth year, Beigong Kuo of Wey led a force, and made an incursion into Zheng.

2. In summer, the duke joined the viscount of Yin, the viscount of Shan, the marquis of Jin, the marquis of Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, and an officer of Zhu, in invading Zheng.

3. In the sixth month, on Yiyou, they made a covenant together in Keling.

4. In autumn, the duke arrived from his meeting [with the other princes].

5. Gao Wujiu of Qi fled to Ju.

6. In the ninth month, on Xinchou, we offered the border sacrifice.

7. The marquis of Jin sent Xun Ying to Lu to ask the assistance of an army.

8. In winter, the duke joined the viscount of Shan, the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, an officer of Qi, and an officer of Zhu, in invading Zheng.

9. In the eleventh month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Zheng.

10. On Renshen, Gongsun Yingqi died in Lishen.

11. In the twelfth month, on Dingsi, the sun was eclipsed.

12. Jueju, viscount of Zhu, died.

13. Jin put to death its great officers, Xi Qi, Xi Chou, and Xi Zhi.

14. The people of Chu extinguished Shuyong.

XVIII. EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the duke's [eighteenth] year, in spring, in the king's first month, Jin put to death its great officer, Xu Tong.

2. On Gengshen, Jin murdered its ruler, Zhoupu.

3. Qi put to death its great officer, Guo Zuo.

4. The duke went to Jin.

5. In summer, the viscount of Chu and the earl of Zheng invaded Song; [when] Yu Shi of Song again entered Pengcheng.

6. The duke arrived from Jin.

7. The marquis of Jin sent Shi Gai to Lu on a mission of friendly enquiries.

8. In autumn, the earl of Qi paid a court-visit to Lu.

9. In the eighth month, the viscount of Zhu paid a court-visit to Lu.

10. We enclosed the deer park.

11. On Jichou, the duke died in the state-chamber.

12. In winter, a body of men from Chu and one from Zheng made an incursion into Song.

13. The marquis of Jin sent Shi Fang to ask the help of an army.

14. In winter, in the twelfth month, Zhongsun Mie had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the viscount of Zhu, and Cui Shu of Qi, when they made a covenant together in Xucheng.

15. On Dingwei, we buried our ruler, duke Cheng.

BOOK IX. DUKE XIANG

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

2. Zhongsun Mie joined Luan Yan of Jin, Hua Yuan of Song, Ning Zhi of Wey, an officer of Cao, an officer of Ju, an officer of Zhu, an officer of Teng, and an officer of Xue, in besieging Pengcheng in Song.

3. In summer, Han Jue of Jin led an army, and invaded Zheng. Zhongsun Mie joined Cui Shu of Qi, an officer of Cao, an officer of Zhu, and an officer of Qi, and halted, [with their forces], in Zeng.

4. In autumn, the Gongzi Renfu of Chu led a force, and made an incursion into Song.

5. In the ninth month, on Xinyou, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

6. The viscount of Zhu came to Lu on a court-visit.

7. In winter, the marquis of Wey sent the Gongsun Piao to Lu on a visit of friendly inquiries. So did the marquis of Jin send Xun Ying.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of king Jian.

2. An army of Zheng invaded Song.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, on Gengyin, [duke Cheng's] wife, the lady Jiang, died.

4. In the sixth month, on Gengchen, Gun, earl of Zheng, died.

5. An army of Jin, an army of Song, and Ning Zhi of Wey, made an incursion into Zheng.

6. In autumn, in the seventh month, Zhongsun Mie had a meeting with Xun Ying of Jin, Hua Yuan of Song, Sun Linfu of Wey, an officer of Cao, and an officer of Zhu, in Qi.

7. On Jichou, we buried our duchess, Qi Jiang.

8. Shusun Bao went to Song.

9. In winter, Zhongsun Mie had a meeting with Xun Ying of Jin, Cui Shu of Qi, Hua Yuan of Song, Sun Linfu of Wey, an officer of Cao, an officer of Zhu, an officer of Teng, an officer of Xue, and an officer of Little Zhu, in Qi, when they proceeded to wall Hulao.

10 Chu put to death its great officer, the Gongzi Shen.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, the Gongzi Yingqi of Chu led a force and invaded Wu.

2. The duke went to Jin.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Renxu, the duke and the marquis of Jin made a covenant in Changchu.

4. The duke arrived from Jin.

5. In the sixth month, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Shan, the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the viscount of Ju, the viscount of Zhu, and Guang, heir-son of Qi; and on Jiwei they made a covenant together at Jize.

6. The marquis of Chen sent Yuan Qiao to be present at the meeting.

7. On Wuyin, Shusun Bao, and the great officers of the various princes, made a covenant with Yuan Qiao of Chen.

8. In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.

9. In winter, Xun Ying of Jin led a force, and invaded Xu.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's third month, Wu, marquis of Chen, died.

2. In summer, Shusun Bao went to Jin.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Wuzi, [duke Cheng's] wife, the lady Si, died.

4. There was the burial of duke Cheng of Chen.

5. In the eighth month, on Xinhai, we buried our duchess, Ding Si.

6. In winter, the duke went to Jin.

7. A body of men from Chen laid siege to the capital of Dun.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In his fifth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Jin.

2. In summer, the earl of Zheng sent the Gongzi Fa to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

3. Shusun Bao and Wu, heir-son of Zeng, went to Jin.

4. Zhongsun Mie and Sun Linfu of Wey had a meeting with Wu at Shandao.

5. In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

6. Chu put to death its great officer, the Gongzi Renfu.

7. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Zheng, the earl of Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earl of Xue, Guang, heir-son of Qi, an officer of Wu, and an officer of Zeng, in Qi.

8. The duke arrived from the meeting.

9. In winter, we went to guard Chen.

10. The Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force, and invaded Chen.

11. The duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, and Guang, heir-son of Qi, in relieving Chen.

12. In the twelfth month, the duke arrived from the relief of Chen.

13. On Xinwei, Jisun Hangfu died.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Renwu, Gurong, earl of Qi, died.

2. In summer, Hua Ruo of Song came a fugitive to Lu.

3. In autumn, there was the burial of duke Huan of Qi.

4. The viscount of Teng came to Lu on a court-visit.

5. The people of Ju extinguished Zeng.

6. In winter, Shusun Bao went to Zhu.

7. Jisun Su went to Jin.

8. In the twelfth month, the marquis of Qi extinguished Lai.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, the viscount of Tan came to Lu on a court-visit.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a third time about the border sacrifice. The divination was adverse, and the victim was let go.

3. The viscount of Little Zhu came to Lu on a court-visit.

4. We walled Bi.

5. In autumn, Jisun Su went to Wey.

6. In the eighth month, there were locusts.

7. In winter, in the tenth month, the marquis of Wey sent Sun Linfu to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries; and on Renxu [the duke] made a covenant with him.

8. The Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force and besieged [the capital of] Chen.

9. In the twelfth month, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Chen, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, and the viscounts of Ju and Zhu, in Wei.

10. Kunwan earl of Zheng [set out] to go to the meeting; but before he had seen the [other] princes, on Bingxu, he died at Cao.

11. The marquis of Chen stole away [from the meeting] to Chen.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Jin.

2. In summer, there was the burial of duke Xi of Zheng.

3. A body of men from Zheng made an incursion into Cai, and captured duke [Zhuang's] son, Xie.

4. Jisun Su had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the earl of Zheng, an officer of Qi, an officer of Wey, and an officer of Zhu, in Xingqiu.

5. The duke arrived from Jin.

6. A body of men from Ju invaded our eastern borders.

7. In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

8. In winter, the Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force, and invaded Zheng.

9. The marquis of Jin sent Shi Gai to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

IX. NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, there was a fire in Song.

2. In summer, Jisun Su went to Jin.

3. In the fifth month, on Xinyou, duke [Xuan's] wife, Jiang, died.

4. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Guiwei, we buried our duchess Mu Jiang.

5. In winter, the duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, the viscount of Little Zhu, and Guang, heir-son of Qi, in invading Zheng. In the twelfth month, on Jihai, these princes made a covenant together in Xi.

6. The viscount of Chu invaded Zheng.

X. TENTH YEAR.

1. In his tenth year, in spring, the duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, the viscount of Little Zhu, and Guang, heir-son of Qi, in a meeting with Wu at Zha.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Jiawu, [Jin] went on [from the above meeting] to extinguish Biyang.

3. The duke arrived from the meeting.

4. The Gongzi Zhen of Chu, and the Gongsun Zhe of Zheng, led a force, and invaded Song.

5. An army of Jin invaded Qin.

6. In autumn, a body of men from Ju invaded our eastern borders.

7. The duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, the viscounts of Ju and Zhu, Guang, heir-son of Qi, the viscount of Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in invading Zheng.

8. In winter, some ruffians killed the Gongzis Fei and Fa, and the Gongsun Zhe, of Zheng.

9. We [sent troops] to guard Hulao.

10. The Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force to relieve Zheng.

11. The duke arrived from the invasion of Zheng.

XI. ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, we formed three armies.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, we divined a fourth time about the border sacrifice. The result was unfavourable, and the sacrifice was not offered.

3. The Gongsun Shezhi of Zheng led a force, and made an incursion into Song.

4. The duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, Guang, heir-son of Qi, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in invading Zheng.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jiwei, [the above princes] made a covenant together on the north of Bocheng.

6. The duke arrived from the invasion of Zheng.

7. The viscount of Chu and the earl of Zheng invaded Song.

8. The duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earl of Cao, Guang, heir-son of Qi, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in invading Zheng. There was a meeting in Xiaoyu.

9. The duke arrived from the meeting.

10. The people of Chu seized and held Liang Xiao, the messenger of Zheng.

11. In winter, a body of men from Qin invaded Jin.

XII. TWELFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, in the king's third month, a body of men from Ju invaded our eastern borders, and laid siege to Tai.

2. Jisun Su led a force and relieved Tai, after which he went on to enter Yun.

3. In summer, the marquis of Jin sent Shi Fang to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

4. In autumn, in the ninth month, Cheng, viscount of Wu, died.

5. In winter, the Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force, and made an incursion into Song.

6. The duke went to Jin.

XIII. THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. In his thirteenth year, in spring, the duke arrived from Jin.
2. In summer, we took Shi.
3. In autumn, in the ninth month, on Gengchen, Shen, viscount of Chu, died.
4. In winter, we walled Fang.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Jisun Su, and Shu Lao, along with Shi Gai of Jin, officers of Qi, Song, and Wey, the Gongsun Chai of Zheng, and officers of Cao, Ju, Zhu, Teng, Xue, Qi, and Little Zhu, had a meeting with Wu in Xiang.

2. In the second month, on Yiwei, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, Shusun Bao joined Xun Yan of Jin, officers of Qi and Song, Beigong Kuo of Wey, the Gongsun Chai of Zheng, and officers of Cao, Ju, Zhu, Teng, Xue, Qi, and Little Zhu, in invading Qin.

4. On Jiwei, the marquis of Wey left his State, and fled to Qi.

5. A body of men from Ju made a raid upon our eastern borders.

6. In autumn, the Gongzi Zhen of Chu led a force and invaded Wu.

7. In winter, Jisun Su had a meeting with Shi Gai of Jin, Hua Yue of Song, Sun Linfu of Wey, the Gongsun Chai of Zheng, and officers of Ju and Zhu, in Qi.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, the duke of Song sent Xiang Xu to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries; [and] in the second month, on Jihai, [the duke] made a covenant with him at Liu.

2. Xia of Liu met the king's bride in Qi.

3. In summer, the marquis of Qi invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Cheng. The duke went as far as Yu to relieve Cheng.

4. Jisun Su and Shusun Bao led a force and walled round the suburbs of Cheng.

5. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Dingsi, the sun was eclipsed.

6. A body of men from Zhu invaded our southern borders.

7. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Guihai, Zhou, marquis of Jin, died.

XVI. SIXTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of duke Dao of Jin.

2. In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the [new] marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, the viscounts of Zhu and Ju, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in Chouliang. On Wuyin [their] great officers made a covenant.

3. The people of Jin seized the viscounts of Ju and Zhu, and carried them back [to Jin].

4. The marquis of Qi invaded our northern borders.

5. In summer, the duke came from the meeting.

6. In the fifth month, on Jiazi, there was an earthquake.

7. Shu Lao joined the earl of Zheng, Xun Yan of Qi [Jin?], Ning Zhi of Wey, and an officer of Song, in invading Xu.

8. In autumn, the marquis of Qi invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Cheng.

9. We had a grand sacrifice for rain.

10. In winter, Shusun Bao went to Jin.

XVII. SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Gengwu, Keng, viscount of Zhu, died.

2. A body of men from Song invaded Chen.

3. In summer, Shi Mai of Wey led a force, and invaded Cao.

4. In autumn, the marquis of Qi invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Tao. Gao Hou of Qi invaded our northern borders, and laid siege to Fang.

5. In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

6. Hua Chen of Song fled from that State to Chen.

7. In winter, a body of men from Zhu invaded our southern borders.

XVIII. EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, [a representative of] the White Di came to Lu.

2. In summer, the people of Jin seized Shi Mai, the messenger of Wey.

3. In autumn, an army of Qi invaded our northern borders.

4. In winter, in the tenth month, the duke joined the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, and laid siege with them to [the capital] of Qi.

5. Fuchu, earl of Cao, died in the army.

6. The Gongzi Wu of Chu led a force and invaded Zheng.

XIX. NINETEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] nineteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the princes made a covenant in Zhuke.

2. The people of Jin seized and held the viscount of Zhu.

3. The duke arrived from the invasion of Qi.

4. We took the lands of Zhu as far as from the Kuo water.

5. Jisun Su went to Jin.

6. There was the burial of duke Cheng of Cao.

7. In summer, Sun Linfu of Wey led a force and invaded Qi.

8. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Xinmao, Huan, marquis of Qi, died.

9. Shi Gai of Jin led a force to make an invasion into Qi, and had arrived at Gu, when he heard of the death of the marquis, on which he returned.

10. In the eighth month, on Bingchen, Zhongsun Mie died.

11. Qi put to death its great officer, Gao Hou.

12. Zheng put to death its great officer, the Gongzi Jia.

13. In winter there was the burial of duke Ling of Qi.

14. We walled round our western suburbs.

15. Shusun Bao had a meeting with Shi Gai of Jin in Ke.

16. We walled Wucheng.

XX. TWENTIETH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twentieth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Xinhai, Zhongsun Su had a meeting with an officer of Ju, and made a covenant [with him] in Xiang.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, on Gengshen, the duke had a meeting with the marquises of Jin and Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, when they made a covenant in Chanyuan.

3. In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting.

4. Zhongsun Su led a force and invaded Zhu.

5. Cai put to death its great officer, duke [Zhuang's] son Xie. His brother, Lü, fled to Chu.

6. Huang, the younger brother of the marquis of Chen, fled from that State to Chu.

7. Shu Lao went to Qi.

8. In winter, in the tenth month, on Bingchen, the sun was eclipsed.

9. Jisun Su went to Song.

XXI. TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

1. In his Twenty-first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke went to Jin.

2. Shuqi of Zhu came a fugitive to Lu, with [the cities of] Qi and Lüqiu.

3. In summer, the duke arrived from Jin.

4. In autumn, Luan Ying of Jin fled from that State to Chu.

5. In the ninth month, on Gengxu, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

6. In winter, in the tenth month, on Gengchen, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

7. The earl of Cao came to the court of Lu.

8. The duke had a meeting with the marquises of Jin and Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, and the viscounts of Ju and Zhu, in Shangren.

XXII. TWENTY-SECOND YEAR.

1. In his twenty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke arrived from the meeting.

2. It was summer, the fourth month.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Xinyou, Shu Lao died.

4. In winter, the duke had a meeting with the marquises of Jin and Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, the viscounts of Ju and Zhu, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in Shasui.

5. The duke arrived from the meeting.

6. Chu put to death its great officer Zhuishu.

XXIII. TWENTY-THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Guiyou the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

2. In the third month, on Jisi, Gai, earl of Qi, died.

3. In summer, Biwo of Zhu came a fugitive to Lu.

4. There was the burial of duke Xiao of Qi.

5. Chen put to death its great officers, Qing Hu and Qing Yin.

6. Huang, the younger brother of the marquis of Chen, returned from Chu to Chen.

7. Luan Ying of Jin again entered Jin, and entered Quwo.

8. In autumn, the marquis of Qi invaded Wey, and took the opportunity to invade Jin.

9. In the eighth month, Shusun Bao led a force to relieve Jin, and halted at Yongyu.

10. On Jimao Zhongsun Su died.

11. In winter, in the tenth month, on Yihai, Zangsun He fled to Zhu.

12. The people of Jin put to death Luan Ying.

13. The marquis of Qi fell upon Ju by surprise.

XXIV. TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in spring, Shusun Bao went to Jin.

2. Zhongsun Jie led a force and made an incursion into Qi.

3. In summer, the viscount of Chu invaded Wu.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Jiazi, the first day of the moon, the sun was completely eclipsed.

5. Cui Shu of Qi led a force and invaded Ju.

6. There were great floods.

7. In the eighth month, on Guisi, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

8. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in Yiyi.

9. In winter, the viscount of Chu, the marquises of Cai and Chen, and the baron of Xu, invaded Zheng.

10. The duke arrived from the meeting [at Yiyi].

11. Qian Yijiu of Chen fled from that State to Chu.

12. Shusun Bao went to the capital.

13. There was a great famine.

XXV. TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, Cui Shu of Qi led a force and attacked our northern borders.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Yihai, Cui Shu of Qi murdered his ruler Guang.

3. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in Yiyi.

4. In the sixth month, on Renzi, Gongsun Shezhi of Zheng led a force, and entered [the capital of] Chen.

5. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jisi, the States made a covenant together in Chongqiu.

6. The duke arrived from the meeting.

7. The marquis of Wey entered into Yiyi.

8. Qu Jian of Chu led a force, and extinguished Shujiu.

9. In winter, Gongsun Xia of Zheng led a force, and invaded Chen.

10. In the twelfth month, E, viscount of Wu, invaded Chu, and died in an attack on one of the gates of Chao.

XXVI. TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Xinmao, Ning Xi of Wey murdered his ruler Piao.

2. Sun Linfu of Wey entered Qi, and held it in revolt.

3. On Jiawu, Kan, marquis of Wey, returned to his dignity in that State.

4. In summer, the marquis of Jin sent Xun Wu to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

5. The duke had a meeting with an officer of Jin, Liang Xiao of Zheng, an officer of Song, and an officer of Cao, in Chanyuan.

6. In autumn, the duke of Song put to death his heir-son Cuo.

7. The people of Jin seized and held prisoner Ning Xi of Wey.

8. In the eighth month, on Renwu, Ning, baron of Xu, died in Chu.

9. In winter, the viscount of Chu, the marquis of Cai, and the marquis of Chen, invaded Zheng.

10. There was the burial of duke Ling of Xu.

XXVII. TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-seventh year, in spring, the marquis of Qi sent Qing Feng to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

2. In summer, Shusun Bao had a meeting with Zhao Wu of Jin, Qu Jian of Chu, Gongsun Guisheng of Cai, Shi E of Wey, Kong Huan of Chen, Liang Xiao of Zheng, an officer of Xu, and an officer of Cao, in Song.

3. Wey put to death its great officer Ning Xi.

4. Zhuan, younger brother of the marquis of Wey, left the State, and fled to Jin.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Xinsi, Bao and the great officers of the States made a covenant in Song.

6. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yihai, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

XXVIII. TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, there was no ice.
2. In summer, Shi E of Wey fled from that State to Jin.
3. The viscount of Zhu came to the court of Lu.
4. In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
5. Zhongsun Jie went to Jin.
6. In winter Qing Feng of Qi came a fugitive to Lu.
7. In the eleventh month, the duke went to Chu.
8. In the twelfth month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.
9. On Yiwei, Zhao, viscount of Chu, died.

XXIX. TWENTY-NINTH YEAR.

1. In his twenty-ninth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Chu.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, the duke arrived from Chu.

3. On Gengwu, Kan, marquis of Wey, died.

4. A gate-keeper murdered Yuzhai, viscount of Wu.

5. Zhongsun Jie joined Xun Ying of Jin, Gao Zhi of Qi, Hua Ding of Song, Shishu Yi of Wey, Gongsun Duan of Zheng, and officers of Cao, Ju, Teng, Xue, and little Zhu, in walling [the capital of] Qi.

6. The marquis of Jin sent Shi Yang to Lu on a friendly mission.

7. The viscount of Qi came and made a covenant.

8. The viscount of Wu sent Zha to Lu on a friendly mission.

9. In autumn, in the ninth month, there was the burial of duke Xian of Wey.

10. Gao Zhi of Qi fled from that State to north Yan.

11. In winter, Zhongsun Jie went to Jin.

XXX. THIRTIETH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirtieth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the viscount of Chu sent Wei Pi to Lu on a mission of friendly inquiries.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, Ban, heir-son of Cai, murdered his ruler Gu.

3. In the fifth month, on Jiawu, there was a fire in [the palace of] Song, [in which] the eldest daughter [of our duke Cheng], [who had been married to duke Gong] of Song, died.

4. The king [by] Heaven's [grace] put to death his younger brother, Ningfu.

5. The king's son Xia fled to Jin.

6. In autumn, in the seventh month, Shu Gong went to the burial of Gong Ji of Song.

7. Liang Xiao of Zheng fled from that State to Xu. From Xu he entered [again] into [the capital of] Zheng, when the people of Zheng put him to death.

8. In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke Jing of Cai.

9. Officers of Jin, Qi, Song, Wey, Zheng, Cao, Ju, Zhu, Teng, Xue, Qi, and Little Zhu, had a meeting at Chanyuan, in consequence of the calamity of fire in Song.

XXXI. THIRTY-FIRST YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirty-first year, it was spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, on Xinsi, the duke died in the Chu palace.

3. In autumn, in the ninth month, on Guisi, the [duke's] son Ye died.

4. On Jihai, Zhongsun Jie died.

5. In winter, in the tenth month, the viscount of Teng came to be present at the [duke's] interment.

6. On Guiyou, we buried our ruler, duke Xiang.

7. In the eleventh month, the people of Ju murdered their ruler, Mizhou.

BOOK X. DUKE ZHAO.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

2. Shusun Bao had a meeting with Zhao Wu of Jin, the Gongzi Wei of Chu, Guo Ruo of Qi, Xiang Xu of Song, Qi E of Wey, the Gongzi Shao of Chen, the Gongsun Guisheng of Cai, Han Hu of Zheng, a minister of Xu, and a minister of Cao, in Guo.

3. In the third month, we took Yun.

4. In summer, Qian, younger brother of the earl of Qin, fled from that State to Jin.

5. In the sixth month, on Dingsi, Hua, viscount of Zhu, died.

6. Xun Wu of Jin led a force, and defeated the Di at Dalu.

7. In autumn, Quji of Ju entered into that State from Qi.

8. Zhanyu of Ju fled from that State to Wu.

9. Shu Gong led a force, and laid out the boundaries of the lands of Yun.

10. There was the burial of duke Dao of Zhu.

11. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Jiyou, Jun, viscount of Chu, died.

12. The Gongzi Bi of Chu fled from that State to Jin.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, the marquis of Jin sent Han Qi to Lu on a complimentary visit.

2. In summer, Shu Gong went to Jin.

3. In autumn, Zheng put to death its great officer, the Gongsun Hei.

4. In winter, the duke was going to Jin, but when he got to the He, he returned; and Jisun Su went to Jin.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Dingwei, Yuan, viscount of Teng, died.

2. In summer, Shu Gong went to Teng.

3. In the fifth month, there was the burial of duke Cheng of Teng.

4. In autumn, the viscount of Little Zhu came to the court [of Lu].

5. In the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

6. In winter there was a great fall of hail.

7. Kuan, earl of North Yan, fled from his State to Qi.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was a great fall of hail.

2. In summer, the viscount of Chu, the marquises of Cai and Chen, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, the viscounts of Xu, Teng, Dun, Hu, Shen, and Little Zhu, Zuo, heir-son of Song, and [the chiefs of] the wild tribes of the Huai, had a meeting in Shen.

3. The people seized and held the viscount of Xu.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, the viscount of Chu, the marquises of Cai and Chen, the baron of Xu, the viscounts of Dun, He, and Shen, aud [the chiefs of] the wild tribes of the Huai, invaded Wu.

5. They seized Qing Feng of Qi, and put him to death.

6. They then went on to extinguish Lai.

7. In the ninth month, we took Zeng.

8. In winter, in the twelfth month, on Yimao, Shusun Bao died.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's first month, we disbanded the army of the centre.

2. Chu put to death its great officer, Qu Shen.

3. The duke went to Jin.

4. In summer, Mouyi of Ju came a fugitive [to Lu], giving over to it [the cities of] Moulou, Fang, and Zi.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from Jin.

6. On Wuchen, Shu Gong led a force, and defeated an army of Ju at Fenquan.

7. The earl of Qin died.

8. In winter, the viscount of Chu, the marquises of Cai and Chen, the viscounts of Dun and Shen, an officer of Xu, and an officer of Yue, invaded Wu.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the duke's sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Yigu, earl of Qi, died.
2. There was the burial of duke Jing of Qin.
3. In summer, Jisun Su went to Jin.
4. There was the burial of duke Wen of Qi.
5. Hua Hebi of Song fled from that State to Wey.
6. In autumn, in the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.
7. Wei Pi of Chu led a force and invaded Wu.
8. In winter, Shu Gong went to Chu.
9. The marquis of Qi invaded North Yan.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, in the king's first month, [North Yan] made peace with Qi.

2. In the third month, the duke went to Chu.

3. Shusun She went to Qi to make a covenant.

4. In summer, in the fourth month, on Jiachen, the sun was eclipsed.

5. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Wuchen, Wu, marquis of Wey, died.

6. In the ninth month, the duke arrived from Chu.

7. In winter in the eleventh month, on Guiwei, Jisun Su died.

8. In the twelfth month, on Guihai, there was the burial of duke Ling of Wey.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, Shao, younger brother of the marquis of Chen, put to death Yanshi, heir-son of the State.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Xinchou, Ni, marquis of Chen, died.

3. Shu Gong went to Jin.

4. The people of Chu seized Gan Zhengshi, the messenger of Chen, and put him to death.

5. The Gongzi Liu of Chen fled from that State to Zheng.

6. In autumn, we held a review in Hong.

7. The people of Chen put to death its great officer, the Gongzi Guo.

8. There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

9. In winter, in the tenth month, on Renwu, an army of Chu extinguished Chen, seized the Gongzi Shao and banished him to Yue, and put to death Kong Huan.

10. There was the burial of duke Ai of Chen.

IX. NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, Shu Gong went to an interview with the viscount of Chu in Chen.

2. Xu removed [its capital] to Yi.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, there was a fire in [the capital of] Chen.

4. In autumn, Zhongsun Jue went to Qi.

5. In winter, we enclosed the park of Lang.

X. TENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] tenth year, it was spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, Luan Shi of Qi came to Lu a fugitive.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, Jisun Yiru, Shu Gong, and Zhongsun Jue, led [our] army and invaded Ju.

4. On Wuzi, Biao, marquis of Jin, died.

5. In the ninth month, Shusun Chuo went to Jin, to the burial of duke Ping.

6. In the twelfth month, on Jiazi, Cheng, duke of Song, died.

XI. ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, in the king's second month, Shu Gong went to Song, to the burial of duke Ping.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Dingsi, Qian, viscount of Chu, beguiled Ban, marquis of Cai, to Shen, and there put him to death.

3. The Gongzi Qiji of Chu led an army and laid siege to [the capital of] Cai.

4. In the fifth month, on Jiashen, the lady Gui, wife [of duke Xiang], died.

5. We celebrated a grand review in Bipu.

6. Zhongsun Jue had a meeting with the viscount of Zhu, when they made a covenant in Jinxiang.

7. In autumn, Jisun Yiru had a meeting with Han Qi of Jin, Guo Ruo of Qi, Hua Hai of Song, Beigong Tuo of Wey, Han Hu of Zheng, and officers of Cao and Qi, in Jueyin.

8. In the ninth month, on Jihai, we buried our duchess Qi Gui.

9. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Dingyou, the army of Chu extinguished Cai, seized You, heir-son of the State, and carried him back [to Chu], where he was sacrificed as a victim.

XII. TWELFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twelfth year, Gao Yan of Qi led a force, and replaced the earl of North Yan in Yang.

2. In the third month, on Renshen, Jia, earl of Zheng, died.

3. In summer, the duke of Song sent Hua Ding to Lu on a complimentary mission.

4. The duke was going to Jin; but when he got to the He, he returned.

5. In the fifth month, there was the burial of duke Jian of Zheng.

6. Chu put to death its great officer Cheng Xiong.

7. It was autumn, the seventh month.

8. In autumn, duke [Xiang's] son Yin fled from the State to Qi.

9. The viscount of Chu invaded Xu.

10. Jin invaded the Xianyu.

XIII. THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, Shu Gong led a force, and laid siege to Bi.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, the Gongzi Bi of Chu returned from Jin to Chu, and murdered his ruler Qian in Ganqi.

3. The Gongzi Qiji of Chu put to death the Gongzi Bi.

4. In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Liu, the marquises of Jin and Qi, the duke of Song, the marquis of Wey, the earls of Zheng and Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, and the viscount of Little Zhu, in Pingqiu.

5. In the eighth month, on Jiaxu, they made a covenant together in Pingqiu.

6. [But] the duke did not take part in the covenant.

7. The people of Jin seized Jisun Yiru, and took him back with them [to Jin].

8. The duke arrived from the meeting.

9. Lu, marquis of Cai returned to [the rule of] Cai, and Wu, marquis of Chen, to [the rule of] Chen.

10. In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke Ling of Cai.

11. The duke was going to Jin; but when he had got to the He, he returned.

12. Wu extinguished Zhoulai.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, Yiru arrived from Jin.
2. In the third month, Teng, earl of Cao, died.
3. It was summer, the fourth month.
4. In autumn, there was the burial of duke Wu of Cao.
5. In the eighth month, Quji, viscount of Ju, died.
6. In winter, Ju put to death the Gongzi, Yihui.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Yimei, viscount of Wu, died.

2. In the second month, on Guiyou, there was a sacrifice in the temple of duke Wu, when Shu Gong died as the flute-players were entering. The musicians were [consequently] sent away, and the sacrifice was finished [without them].

3. In summer, Zhao Wu of Cai fled from that State to Zheng.

4. In the 6th month, on Dingsi, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

5. In autumn, Xun Wu of Jin led a force and invaded Xianyu.

6. In winter, the duke went to Jin.

XVI. SIXTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, the marquis of Qi invaded Xu.

2. The viscount of Chu inveigled the viscount of the Manrong [into his power], and put him to death.

3. In summer, the duke arrived from Jin.

4. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jihai, Yi, marquis of Jin, died.

5. In the ninth month, we had a great sacrifice for rain.

6. Jisun Yiru went to Jin.

7. In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Zhao of Jin.

XVII. SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventeenth year, in spring, the viscount of Little Zhu came to Lu to court.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, on Jiaxu, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

3. In autumn, the viscount of Tan came to the court of Lu.

4. In the eighth month, Xun Wu of Jin led a force, and extinguished the Rong of Luhun.

5. In winter, there was a comet in Dachen.

6. A body of men from Chu fought a battle with Wu in Chang'an.

XVIII. EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighteenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, Xu, earl of Cao, died.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Renwu, the calamity of fire occurred in [the capitals of] Song, Wey, Chen, and Zheng.

3. In the sixth month, a body of men from Zhu entered Yu.

4. In autumn, there was the burial of duke Ping of Cao.

5. In winter, Xu removed [its capital] to Boyu.

XIX. NINETEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] nineteenth year, the duke of Song invaded Zhu.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Wuchen, Zhi, heir-son of Xu, murdered his ruler Mai.

3. On Jimao, there was an earthquake.

4. In autumn, Gao Fa of Qi led a force and invaded Ju.

5. In winter there was the burial of duke Dao of Xu.

XX. TWENTIETH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's]. twentieth year, it was spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, the Gongsun Hui of Cao fled from Meng to Song.

3. In autumn, some ruffians killed Zhi, the elder brother of the marquis of Wey.

4. In winter, in the tenth month, Hua Hai, Xiang Ning, and Hua Ding of Song fled from that State to Chen.

5. In the eleventh month, on Xinmao, Lu, marquis of Cai, died.

XXI. TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] Twenty-first year, in spring, in the king's third month, there was the burial of duke Ping of Cai.

2. In summer, the marquis of Jin sent Shi Yang to Lu on a complimentary mission.

3. Hua Hai, Xiang Ning, and Hua Ding of Song entered Nanli [in the capital] of that State from Chen, and held it in revolt.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Renwu, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

5. In the eighth month, on Yihai, Shu Zhe died.

6. In winter, Zhu, marquis of Cai, fled from that State to Chu.

7. The duke was going to Jin; but when he had got to the He, he returned.

XXII. TWENTY-SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-second year, in spring, the marquis of Qi invaded Ju.

2. Hua Hai, Xiang Ning, and Hua Ding of Song, fled from Nanli of that State to Chu.

3. We had a grand review in Changjian.

4. In summer, in the fourth month, on Yichou, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] died.

5. In the sixth month, Shu Yang went to the capital to the burial of king Jing.

6. The royal House was in confusion.

7. The viscounts of Liu and Shan, having with them the king Meng, took up their residence in Huang.

8. In autumn, the viscounts of Liu and Shan entered the royal city with the king Meng.

9. In winter, in the tenth month, the king's son Meng died.

10. In the twelfth month, on Guiyou, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

XXIII. TWENTY-THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-third year, in spring, in the king's first month, Shusun Chuo went to Jin.

2. On Guichou, Shu Yang died.

3. The people of Jin seized our internuncius, Shusun Chuo.

4. The troops of Jin laid siege to Jiao.

5. In summer, in the sixth month, Dongguo, marquis of Cai, died in Chu.

6. In autumn, in the seventh month, Gengyu, viscount of Ju, came a fugitive to Lu.

7. On Wuchen, Wu defeated the armies of Dun, Hu, Shen, Cai, Chen, and Xu at Jifu, when Kun, viscount of Hu, and Cheng, viscount of Shen, were killed, and Xia Nie of Chen was taken.

8. The king [by] Heaven's [grace] resided at Diquan, and the chief of the House of Yin raised king [King's] son Zhao to the throne.

9. In the eighth month, on Yiwei, there was an earthquake.

10. In winter, the duke was going to Jin; but when he arrived at the He, he fell ill and returned.

XXIV. TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Bingxu, Zhongsun Jue died.

2. Shusun Chuo arrived from Jin.

3. In summer, in the fifth month, on Yiwei, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

4. In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a great sacrifice for rain.

5. On Dingyou, Yuli, earl of Qi, died.

6. In winter, Wu extinguished Chao.

7. There was the burial of duke Ping of Qi.

XXV. TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-fifth year, in spring, Shusun Chuo went to Song.

2. In summer, Shu Yi had a meeting with Zhao Yang of Jin, Yue Daxin of Song, Beigong Xi of Wey, You Ji of Zheng, and officers of Cao, Zhu, Teng, Xue, and Little Zhu, in Huangfu.

3. Grackles came to Lu and built nests in trees.

4. In autumn, in the seventh month, on the first Xin day there was a great sacrifice for rain. On the last Xin day, we sacrificed for rain again.

5. In the ninth month, on Jihai, the duke retired to Qi. He halted at Yangzhou.

6. The marquis of Qi came to condole with the duke in Yejing.

7. In winter, in the tenth month, on Wuchen, Shusun Chuo died.

8. In the eleventh month, on Jihai, Zuo, duke of Song, died in Quji.

9. In the twelfth month, the marquis of Qi took Yun.

XXVI. TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, there was the burial of duke Yuan of Song.

2. In the third month, the duke arrived from Qi, and resided in Yun.

3. In summer, the duke laid siege to Cheng.

4. In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, the viscounts of Ju and Zhu, and the earl of Qi, when they made a covenant in Zhuanling.

5. The duke arrived from the meeting, and resided in Yun.

6. In the ninth month, on Gengshen, Ju, viscount of Chu, died.

7. In winter, in the tenth month, the king [by] Heaven's [grace] entered Chengzhou.

8. The chief of the House of Yin, and the earls of Shao and Mao, fled to Chu, having with them the [late] king's son Zhao.

XXVII. TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-seventh year, he went to Qi. He arrived from Qi. and resided in Yun.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, Wu murdered its ruler, Liao.

3. Chu put to death its great officer, Xi Yuan.

4. In autumn, Shi Yang of Jin, Yue Qili of Song, Beigong Xi of Wey, and officers of Cao, Zhu, and Teng, had a meeting in Hu.

5. In winter, in the tenth month, Wu, earl of Cao, died.

6. Kuai of Zhu came a fugitive to Lu.

7. The duke went to Qi.

8. The duke arrived from Qi, and resided in Yun.

XXVIII. TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-eighth year, in spring, in the king's third month, there was the burial of duke Dao of Cao.

2. The duke went to Jin. He halted in Ganhou.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Bingxu, Ning, earl of Zheng, died.

4. In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Ding of Zheng.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Guisi, Ning, viscount of Teng, died.

6. In winter, there was the burial of duke Dao of Teng.

XXIX. TWENTY-NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twenty-ninth year, he came from Ganhou, and resided in Yun. The marquis of Qi sent Gao Zhang there to condole with him.

2. The duke went to Jin, and halted in Ganhou.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Gengzi, Shu Yi died.

4. It was autumn, the ninth month.

5. In winter, in the tenth month, [the people] of Yun dispersed.

XXX. THIRTIETH YEAR.

1. In his thirtieth year, in spring, in the king’s first month, the duke was in Ganhou.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, Quji, marquis of Jin, died.

3. In autumn, in the eighth month, there was the burial of duke Qing of Jin.

4. In winter, in the twelfth month, Wu extinguished Xu, and Zhangyu, viscount of Xu, fled to Chu.

XXXI. THIRTY-FIRST YEAR.

1. In his thirty-first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Ganhou.

2. Jisun Yiru, had a meeting with Xun Li of Jin in Dili.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Dingsi, Gu, earl of Xue, died.

4. The marquis of Jin sent Xun Li to condole with the duke in Ganhou.

5. In autumn, there was the burial of duke Xian of Xue.

6. In winter Heigong came a fugitive to Lu with [the city of] Lan.

7. In the twelfth month, on Xinhai, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

XXXII. THIRTY-SECOND YEAR.

1. In his thirty-second year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke was in Ganhou. He took Kan.

2. In summer, Wu invaded Yue.

3. It was autumn, the seventh month.

4. In winter, Zhongsun Heji joined Han Buxin of Jin, Gao Zhang of Qi, Zhong Ji of Song, Shishu Shen of Wey, Guo Can of Zheng, and officers of Cao, Ju, Xue, Qi, and Little Zhu, in walling Chengzhou.

5. In the twelfth month, on Jiwei, the duke died in Ganhou.

BOOK XI. DUKE DING.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] first year, in spring, in the king's third month, the people of Jin seized Zhong Ji of Song in the capital.

2. In summer, in the sixth month, on Guihai, the coffin of duke [Zhao] arrived from Ganhou. On Wuchen the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

3. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Guisi, we buried our ruler, duke Zhao.

4. In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain 5. We set up a temple to duke Yang.

6. In winter, in the tenth month, there fell hoarfrost, which killed the pulse.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, it was the spring, the king's first month.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Renchen, the south gate of the palace, and the two side towers caught fire.

3. In autumn, a body of men from Chu invaded Wu.

4. In winter, in the tenth month, we made anew the south gate of the palace, and its two side towers.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In the duke’s third year, in spring, in the king’s first month, he was going to Jin; but when he got to the He, he returned.

2. In the second month, on Xinmao, Chuan, viscount of Zhu, died.

3. It was summer, the fourth month.

4. In autumn, there was the burial of duke Zhuang of Zhu.

5. In winter, Zhongsun Heji and the viscount of Zhu made a covenant in Ba.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In the duke's fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, Wu, marquis of Chen, died.

2. In the third month, the duke had a meeting with the viscount of Liu, the marquis of Jin, the duke of Song, the marquises of Cai and Wey, the [heir-] son of Chen, the earl of Zheng, the baron of Xu, the earl of Cao, the viscounts of Ju, Zhu, Dun, Hu, and Teng, the earls of Xue and Qi, the viscount of little Zhu, and Guo Xia of Qi, in Shaoling, when they made an incursion into Chu.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Gengchen, the Gongsun Sheng of Cai led a force and extinguished Shen, carrying back with him Jia, the viscount of Shen, whom he then put to death.

4. In the fifth month, the duke and the above princes made a covenant in Gaoyou.

5. Cheng, earl of Qi, died during the meeting.

6. In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Hui of Chen.

7. Xu removed [its capital] to Rongcheng.

8. In autumn, in the seventh month, the duke arrived from the meeting.

9. Juan of Liu died.

10. There was the burial of duke Dao of Qi.

11. A body of men from Chu laid siege to [the capital of] Cai.

12. Shi Yang of Jin and Kong Yu of Wey led a force, and invaded Xianyu.

13. There was the burial of duke Wen of Liu.

14. In winter, in the eleventh month, on Gengwu, the marquis of Cai and the viscount of Wu fought with an army of Chu in Boju, when the army of Chu was disgracefully defeated. Nang Wa of Chu fled from that State to Zheng.

15. On Gengchen, Wu entered Ying.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, in the king's third month, on Xinhai, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

2. In summer, we sent grain to Cai.

3. Yuyue entered Wu.

4. Jisun Yiru died.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Renzi, Shusun Bugan died.

6. In winter, Shi Yang of Jin led a force, and laid siege to [the chief town of] Xianyu.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Guihai, You Su of Zheng, at the head of a force, extinguished Xu, and carried Si, baron of Xu, back with him to Zheng.
2. In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Zheng.
3. The duke arrived from the incursion into Zheng.
4. In summer, Jisun Si and Zhongsun Heji went to Jin.
5. In autumn, the people of Jin seized Yue Qili, the messenger of Song.
6. In winter, we walled Zhongcheng.
7. Jisun Si and Zhongsun Ji led a force, and laid siege to Yun.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventh year, it was the spring, the king's first month.

2. It was summer, the fourth month.

3. In autumn, the marquis of Qi and the earl of Zheng made a covenant in Xian.

4. The people of Qi seized Beigong Jie, the messenger of Wey, and proceeded to make an incursion into that State.

5. The marquises of Qi and Wey made a covenant in Suo.

6. There was a grand sacrifice for rain.

7. Guo Xia of Qi led a force and invaded our western border.

8. In the ninth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

9. It was winter, the tenth month.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In his eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke made an incursion into Qi.

2. The duke arrived from the incursion into Qi.

3. In the second month, the duke made an incursion into Qi.

4. In the third month, the duke arrived from the incursion into Qi.

5. Lu, earl of Cao, died.

6. In summer, Guo Xia of Qi led a force, and invaded our western border.

7. The duke had a meeting with an army of Jin in Wa.

8. The duke arrived from Wa.

9. In autumn, in the ninth month, on Wechen, Liu, marquis of Chen, died.

10. Shi Yang of Jin led a force, and made an incursion into Zheng, going on to make one into Wey.

11. There was the burial of duke Jing of Cao.

12. In the ninth month, there was the burial of duke Huai of Chen.

13. Jisun Si and Zhongsun Heji led a force, and made an incursion into Wey.

14. In winter, the marquis of Wey and the earl of Zheng made a covenant in Qupu.

15. We sacrificed to the former dukes according to their proper order.

16. A robber stole the precious [symbol of] jade and the great bow.

IX. NINTH YEAR.

1. It was [the duke's] ninth year, the spring, the king's first month.
2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Wushen, Chai, earl of Zheng, died.
3. We got [again] the precious [symbol of] jade and the great bow.
4. In the sixth month, there was the burial of duke Xian of Zheng.
5. In autumn, the marquises of Qi and Wey halted at Wushi.
6. The earl of Qin died.
7. In winter, there was the burial of duke Ai of Qin.

X. TENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's third month, we made peace with Qi.

2. In summer, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi at Jiagu.

3. The duke came from Jiagu.

4. Zhao Yang of Jin led a force, and laid siege to [the capital of] Wey.

5. An officer came from Qi and restored [to us] Yun, Huan, and the lands of Guiyin.

6. Shusun Zhouqiu and Zhongsun Heji led a force, and laid siege to Hou.

7. In autumn, Shusun Zhouqiu and Zhongsun Heji led a force, and laid siege to Hou.

8. Yue Daxin of Song fled from that State to Cao.

9. The Gongzi Di of Song fled from that State to Chen.

10. In winter, the marquises of Qi and Wey, and You Su of Zheng, had a meeting in Anfu.

11. Shusun Zhouqiu went to Qi.

12. Chen, a younger brother of the duke of Song, with Zhong Tuo and Shi Kou, fled from that State to Chen.

XI. ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, Chen, younger brother of the duke of Song, with Zhong Tuo, Shi Kou, and the Gongzi Di, [returning] from Chen, entered Xiao, and held it in revolt.

2. It was summer, the fourth month.

3. In autumn, Yue Daxin entered Xiao from Cao.

4. In winter, we made peace with Zheng, and Shu Xuan proceeded thither to make a covenant.

XII. TWELFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, Ding, earl of Xue, died.

2. In summer, there was the burial of duke Xiang of Xue.

3. Shusun Zhouqiu led a force, and pulled down the walls of Hou.

4. Gongmeng Kou of Wey led a force, and invaded Cao.

5. Jisun Si and Zhongsun Heji led a force, and pulled down the walls of Bi.

6. In autumn, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

7. In winter, in the tenth month, on Guihai, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, when they made a covenant in Huang.

8. In the eleventh month, on Bingyin, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

9. The duke arrived from Huang.

10. In the twelfth month, the duke laid siege to Cheng.

11. The duke arrived from besieging Cheng.

XIII. THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirteenth year, in spring, the marquises of Qi and Wey halted at Chuijia.

2. In summer, we enclosed the park of Sheyuan.

3. There was a grand review at Bipu.

4. Gongmeng Kou of Wey led a force and invaded Cao.

5. In autumn, Zhao Yang of Jin entered into Jinyang, and held it in revolt.

6. In winter, Xun Yin and Shi Jishe of Jin entered into Zhaoge and held it in revolt.

7. Zhao Yang of Jin returned to [the capital of] that State.

8. Xue murdered its ruler Bi.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, Gongshu Shu of Wey came a fugitive to Lu.

2. Zhao Yang of Wey fled from that State to Song.

3. In the second month, the Gongzi Jie of Chu, and the Gongsun Tuoren of Chen, led a force and extinguished Dun, carrying Zang, the viscount of Dun, back with them [to Chu.]

4. In summer, Beigong Jie of Wey came a fugitive to Lu.

5. In the fifth month, Yuyue defeated Wu at Zuili.

6. Guang, viscount of Wu, died.

7. The duke had a meeting with the marquises of Qi and Wey in Qian.

8. The duke arrived from the meeting.

9. In autumn, the marquis of Qi and the duke of Song had a meeting in Tao.

10. The king [by] Heaven's [grace] sent Shi Shang to Lu with a present of the flesh of sacrifice.

11. Kuaikui, heir-son of Wey, fled from that State to Song.

12. Gongmeng Kou of Wey fled from that State to Zheng.

13. Chen, younger brother of the duke of Song, came a fugitive to Lu from Xiao.

14. There was a grand review in Bipu.

15. The viscount of Zhu came and had a meeting with the duke.

16. We walled Jufu and Xiao.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the viscount of Zhu came to Lu on a court visit.

2. Field mice ate at the ox for the border sacrifice, so that it died; and another was divined for.

3. In the second month, on Xinchou, the viscount of Chu extinguished Hu, and carried Bao, viscount of Hu, back with him to Chu.

4. In summer, in the fifth month, on Xinhai, we offered the border sacrifice.

5. On Renshen, the duke died in the high chamber.

6. Han Da of Zheng led a force, and invaded Song.

7. The marquises of Qi and Wey halted at Quchu.

8. The viscount of Zhu came hurrying to the [ceremonies consequent on the duke's] death.

9. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Renshen, the lady Si died.

10. In the eighth month, on Gengchen, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

11. In the ninth month, the viscount of Teng came to be present at the [duke's] funeral.

12. On Dingsi there should have been the interment of our ruler duke Ding; [but] the rain came down, so that it could not be carried out. On Wuwu, in the afternoon, it was done.

13. On Xinsi, there was the burial of Ding Si.

14. In winter, we walled Qi.

BOOK XII. DUKE AI.

I. FIRST YEAR.

1. In his first year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke came to the [vacant] seat.

2. The viscount of Chu, the marquises of Chen and Sui, and the baron of Xu, laid siege to [the capital of] Cai.

3. Field-mice ate at the ox for the border sacrifice, so that it died; and another was divined for.

4. In summer, in the fourth month, on Xinsi, we offered the border sacrifice.

5. In autumn, the marquises of Qi and Wey invaded Jin.

6. In winter, Zhongsun Heji led a force and invaded Zhu.

II. SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] second year, in spring, in the king's second month, Jisun Si, Shusun Zhouqiu, and Zhongsun Heji, led a force and invaded Zhu. They took the lands east of the Kuo, and those west of the Yi.

2. On Guisi, Shusun Zhouqiu and Zhongsun Heji made a covenant with the viscount of Zhu at Gouyi.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Bingzi, Yuan, marquis of Wey, died.

4. The viscount of Teng came on a court visit to Lu.

5. Zhao Yang of Jin led a force, and placed Kuaikui, heir-son of Wey, in Qi.

6. In autumn, in the eighth month, on Jiaxu, Zhao Yang of Jin led a force, and fought with a force under Han Da of Zheng at Tie, when the army of Zheng was shamefully defeated.

7. In winter, in the tenth month, there was the burial of duke Ling of Wey.

8. In the eleventh month, Cai removed [its capital] to Zhoulai.

9. Cai put to death its great officer, the Gongzi Si.

III. THIRD YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] third year, in spring, Guo Xia of Qi and Shi Mangu of Wey led a force, and laid siege to Qi.

2. In summer, in the fourth month, on Jiawu, there was an earthquake.

3. In the fifth month, on Xinmao, the temples of [dukes] Huan and Xi were burned.

4. Jisun Si and Shusun Zhouqiu led a force, and walled Qiyang.

5. Yue Kun of Song led a force, and invaded Cao.

6. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Bingzi, Jisun Si died.

7. The people of Cai banished their great officer Gongsun Lie to Wu.

8. In winter, in the tenth month, on Guimao, the earl of Qin died.

9. Shusun Zhouqiu and Zhongsun Heji led a force, and laid siege to [the capital of] Zhu.

IV. FOURTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourth year, in spring, in the king's second month, on Gengxu, a ruffian killed Shen, marquis of Cai.

2. Gongsun Chen of Cai fled from that State to Wu.

3. There was the burial of duke Hui of Qin.

4. An officer of Song seized the viscount of Little Zhu.

5. In summer, Cai put to death its great officers, Gongsun Sheng and Gongsun Huo.

6. An officer of Jin seized Chi, viscount of the Man Rong, and sent him to Chu.

7. We walled our outer suburbs on the west.

8. In the sixth month, on Xinchou, the altar of Bo was burned.

9. In autumn, in the eighth month, Jie, viscount of Teng, died.

10. In winter, in the twelfth month, there was the burial of duke Zhao of Cai.

11. There was the burial of duke Qing of Teng.

V. FIFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifth year, in spring, we walled Pi.
2. In summer, the marquis of Qi invaded Song.
3. Zhao Yang of Jin, at the head of a force, invaded Wey.
4. In autumn, in the ninth month, on Guiyou, Chujiu, marquis of Qi, died.
5. In winter, Shu Xuan went to Qi.
6. In the intercalary month, there was the burial of duke Jing of Qi.

VI. SIXTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixth year, in spring, we walled Zhuxia.
2. Zhao Yang of Jin, at the head of a force, invaded Xianyu.
3. Wu invaded Chen.
4. In summer, Guo Xia and Gao Zhang of Qi came fugitives to Lu.
5. Shu Xuan had a meeting with Wu at Zha.
6. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Gengyin, Zhen, viscount of Chu, died.
7. Yangsheng of Qi entered [the capital of] that State.
8. Chen Qi of Qi murdered his ruler Tu.]
9. In winter, Zhongsun Heji, at the head of a force, invaded Zhu.
10. Xiang Chao of Song, at the head of a force, invaded Cao.

VII. SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] seventh year, in spring, Huang Yuan of Song made an incursion, with a force, into Zheng.

2. Wei Manduo of Jin made an incursion, with a force, into Wey.

3. In summer, the duke had a meeting with Wu in Zeng.

4. In autumn, the duke invaded Zhu. In the eighth month, on Jiyou, he entered [the capital of] that State, and brought Yi, viscount of Zhu, back with him to Lu.

5. A body of men from Song laid siege to [the capital of] Cao.

6. In winter, Si Hong of Zheng led a force to relieve Cao.

VIII. EIGHTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eighth year, in spring, in the king's first month, the duke of Song entered [the capital of] Cao, and carried Yang, earl of Cao, back with him to Song.

2. Wu invaded us.

3. In summer, a body of men from Qi took Huan and Chan.

4. We sent back Yi, viscount of Zhu, to his State.

5. It was autumn, the seventh month.

6. In winter, in the twelfth month, Guo, earl of Qi, died.

7. The people of Qi returned Huan and Chan.

IX. NINTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] ninth year, in spring, in the king's second month, there was the burial of duke Xi of Qi.

2. Huang Yuan of Song led a force and captured an army of Zheng at Yongqiu.

3. In summer, a body of men from Chu invaded Chen.

4. In autumn, the duke of Song invaded Zheng.

5. It was winter, the tenth month.

X. TENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] tenth year, in spring, in the king's second month, Yi, viscount of Zhu, came a fugitive to Lu.

2. The duke joined Wu in invading Qi.

3. In the third month, on Wuxu, Yangsheng, marquis of Qi, died.

4. In summer, a body of men from Song invaded Zheng.

5. Zhao Yang of Jin led a force, and made an incursion into Qi.

6. In the fifth month, the duke arrived from the invasion of Qi.

7. There was the burial of duke Dao of Qi.

8. Gongmeng Kou of Wey returned from Qi to Wey.

9 .Yi, earl of Xue, died.

10. In autumn, there was the burial of duke Hui of Xue.

11. In winter, the Gongzi Jie of Chu led a force and invaded Chen, when Wu went to the relief of Chen.

XI. ELEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] eleventh year, in spring, Guo Shu of Qi led a force, and invaded us.

2. In summer, Yuan Po of Chen fled from that State to Zheng.

3. In the fifth month, the duke joined Wu in invading Qi.

4. On Jiaxu, Guo Shu of Qi, at the head of a force, fought with Wu at Yiling, when the army of Qi was disgracefully defeated and Guo Shu taken.

5. In autumn, in the seventh month, on Xinyou, Yuwu viscount of Teng, died.

6. In winter, in the eleventh month, there was the burial of duke Yin of Teng.

7. Shishu Qi of Wey fled from that State to Song.

XII. TWELFTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] twelfth year, in spring, he imposed a tax upon the lands.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, on Jiachen, Meng Zi died.

3. The duke had a meeting with Wu in Tuogao.

4. In autumn, the duke had a meeting with the marquis of Wey and Huang Yuan of Song in Yun.

5. Xiang Chao of Song led a force, and invaded Zheng.

6. In winter, in the twelfth month, there were locusts.

XIII. THIRTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] thirteenth year, Han Da of Zheng, at the head of a force, captured the army of Song at Yan.

2. In summer, Cheng, baron of Xu, died.

3. The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Jin and the viscount of Wu at Huangchi.

4. The Gongzi Shen of Chu led a force and invaded Chen.

5. Yuyue entered [the capital of] Wu.

6. In autumn, the duke arrived from the meeting at Huangchi.

7. Wei Manduo of Jin, at the head of a force, made an incursion into Wey.

8. There was the burial of duke Yuan of Xu.

9. In the ninth month, there were locusts.

10. In winter, in the eleventh month, a comet was seen in the east.

11. A ruffian killed Xia Koufu of Chen.

12. In the twelfth month, there were locusts.

XIV. FOURTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fourteenth year, in spring, [some] hunters in the west capturod a lin.

SUPPLEMENT OF ZUOSHI.

2. Yi of Little Zhu came a fugitive to Lu, transferring to it [the city of] Gouyi.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, Chen Heng seized his ruler, and placed him in Shuzhou.

4. On Gengxu, Shu Xuan died.

5. In the fifth month, on Gengshen, the first day of the moon, the sun was eclipsed.

6. Zong Shu of Chen fled from that State to Chu.

7. Xiang Tui of Song entered Cao, and held it in revolt.

8. Qing, viscount of Ju, died.

9. In the sixth month, Xiang Tui of Song fled from Cao to Wey; and Xiang Chao of Song came a fugitive to Lu.

10. The people of Qi murdered their ruler Ren in Shuzhou.

11. In autumn, Zhao Yang of Jin led a force, and invaded Wey.

12. In the eighth month, on Xinchou, Zhongsun Heji died.

13. In winter, Zong Shu of Chen entered Chen again from Chu, and the people of Chen put him to death.

14. Yuan Mai of Chen fled from that State to Chu.

15. There was a comet.

16. There was famine.

XV. FIFTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] fifteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, Cheng revolted.

2. In summer, in the fifth month, Gao Wupi of Qi fled from that State to North Yan.

3. The earl of Zheng invaded Song.

4. In autumn, in the eighth month, there was a grand sacrifice for rain.

5. Zhao Yang of Jin led a force and invaded Wey.

6. In winter, the marquis of Jin invaded Zheng.

7. We made peace with Qi.

8. Gongmeng Kou of Wey fled from that State to Qi.

XVI. SIXTEENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] sixteenth year, in spring, in the king's first month, on Jimao, Kuaikui, heir-son of Wey, entered the capital from Qi, and Zhe, marquis of Wey, came to Lu a fugitive.

2. In the second month, Zixuan Cheng of Wey fled from that State to Song.

3. In summer, in the fourth month, on Jichou, Kong Qiu died.

XVII. SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

1 ‘In the [duke’s] 17th year, the marquis of Wey made a tent adorned with paintings of tigers in his own peculiar garden; and when it was finished, he sought for men of the best reputation, to feast with them in it at its opening. The heir-son [Ji] begged him to get Liangfu to be present. That officer came in the carriage of a minister of the 2d degree, with 2 horses; and in a purple robe, with a jacket of fox-fur over it. On his arrival, he threw open the fox-fur, but did not take off his sword. The heir-son ordered him to be dragged away, set forth to him his 3 offences, and put him to death.’

2 ‘In the 3d month, the viscount of Yue invaded Wu, and was met by the viscount of Wu at the marsh of Li. Their forces were drawn up over against each other on either side of the water. The viscount of Yue formed two bodies in files of five on his left and right, and made them during the night, with a noise of drums, advance now on the right and now on the left. The army of Wu divided to meet them, on which the viscount of Yue stole through the water, right against the centre of that of Wu, which was thrown into great confusion, and defeated.’

3 ‘Zhao Yang of Jin sent a message to the marquis of Wey, saying, “When your lordship was in Jin, I (was a name of Yang) was your host. I beg you or your eldest son now to come [to Jin], that I may escape being incriminated. If you do not do so, my ruler will say that your not coming is my doing.” The marquis of Wey declined to go to Jin on the ground of the difficulties in which he was, and his eldest son made representations injurious to him. In summer, in the 6th month, Zhao Yang laid siege to the capital of Wey, to the relief of which came Guo Guan and Chen Guan of Qi. An officer of Jin, who had come with a challenge to battle, having been made prisoner, Ziyu (Chen Guan) caused him to be clothed in his proper dress, and then went to see him. “Guozi,” said he to the prisoner, “has the govt. of Qi in his hands, and he ordered me not to avoid the army of Jin. How should I presume to disobey his command? and why should your leader take the trouble to send a challenge?” Jianzi said, “I consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking Wey, and not about fighting with Qi;” and on this he withdrew.’

4 ‘During the troubles of Chu caused by the duke of Bai, the people of Chen, relying on their accumulated stores, made an incursion into it. When the State was tranquillized, it was resolved to carry off the wheat crop of Chen, and the viscount consulted the grand-tutor Zigu, and Zhuliang duke of She, about a leader for the expedition. Zigu said, “Chaiju, commander of the Right, and Lao, historiographer of the Left, both attended the chief minister and the marshal in a

former attack of Chen; they may be employed now." Zigao said, "When the leaders are of low rank, the people despise them. I am afraid the orders of those officers will not be obeyed." Zigu replied, "Guan Dingfu was a captive of Ruo; but our king Wu employed him as the general of the army, and thence came the conquest of Zhou and Liao, the subjugation of Sui and Tang, and a great opening up of all the Man tribes. Peng Zhongshuang was a captive of Shen; but our king Wen employed him as his chief minister, and he made Shen and Xi districts of our State. The bringing Chen and Cai to our court, and the enlargement of our boundaries to the Ru, were his achievements. What has lowness of rank to do in this matter?" Zigao rejoined. "The decree of Heaven does not waver. The [late] chief minister had ground of indignation with Chen. If Heaven be [now] minded to destroy it, the work will be assigned to the chief minister's son. Why should the ruler not pass over those officers? I am afraid that the commander of the Right and the historiographer of the Left have the lowness of rank of the two captives [you have mentioned], without their excellent virtue." The king consulted the tortoise-shell, which indicated that the choice of the commandant of Wucheng would be fortunate (He was the son of Zixi, the late chief-minister). He was sent therefore with a force to carry off the wheat crop of Chen. The people of that State withstood him, and were defeated, on which he laid siege to its capital city. In autumn, in the 7th month, on Jimao, he, the Gongsun Zhao of Chu, — at the head of his force, extinguished Chen (See the Zhuan on X. ix. 3).

'The king and the duke of She consulted the tortoise-shell about Ziliang, whether he should be appointed chief minister. Zhu, commandant of Shen, said, "The indication is that the appointment will be fortunate, but that he will go beyond your expectations." "A son of our [former] king and prime-minister, if he go beyond our expectations, what will he proceed to?" said the duke. Shortly after, they consulted the shell about Ziguo, and appointed him chief-minister

5 'The marquis of Wey dreamt in the north palace, that he saw a man mounting the tower of Kunwu. His hair was dishevelled; and with his face to the north, he cried out, saying,

"I mount here in the old site of Kunwu;
The gourds are only commencing their growth.
I am Hun Liangfu;
I appeal to Heaven in assertion of my innocence."

The marquis himself consulted the reeds about the dream, and Xu Mishe interpreted the result to the effect that there was no harm in it, on which a city was given to him, which he left, making his escape to Song. The marquis again consulted the tortoise-shell, the interpretation of the indications of which was,

"He is like a fish with a red tail,

Tossed crosswise, and driven to the side.
Far from the great State,
He will be extinguished and flee.
His gate and all his openings shut,
He will get over behind."'

In winter, in the 10th month, Jin again invaded Wey, and entered its outer suburbs. When the army was about to enter the capital, Jianzi said, "Let us stop. Shuxiang said that he who took advantage of its disorder to extinguish a State would have no posterity." The people of Wey then drove out duke Zhuang, and made peace with Jin, which raised Banshi, a grandson of duke Xiang, to be marquis, and then withdrew its army. In the 11th month, the [expelled] marquis again entered the capital from Juan, and Banshi fled.

'Before this, duke [Zhuang] had been [on one occasion] taking a view from the city-wall, and observed [the place called] Rongzhou. Having inquired about it, and been told [its name], he said "Our surname is Ji. What have any Rong to do here?" and he proceeded to plunder the place.

'He had employed the workmen for a long time, and wished to expel Shi Pu; but before he could do so, an insurrection broke out, and on Xinsi, Shi Pu, supported by the workmen, attacked him. He shut his gate, and begged for terms, which were refused him; and in getting over the wall on the north, he fell and broke his thigh, when the men of Rongzhou attacked him. His sons Ji and Qing got over it after him, and were killed by them. He then entered the house of Ji of Rongzhou.

'Before this, he had seen, from the wall of the city, the wife of this Ji, how beautiful her hair was, and had caused it to be cut off, to make a wig for [his wife] Lüjiang. When he now entered Ji's house, he showed him a bi, saying, "If you save my life, I will give you this bi." Ji said, "If I kill you, where will the bi go to?" On which he killed him, and took the bi. The people of Wey recalled Gongsun Banshi and made him marquis.

'In the 12th month, a body of men from Qi invaded Wey, the people of which begged for peace. The invaders raised the Gongzi Qi to the marquisate, carried Banshi back with them, and placed him in Lu.'

6 'The duke had a meeting with the marquis of Qi, and made a covenant in Meng. Meng Wubo was with the duke as director of the ceremonies. The marquis bowed with his head to the ground, but the duke only bowed, on which the people of Qi were angry; but Wubo said, "Only to the son of Heaven does our ruler bow with his head to the ground." Wubo asked Gao Chai who held the bull's ear when princes were covenanting, and was answered, "At the affair of

Zengyan, the Gongzi Gucao of Wu held it (See VII. 3); at the affair of Fayang (XII. 4), Shi Tui of Wey did it." Wubo said, "Then, I may do it now."'

7 'Jun, the son of Huang Yuan of Song, had a friend called Tian Bing, to whom he gave the city of his elder brother Chanban, taking it away from the latter. Chanban went away in indignation, and told Ziyi Ke, an officer of the marshal Huan of it. On this Ke went to Song, and told the duchess that Jun was going to restore Huanshi. The duke asked Zizhong about the matter.

'Now Zizhong had wished, before this, to appoint Feiwo, his son by Qisi, his successor, but Jun had said that he must appoint Feiwo's elder brother, as being a man of good ability. Zizhong was angry, and did not follow the advice; and now he replied to the duke, "The master of the Right is too old for such a thing; but I do not know about Jun." The duke on this seized Jun, and Huang Yuan fled to Jin, from which the duke recalled him'.

XVIII. EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

1. ‘In the [duke’s] eighteenth year, in spring, Song put to death Huang Yuan. When the duke heard all the circumstances [of the case], he recalled the various members of the Huang clan, and made Huang Huan master of the Right.’

2. ‘A body of men from Ba invaded Chu, and laid siege to You. Formerly, when the tortoise-shell was consulted about Ziguo’s being made marshal of the Right, Guan Zhan said, ‘He will answer to your wishes;’ and he was appointed. Accordingly, when the army of Ba now entered the country, it was proposed to consult the tortoise-shell about a leader to oppose it; but the king said, “It was intimated that Ning would succeed according to our wishes. Why should we divine any further?” He was therefore sent with a force against the invaders. He requested assistant-commanders; and the king said, “The officer of the bed-chamber and the officer of Works did good service to my predecessor (See on XI. iv. 15).” Accordingly, in the 3d month, the Gongsun Ning, Wu Youyu, and Wei Gu defeated the army of Ba at You, in consequence of which Ziguo was invested with Xi. The superior man will say that king Hui knew his mind. In him was an illustration of what is said in one of the Books of Xia (Shu, II. ii. 18), “The officer of divination, when the mind is made up on a subject, then refers it to the great tortoise.” In the History it is said, “A sage does not trouble the tortoise-shell and reeds.” So it was with king Hui.’

3. ‘In summer, Shi Pu of Wey drove out his ruler Qi, who fled to Qi. The marquis Zhe then returned to Wey from Qi, drove out Shi Pu, and restored Shi Tui and Taishu Yi.’

XIX. NINETEENTH YEAR.

1. ‘In the [duke’s] 19th year, in spring, a body of men from Yue made an incursion into Chu, in order to delude Wu.’

2. ‘In summer, the Gongzi Qing of Chu and the Gongsun Kuan pursued the army of Yue as far as Ming, could not come up with it, and returned.’

3. ‘In autumn, Shen Zhuliang of Chu invaded the rude tribes of the east (To punish Yue). The men and women of 3 tribes covenanted with the army of Chu at Ao.’

4. ‘In winter Shu Qing (The son of Shu Xuan) went to the capital, on occasion of the death of king Jing.’

[This date of the death of king Jing is very much contested.]

XX. TWENTIETH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] 20th year, in spring, an officer of Qi came to call the duke to a meeting, which was held in summer at Linqiu. It was on account of Zheng, to lay plans for the invasion of Jin. The people of Zheng, however, declined the action of the States; and in autumn our army returned.'

2. 'The Gongzi Qingji of Wu remonstrated frequently with the viscount, telling him that, if he did not change his course, ruin must be the result." The viscount would not listen to him, on which he left and resided in Ai, going afterwards to Chu. When he heard that Yue was going to invade Wu, he begged leave to return and try to bring about a peace with Yue. He then returned, and wished to take off the unfaithful [officers] in order to satisfy Yue. The people of Wu, however, put him to death.'

3. 'In the 11th month, Yue laid siege to [the capital of] Wu. Zhaomeng (Zhao Wuxu, or Xiangzi, son of Zhao Yang of Jin, for whom he was now in mourning) diminished the quantity and quality of his mourning diet [in consequence]. Chu Long said to him, "The three years' mourning is the greatest expression [of grief for the loss] of relatives; and yet you are now going beyond it; — have you not a reason for this?" Zhaomeng replied, "At the meeting of Huangchi (XIII. 3), my father made a covenant with the king of Wu, that [Jin and Wu] should make common cause in their likings and dislikings. Now Yue is besieging the capital of Wu. If I, as my father's heir, do not make void his engagement, I ought to oppose Yue, but this is what Jin is not able to do; and I therefore have diminished my diet." Long said, "Suppose you should send and make the king of Wu acquainted with the circumstances," Can it be done?" asked the minister. "Allow me to try it," said the other; and he took his way to the scene of strife. First he went to the army of Yue, and said [to the viscount of that State], "Many have been the attacks and injuries committed by Wu on your superior State, and the people of our [northern] States have all been glad to hear that your lordship is now punishing it in person. I am only afraid that your desire may not get its satisfaction, and beg your leave to enter the city that I may see." Permission was granted to him; and he then said to the king of Wu, "Wuxu, the minister of my ruler, has sent me, his servant Long, to venture to explain and apologize for his not coming to your assistance. His father Zhifu, the former minister of our ruler, undertook the engagement of the covenant at Huangchi, that Jin and Wu should make common cause in their likings and dislikings. Your lordship is now in difficulties. Wuxu would not dare to shrink from the toil; but Jin is not able to make the effort, and he has sent me to venture to represent to you his case." The

king bowed with his head to the earth, and said, “Through my incapacity I have not been able to serve Yue, and have thus caused sorrow to your minister. I acknowledge the condescension of his message.” He then gave Long a small basket of pearls which he sent to Zhaomeng, saying, “Goujian will cause me grief while I live; I would die, but death will not come. I would now ask you a question as with the laugh of a drowning man: — how was it that your historiographer An (The Mo of the Zhuan on X. xxxii. 2), got his reputation of wisdom?” “An,” said Lung, “when he advanced, incurred no hatred, and when he retired, was followed by no reviling.” “His character was deserved,” rejoined the king.’

XXI. TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

1. ‘In the [duke’s] Twenty-first year, an officer from Yue first came to our court.’

2. ‘In autumn, the duke made a covenant with the marquis of Qi, and the viscount of Zhu in Gu. The people of Qi, to express their condemnation [of the duke] for not bowing with his head to the ground (XVII. 6), made the following song about it, “How slow are they of Lu! They wake not, though years go, And make us travel so, ’Tis their scholars with their books, That thus trouble our two States.” At this time the duke arrived before either of the others at Yanggu. Lüqiu Xi of Qi said to him, “You have condescended to direct your steps here, and are now in the army of my ruler. We will send word with the most rapid despatch to him. But will it not be a trial of your patience till the messenger returns? As our workmen have not yet prepared the station [for the meeting], allow us to prepare a lodging-house for you in Zhoudao.” The duke declined the offer, saying that he would not presume to trouble their workmen.’

XXII. TWENTY-SECOND YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] 22d year, in summer, in the 4th month, duke Yin of Zhu fled from Qi to Yue (Yi, the viscount of Zhu, of VIII. 4, and X. 1, see the Zhuan on which), and said, 'Wu, in its unprincipled course, made me, the father, a prisoner, and appointed my son in my stead." The people of Yue restored him to Zhu, and his eldest son Ge fled to Yue.'

2. 'In winter, in the 11th month, on Dingmao, Yue extinguished Wu, and proposed to the king of it to reside in Yongdong. He declined, saying, "I am old; how can I serve your lordship?" And with this he strangled himself. They carried his body back to Yue.'

XXIII. TWENTY-THIRD YEAR.

1. ‘In the [duke’s] Twenty-third year, in spring, Jing Cao of Song died (This Jing Cao was the wife of duke Yuan of Song, and mother of the wife of Ji Pingzi, mentioned in the Zhuan on X. xxv. 1. She was consequently great grandmother to Kangzi who was now head of the Jisun family.) Ji Kangzi sent Ran You to Song on a visit of condolence, and to attend her funeral, with this message, “Our poor State is occupied with affairs of importance, which keep me, Fei, and the other ministers in a State of excitement, so that I am unable to attend and help in drawing the bier; and I have sent Qiu to follow the others [who perform that office].” There was also this other message [to duke Jing], “Since I am in the position of the son of your sister’s son, I have sent Qiu to present some poor horses which were bred by my father to the steward of your [deceased] mother. Perhaps they may be allowed to bear the plumes and girths [at her funeral].”’

2. ‘In summer, in the 6th month, Xun Yao of Jin invaded Qi, and was met by Gao Wupi at the head of a force. Zhi Bo (Xun Yao) had gone to observe the army of Qi, when his horses got frightened, and he galloped them forwards saying, “The men of Qi know my flag. They will say that I return because I am afraid of them.” Accordingly he went on to the entrenchments [of Qi], and then withdrew.

‘When the two armies were about to fight, Chang Wuzi begged leave to consult the tortoise-shell, but Zhi Bo said, “Our ruler gave notice [of the expedition] to the son of Heaven, and consulted the tortoise-shell of the State about it in the ancestral temple. The result was fortunate, and why should I divine any further? Moreover, the people of Qi took Yingqiu. The ruler’s commission to me was not for the display of our military prowess, but to deal with that matter of Yingqiu. It is enough that I was charged to punish a crime; — why should I [now] divine?” A battle was fought on Renchen at Liqiu, when the army of Qi was entirely defeated. Zhi Bo himself captured Yan Geng.’

3. ‘In autumn, in the 8th month, Shu Qing went to Yue; — the first complimentary mission to that State. Zhu Yang of Yue, came to Lu on a similar mission, in return for that of Shu Qing.’

XXIV. TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR.

1. ‘In the [duke’s] Twenty-fourth year, in summer, in the 4th month, the marquis of Jin, intending to invade Qi, sent an officer to ask the aid of an army from us, saying, “Formerly Zang Wenzhong, with an army of Chu, invaded Qi, and took Gu (See V. xxvi. 5, 7); Xuanshu with an army of Jin, invaded Qi, and took Wenyang (VIII. ii. 4, 7). My ruler [now] wishes to seek the blessing of the duke of Zhou, and desires to beg the help of the power of the Zang family.” Zang Shi [was sent to] join him with a force, when they took Linqiu. The officers of the army gave orders to make everything ready for advancing; but Lai Zhang said, “The ruler is reduced low, and the ministers are oppressive. Last year Jin vanquished its opponents, and now it has taken a great city. It has received much favour from Heaven; how should it be able to advance further? That is a mistake. The expedition will now withdraw.” The army of Jin did accordingly withdraw. Some oxen were given alive to Zang Shi, and the grand historiographer [of Jin] apologized to him, saying, “Because our ruler is on march, this gift of oxen is not according to the rule. I venture to set forth our apologies to you.”’

2. ‘The viscount of Zhu again pursued an unreasonable course, on which an officer of Yue seized him, and carried him to that State, appointing his son He in his stead. He also acted in the same unreasonable way.’

3. ‘The mother of the duke’s son Jing was his favourite, and he proposed to raise her to the position of his wife. Having told the director of ceremonies Xin Xia to present those appropriate for such a proceeding, that officer replied that there were none such. The duke said to him in a rage, “You are an officer of the ancestral temple, and the appointment of the ruler’s wife is a great ceremony of the State. Why do you say that there are no rules for it?” “The duke of Zhou,” was the reply, “and duke Wu married daughters of Xue. Xiao and Hui, daughters of Song; from Huan downwards, our rulers have married daughters of Qi. For such marriages there are the appropriate ceremonies; but for the constituting a concubine the wife there are none.” The issue, however, was that the duke carried out his purpose, and declared that Jing should be his successor. From this time the people began to hate the duke.”

4. ‘In the intercalary month, the duke went to Yue, and won the friendship of Shiying, the heir-apparent, who proposed giving a wife to him, and much territory. Gongsun Youshan sent word of this to Jisun, who was frightened by the prospect, and sent bribes which he got presented through the grand-administrator Pi. The plan was then dropped.’

XXV. TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR.

1. ‘In the [duke’s] 25th year, in summer, in the 5th month, on Gengchen, Zhe, marquis of Wey, fled from that State to Song. The marquis had made a marvellous tower in his own peculiar garden, and was drinking in it with all his great officers. Among them was Shengzi, superintendent of the markets, who ascended and took his place on his mat, with his stockings on. The duke being angry, he excused himself on the ground that he had a peculiar disease [in his feet], which would make the duke vomit, if he saw it. The duke was still more angry, and could not be appeased by the apologies of the [other] great officers. The superintendent then left the tower, the duke threatening him with his fist as with a javelin, and saying that he would cut off his feet. This was heard by Shengzi, who got into a carriage, with Hai the minister of Crime, and said, “Today I am fortunate that my death is deferred till another day.”

When the duke [re-] entered the State, he took away his city from Nanshi, and his powers from Hai, the minister of Crime. He [also] caused one of his attendants to push the carriage of Gongwen Yizi into a pond.

‘Before this, when the people of Wey deprived the officer Xia Ding of his possessions (See the narrative on XI. 7; here should, probably, be) his household and property were given to Pengfeng Mizi, who entertained the duke in consequence, and presented to him the daughter of Xia Mou. She became his favourite, and was put in the position of his wife. Her brother Qi was grandson of the sister of Taishu Ji, and, when young, had been brought up in the place. He was afterwards made minister of Instruction; but when the favour of the lady declined, he was made guilty of some offence. The duke kept employing the workmen of the 3 departments for a great length of time. He also made Jiao, a player, covenant with Quan Mi, kept him near to himself, and very much trusted him.

‘In consequence of all these things, Bi superintendent of the markets, Gongsun Mimou, Gongwen Yao, Hai minister of Crime, and Qi minister of Instruction, took advantage of [the dissatisfaction of the] workmen and of Quan Mi, to raise an insurrection. Armed with sharp weapons, and those of them who were not so provided with axes, they sent Quan Mi into the duke’s palace; and beginning to make a great noise at the palace of the [late] eldest son, Ji, they attacked the duke. Juan Zishi asked leave to oppose them; but Mi held his hand, and said, “You are bold indeed; but what good can you do to the duke? Do you not see the case of the late ruler? Let the marquis go wherever he pleases. He has, moreover, already been abroad; why should he not return? At present

[resistance is of no use]. The anger of the multitude is not to be encountered. Let it pass away, and it will be easy to find an opportunity." The duke accordingly left the city. [At first] he proposed going to Pu; but Mi said, "Jin is not to be trusted; don't go there." He then proposed going to Juan, but Mi said, "No. Qi and Jin will be quarrelling about us." Next he proposed going to Ling; but Mi said, "Lu is not sufficient to have any dealings with. Let us go to Chengchu, to draw the notice of Yue, which now has a ruler." Accordingly, the duke went on the way to Chengchu. Mi said, "The robbers of Wey must not get to know [where we are]; let us make haste. I will go first;" and he thus carried the valuables which they had with them in his chariot and returned.

'The duke [by and by] formed his men into separate bands, and, by means of a correspondence with the prayer-maker Hui, made incursions into Wey, to the distress of the people. Yizi knew of the circumstance, went to see Zizhi, (The Gongsun Mimou) and begged that he would drive out Hui. Wenzi said, "He has committed no offence." Yizi replied, "He loves to monopolize all profit, and is lawless. You would see, if the duke returned to the capital, that he would be the first to lead the way. If you drive him out, he will escape by the south gate, and go where the duke is. Yue has recently got the control of the States; they will be sure to go there, and ask the assistance of an army." When Hui was in the court, an officer was sent to send away all the members of his household. He went out [after them], stopped outside 2 nights without being recalled; and on the 5th day lodged in Waili. He then became a favourite [with the duke], and advised him to go to Yue to ask the help of a force.'

2. 'In the 6th month, the duke arrived from Yue. Ji Kangzi and Meng Wubo met him at Wuwu. Guo Chong drove the duke's carriage; and when he saw the two ministers, he said, "They speak much evil. Let your lordship pay particular attention to them."

'The duke took refreshment at Wuwu, and Wubo presented him with the cup of congratulation. Disliking Guo Chong, he said, "How stout he, is!" Jisun then asked that Wubo should be made to drink [a cup of spirits], adding, "In consequence of Lu's being so near its enemies, we were not able to follow your lordship, and so escaped so great a journey; but why should he say that Chong has got fat?" "Can one who eats many of his words," said the duke, "escape getting fat?" They drank [in this way] without any pleasure, and enmity now commenced between the duke and his great officers."

XXVI. TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR.

1. 'In the [duke's] Twenty-sixth year, in summer, in the 5th month, Shusun Shu, at the head of a force, joined Gao Ru and Hou Yong of Yue, and Yue Fa of Song, in an expedition to restore the marquis of Wey. Wenzi wished to receive him; but Yizi said to him, "The ruler is obstinate and oppressive. Wait a little. He is sure to vent his poison on the people, who will consequently be of one mind with you." [In a little], the [invading] army made an incursion on Waizhou, [on behalf of the marquis of] Wey, and obtained great spoil; and the troops which went forth to resist them were greatly defeated. [On this, the marquis] dug up the grave of Dingzi, superintendent of the markets, and burned his body on the top of Pingzhuang. Wenzi sent Wangsun Qi privately to ask Gao Ru whether he meant utterly to extinguish Wey, or simply to restore the marquis. Gao Ru said that his ruler's orders to him were simply that he should restore the ruler; and on this Wenzi assembled the people, and put the thing to them, saying, "The ruler has now attacked the city with those wild people of the south and east, till it is nearly destroyed. Let us receive him back." They said, "Don't receive him." He went on, "It will be a benefit to you if I go away. Allow me to go out at the north gate." "You shall not go out," all urged. They then sent great bribes to the officers of Yue, threw open the gates, manned the parapets, and [offered] to receive the duke. He, however, did not venture to enter the city; and, the armies withdrawing, the people of Wey raised duke Dao to the marquisate. Nanshi (I. q. Wenzi) acted as minister to him, and made over Chengchu to Yue. The [expelled] duke said, "This is Qi's doing;" and he told all [the ladies] who had any quarrel with his wife (Qi's sister) to vent their spite on her. Qi having been sent on a complimentary mission to Yue, the duke attacked him, and carried off his offerings. Qi laid the matter before the king, who ordered him to retake the things, which, with the assistance of a large body of men, he did. The duke was angry, put to death the son of Qi's sister whom he had declared his successor, and afterwards died in Yue.'

2. 'Duke Jing of Song had no son, but took De and Qi, the sons of Gongsun Zhou, and brought them up in his palace, without appointing either of them, however, to be his successor. At this time Huang Huan was master of the Right; Huang Feiwo, grand marshal; Huang Huai, minister of Instruction; Ling Buhuan, master of the Left; Yue Fa, minister of Works; and Yue Zhuchu, grand-minister of Crime. These 6 ministers belonging to three clans conducted the government with harmony. They should have communicated with the duke through Dayin; but that minister constantly kept back their representations, and gave them

commands according to his pleasure, pretending that they were from the duke. The people hated him, and the minister of Works wanted to take him off; but the master of the Left said, “Let him alone, till he fill up the measure of his iniquity. When he is like a heavy vessel without any foundation, is it possible he should not be overthrown?”

‘In winter, in the 10th month, the duke was taking relaxation by the marsh of Kong; and on Xinsi, he died in Lianzhong. Dayin raised 1000 men-at-arms from the soldiers near the marsh, and conveyed the duke’s [body] from Kongtong to the capital. Having gone with it to the Wo palace, he sent to call the six ministers, saying there was a report that there were enemies in the State, and that the ruler wished them to frame measures for the emergency. When they arrived, he made the men-at-arms seize them, and said to them, “The ruler is very ill, and asks you to make a covenant;” and accordingly they covenanted in the courtyard of the small chamber, that they would do nothing disadvantageous to the ducal House. Dayin then declared Qi to be the successor to the State, bore the coffin to the ancestral temple, and set it forth there; but it was not till the 3d day that the thing was known in the city. Fa, the minister of Works, spread it abroad through the city, that Dayin had deceived the ruler and sought to monopolize all gain to himself; that the duke had now died without any illness; that Dayin had concealed his death; and that things could not be accounted for on any other ground but the crime of Dayin.

‘De dreamt that Qi was lying outside the Lu gate with his head to the north, and that he himself was a bird which was settled upon him. His beak reached to the south gate, and his tail to the Tong gate. “I have dreamt,” said he, “a beautiful dream. I shall succeed to the State.” Dayin then considered that, as he was not in the covenant, and they might drive him out, he had better impose a second covenant on the ministers; and he therefore ordered the priest to prepare the writings. The ministers were then in Tangyu; and just as the time for the covenant was at hand, the priest Xiang told Huang Feiwo of the writing, Feiwo consulted with Zilu, De the overseer of the gates, and the master of the Left, whether they could not get the people to drive him out for them. They then returned to their houses, and gave out their armour, sending notice round the city to this effect, “Dayin keeps the ruler in a State of delusion, and insolently oppresses the ducal House. Those who side with us will be saviours of the ruler.” The multitude responded, “Let us side with them.” Dayin, [on his part], sent round a notice, saying, “The clans of Dai and Huang (The Yue were descended from duke Dai) wish to injure the ducal House. Those who side with me need have no trouble about not becoming rich. The multitude said, “It is not different [from a ducal notice]!”

‘Daishi and Huangshi wished to attack the duke, but Yue De said, “No. He is a criminal because of his violent proceeding with the duke; but if we attack the duke, our conduct will be more violent than his.” They then made the people hold Dayin as the offender, and that officer fled to Chu, taking Qi with him. They then raised De to be duke, with the minister of Works as chief minister. They made a covenant that the members of their three clans should all share in the government and not injure one another.’

3. ‘Duke Chu of Wey sent a messenger with a bow from Chengchu to Zigong, to ask him whether he would re-enter Wey again. Zigong bowed his head to the ground, received the bow, and replied, “I do not know.” [Afterwards], he said privately to the messenger, “Formerly, duke Cheng withdrew to Chen (V. xxviii. 7); but, through the covenant of Yuanpu, brought about by Ning Wuzi and Sun Zhuangzi, he entered again. Duke Xian withdrew to Qi (IX. xiv. 4); but through the covenant of Yiyi, brought about by Zixian and Zizhan, he entered again (IX. xxvi. 3). Your ruler has now twice withdrawn from his State. I have not heard of his having relatives like those of Xian, or ministers like those of Cheng; — I do not know by what means he is to re-enter. It is said in the ode (Shi, IV. i. Pt. i. ode IV. 3),

“Nothing gives strength like the employment of right men;
All throughout the State obey them.”

If he [only] had the men, and the four quarters of the State regarded him as their lord, what difficulty would there be with the capital?”

XXVII. TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR.

1. In the [duke's] 27th year, in spring, the viscount of Yue sent Hou Yong on a complimentary mission to Lu, and to speak about the lands of Zhu, that the boundary between it and Lu should be Taishang. In the 2d month, a covenant was made at Pingyang, in which the 3 ministers all followed the envoy. Kangzi was vexed about this, and spoke about Zigong, saying, "If he had been here, I should not have come to this." "Why then did you not call him?" asked Wubo. "I was indeed going to call him," was the reply. Wenzi (Shusun) said, "Pray, think of it another time."

2. 'In summer, in the 4th month, on Jihai, Ji Kangzi died. The duke went to offer his condolences; but his ceremonies were not what the occasion required.'

3. 'Xun Yao of Jin led a force against Zheng, and halted at Tongqiu, while in the meantime Si Hong of Zheng went to beg assistance from Qi. When the army of Qi was being raised, Chen Chengzi assembled the sons of officers who had died in battle for the State, and presented them for 3 days in the court, giving also to each a carriage with two horses, and assigning to him 5 cities (=hamlets). He called to him Jin, the son of Yan Zhuoju, and said to him, "In the action at Xi (The Liqiu of XXIII. 2), your father died. In consequence of the many troubles of the State we were not able to think of you before. But now the ruler confers on you these cities, and to appear at court with these robes and this carriage. Do not make void the service of your father."

'After this [Chengzi] proceeded to the relief of Zheng. When he arrived at Liushu, and was [only] 7 li from Gu, the people of that place were not aware of his approach. When he got to the Pu, it had rained so that they could not cross. Zisi said, "[The troops of] the great State are quite close to our poor capital, and therefore we sent to tell you of our distress. But now your army does not go on, and I am afraid it will not be in time." Chengzi having on a [rain] cloak, and leaning on a spear, stood upon the bank, and now helped forward, now whipt on, the horses which were unwilling to proceed. When Zhi Bo heard of this, he withdrew, saying, "I consulted the tortoise-shell about attacking Zheng, and not about fighting with Qi." [At the same time] he sent a message to Chengzi, saying, "You Sir, are a son of Chen, sprung from the House of Chen. That Chen has lost its sacrifices (Having been extinguished by Chu; see XVII. 4) was owing to the crime of Zheng. My ruler therefore sent me to examine into the justice of [the fate of] Chen, thinking that, possibly, you would have a regard for Chen. If you consider that the overthrow of your root is an advantage to you, what is it to

me?" Chengzi, in a rage, said, "All who have heaped insults on others have [soon] passed away; — can Zhi Bo continue long?"

'Zhonghang Wenzi (A refugee in Qi) told Chengzi, saying, "One from the army of Jin informed me that they were going with 1000 light chariots to attack the gate of the army of Qi, which might thus be entirely destroyed." Chengzi replied, "My ruler charged me that I should not fall on a small force, nor fear a large one. Though they come with more than 1000 chariots, I should not avoid them. I will inform my ruler of your communication." Wenzi said, "Now I know the [folly] of my leaving Jin. A superior man, in forming his plans, considers every thing, — the beginning, the middle' and the end, — and then he enters on his course. But now I took mine, without knowing any one of these; — is it not hard?"

4. 'The duke was distressed and annoyed by the arrogance of the three Huans, and wished for the help of the other princes to take them off. The three Huans were in like manner distressed and annoyed by the rudeness of the duke, and thus there arose many differences between him and them. The duke had been rambling in Lingban, and met Meng Wubo in the street of Mengshi. "Let me ask you," said he to him, "if I shall [be permitted to] die [a natural death]." Wubo replied that he had no means of knowing. Thrice the duke put the question, till the minister declined to give any answer. The duke then wished, with the help of Yue, to attack Lu, and take off the three Huans. In autumn, in the 8th month, he went to Gongsun Youxing's, and thence he withdrew to Zhu, from which he went on to Yue. The people attributed the blame of this to Gongsun Youshan (I. q. Youxing).'

[With this year ended the rule and life of duke Ai. Zuoshi does not mention his death, but we may conclude from the above narrative that it took place in Yue. Considering the saying of Zigong which Zuoshi has given under XVI. 4, there can be no doubt that he believed that the duke did not die in Lu. Sima Qian, however, in his History of Lu says that 'the people of the State brought him back from Yue, and he died in the house of Youshanshi.' This account is adopted in the Tong jian gangmu of Zhu Xi; but it appears to me more than doubtful. However, there is no doubt that duke Ai died in this year, B.C. 467.

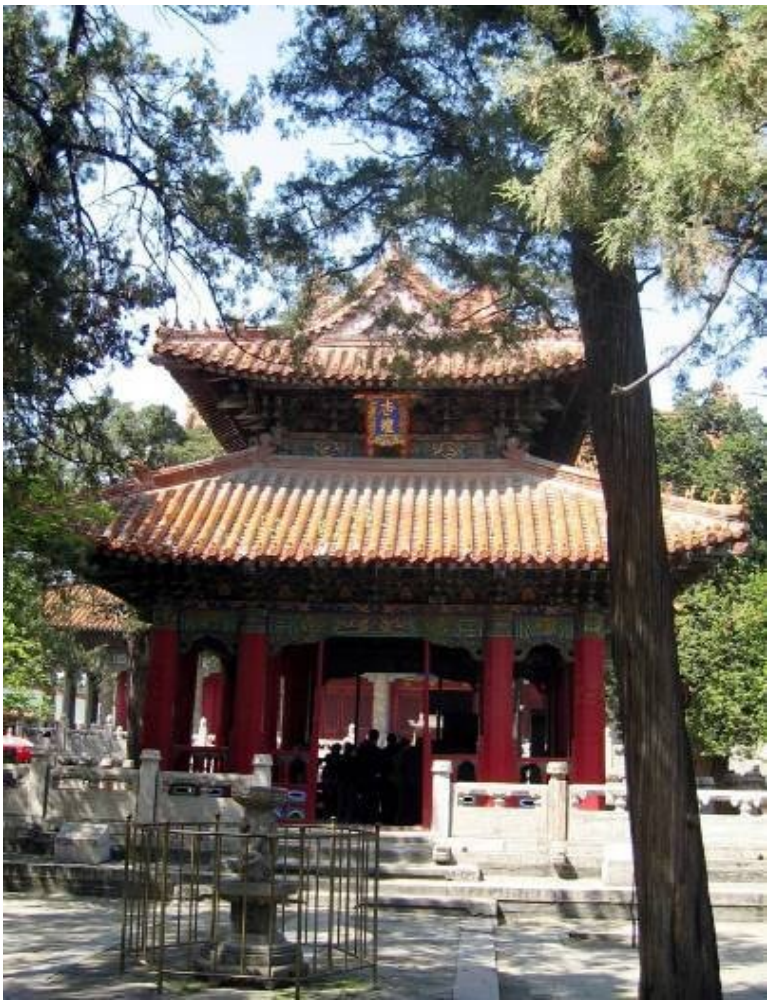
DUKE DAO

FOURTH YEAR.

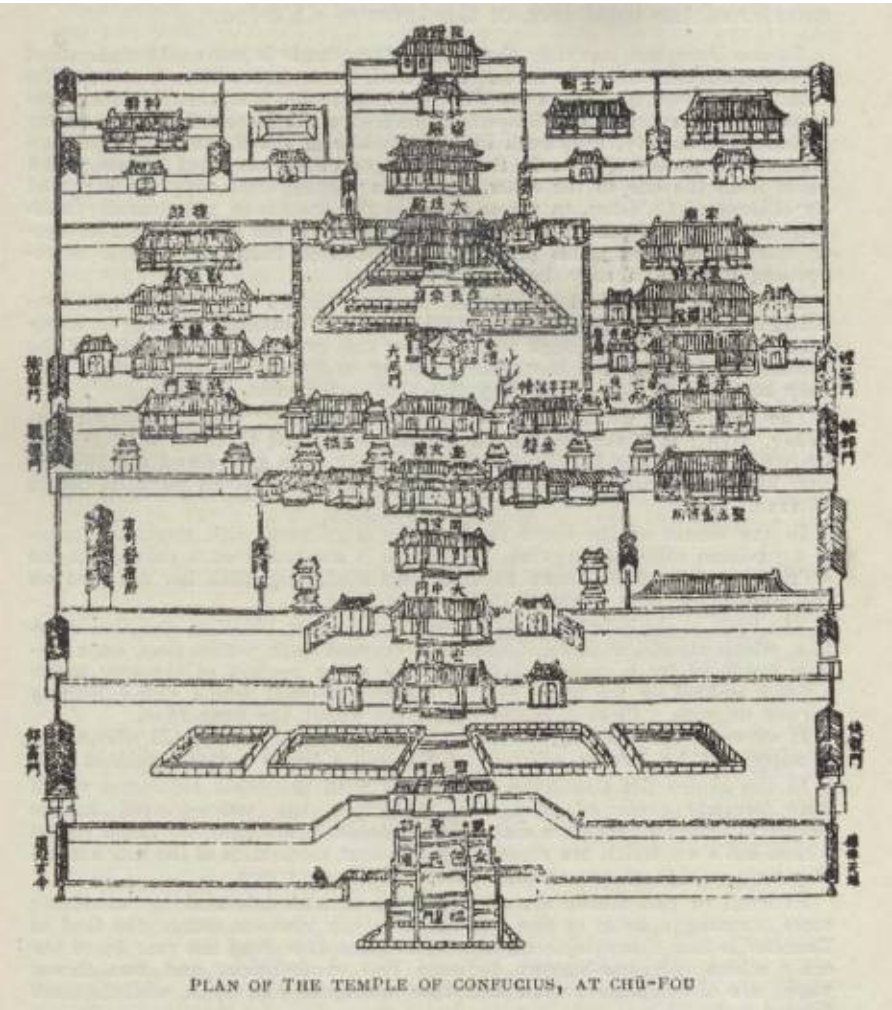
‘This year, Xun Yao of Jin led a force to lay siege to [the capital of] Zheng. Before he arrived, Si Hong of that State said, “Zhi Bo is obstinate, and fond of victory. If we tender our submission early, he will take his departure.” He therefore in the first place put Nanli (A place outside the walls) in a state of defence, and waited for the approach of Yao. He entered Nanli, and attacked the Xiedie gate. On the side of Zheng they made prisoner Xi Kuilei, and tried to bribe him by offering him a share in the government. He kept his mouth shut, however, and submitted to death.

‘Zhi Bo said to Zhaomeng, “Do you enter the city;” but that minister replied, “You are here yourself; [do you enter it].” “Ugly and without courage as you are, how were you made chief of the Zhao?” said Yao. “As I am able,” rejoined Zhaomeng, “to submit to such a disgrace [from you], perhaps I shall not cause any injury to the House of Zhao.” Zhi Bo made no alteration in his conduct; and from this time he was an object of hatred to Zhao Xiangzi, and the issue was his ruin. Zhi Bo was greedy and self-willed, so that the chiefs of the Han and Wei revolted from him, and [joined in] his destruction.’

The Biographies



The Temple of Confucius in Qufu, Shandong Province, is the largest and most renowned temple of Confucius in East Asia.



Historical plan of the Temple of Confucius

THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF CONFUCIUS by James Legge

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PREFACE.

When the author, in 1861, commenced the publication of the Chinese Classics, with an English translation and such a critical apparatus as was necessary to the proper appreciation of the original Works, he did not contemplate an edition without the Chinese text and simply adapted for popular reading. It was soon pressed upon him, however, from various quarters; and he had formed the purpose to revise the separate volumes, when he should have completed the whole of his undertaking, and to publish the English text, with historical introductions and brief explanatory notes, which might render it acceptable for general perusal.

He is sorry that circumstances have arisen to call for such an issue of his volumes, without waiting for the completion of the last of the Classics; — principally because it adds another to the many unavoidable hindrances which have impeded the onward prosecution of his important task. A Mr Baker, of Massachusetts, in the United States, having sent forth the prospectus of a republication of the author's translation, his publisher in London strongly represented to him the desirableness of his issuing at once a popular edition in his own name, as a counter-movement to Mr Baker's, and to prevent other similar acts of piracy: — and the result is the appearance of the present volume. It will be followed by a second, containing the Works of Mencius, as soon as the publisher shall feel himself authorized by public encouragement to go forward with the undertaking.

The author has seen the first part of Mr Baker's republication, containing the English text of his first volume, and the indexes of Subjects and Proper Names, without alteration. The only other matter in it is an introduction of between seven and eight pages. Four of these are occupied with an account of Confucius, taken from Chambers' Encyclopædia, which Mr Baker says he chooses to copy: — so naturally does it come to him to avail himself of the labours of other men. "Convey the wise it call. Steal? Foh! A fico for the phrase!"

In the remainder of his Introduction, Mr Baker assumes a controversial tone, and calls in question some of the judgments which the author has passed on the Chinese sage and his doctrines. He would make it out that Confucius was a most religious man, and abundantly recognized the truth of a future life; that the worship of God was more nearly universal in China than in the Theocracy of Israel; that the Chinese in general are not more regardless of truth than Dr Legge's own countrymen; and that Confucius' making no mention of heaven and hell is the reason why missionaries object to his system of practising virtue

for virtue's sake! Mr Baker has made some proficiency in the art of "adding insult to injury." It is easy to see to what school of religion he belongs; but the author would be sorry to regard his publication as a specimen of the manner in which the members of it "practise virtue for virtue's sake."

In preparing the present volume for the press, the author has retained a considerable part of the prolegomena in the larger work, to prepare the minds of his readers for proceeding with advantage to the translation, and forming an intelligent judgment on the authority which is to be allowed to the original Works. He has made a few additions and corrections which his increased acquaintance with the field of Chinese literature enabled him to do.

He was pleased to find, in revising the translation, that the alterations which it was worth while to make were very few and unimportant.

He has retained the headings to the notes on the several chapters, as they give, for the most part, an adequate summary of the subjects treated in them. All critical matter, interesting and useful only to students of the Chinese language, he has thrown out. In a few instances he has remodelled the notes, or made such additions to them as were appropriate to the popular design of the edition.

Hong-Kong,
26th October, 1866
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CHAPTER I. OF THE CHINESE CLASSICS GENERALLY.

SECTION I. BOOKS INCLUDED UNDER THE NAME OF THE CHINESE CLASSICS.

The Books now recognized as of highest authority in China are comprehended under the denominations of “The five King,” and “The four Shoo.” The term king is of textile origin, and signifies the warp threads of a web, and their adjustment. An easy application of it is to denote what is regular and insures regularity. As used with reference to books, it indicates their authority on the subjects of which they treat. “The five King” are the five canonical Works, containing the truth upon the highest subjects from the sages of China, and which should be received as law by all generations. The term shoo simply means writings or books.

The five King are: — the Yih, or, as it has been styled, “The Book of Changes;” the Shoo, or “The Book of Historical Documents;” the She, or “The Book of Poetry;” the Le Ke, or “Record of Rites;” and the Ch’un Ts’ew, or “Spring and Autumn,” a chronicle of events, extending from bc 721 to 480. The authorship, or compilation rather, of all these works is loosely attributed to Confucius. But much of the Le Ke is from later hands. Of the Yih, the Shoo, and the She, it is only in the first that we find additions said to be from the philosopher himself, in the shape of appendixes. The Ch’un Ts’ew is the only one of the five King which can, with an approximation to correctness, be described as of his own “making.”

“The four Books” is an abbreviation for “The Books of the four Philosophers.” The first is the Lun Yu, or “Digested Conversations,” being occupied chiefly with the sayings of Confucius. He is the philosopher to whom it belongs. It appears in this Work under the title of “Confucian Analects.” The second is the Ta Heŏ, or “Great Learning,” now commonly attributed to Tsăng Sin, a disciple of the sage. He is the philosopher of it. The third is the Chung Yung, or “Doctrine of the Mean,” ascribed to K’ung Keih, the grandson of Confucius. He is the philosopher of it. The fourth contains the works of Mencius.

This arrangement of the Classical Books, which is commonly supposed to have originated with the scholars of the Sung dynasty, is defective. The Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean are both found in the Record of Rites, being the forty-second and thirty-first Books respectively of that compilation, according to the usual arrangement of it.

The oldest enumerations of the Classical Books specify only the five King. The Yŏ Ke, or "Record of Music," the remains of which now form one of the Books in the Le Ke, was sometimes added to those, making with them the six King. A division was also made into nine King, consisting of the Yih, the She, the Shoo, the Chow Le, or "Ritual of Chow," the E Le, or "Ceremonial Usages," the Le Ke, and the three annotated editions of the Ch'un Ts'ew, by Tsok'ew Ming, Kung-yang Kaou, and Kuh-leang Ch'ih. In the famous compilation of the classical Books, undertaken by order of T'ae-tsung, the second emperor of the T'ang dynasty (bc 627 — 619), and which appeared in the reign of his successor, there are thirteen King; viz., the Yih, the She, the Shoo, the three editions of the Ch'un Ts'ew, the Le Ke, the Chow Le, the E Le, the Confucian Analects, the Urh Ya, a sort of ancient dictionary, the Heaou King, or "Classic of Filial Piety," and the works of Mencius.

A distinction, however, was made, as early as the dynasty of the Western Han, in our first century, among the Works thus comprehended under the same common name; and Mencius, the Lun Yu, the Ta Heŏ, the Chung Yung, and the Heaou King were spoken of as the seaou King, or "smaller Classics." It thus appears, contrary to the ordinary opinion on the subject, that the Ta Heŏ and Chung Yung had been published as separate treatises long before the Sung dynasty, and that the Four Books, as distinguished from the greater King, had also previously found a place in the literature of China.

SECTION II. the authority of the chinese classics.

This subject will be discussed in connection with each separate Work, and it is only designed here to exhibit generally the evidence on which the Chinese Classics claim to be received as genuine productions of the time to which they are referred.

In the memoirs of the Former Han dynasty (bc 201 — ad 24), we have one chapter which we may call the History of Literature. It commences thus:— "After the death of Confucius, there was an end of his exquisite words; and when his seventy disciples had passed away, violence began to be done to their meaning. It came about that there were five different editions of the Ch'un Ts'ew, four of the She, and several of the Yih. Amid the disorder and collision of the warring States (bc 480 — 221), truth and falsehood were still more in a state of warfare, and a sad confusion marked the words of the various scholars. Then came the calamity inflicted under the Ts'in dynasty (bc 220 — 205), when the literary monuments were destroyed by fire, in order to keep the people in ignorance. But, by and by, there arose the Han dynasty, which set itself to

remedy the evil wrought by the Ts'in. Great efforts were made to collect slips and tablets, and the way was thrown wide open for the bringing in of Books. In the time of the emperor Heaou-woo (bc139 — 86), portions of Books being wanting and tablets lost, so that ceremonies and music were suffering great damage, he was moved to sorrow, and said, 'I am very sad for this.' He therefore formed the plan of Repositories, in which the Books might be stored, and appointed officers to transcribe Books on an extensive scale, embracing the works of the various scholars, that they might all be placed in the Repositories. The Emperor Ch'ing (bc 31 — 6), finding that a portion of the Books still continued dispersed or missing, commissioned Ch'in Nung, the superintendent of guests, to search for undiscovered Books throughout the empire, and by special edict ordered the chief of the Banqueting House, Lew Heang, to examine the classical Works, along with the commentaries on them, the writings of the scholars, and all poetical productions; the master-controller of infantry, Jin Hwang, to examine the Books on the art of war; the grand historiographer, Yin Hëen, to examine the Books treating of the art of numbers (i. e. divination); and the imperial physician, Le Ch'oo-kŏ, to examine the Books on medicine. Whenever any Book was done with, Heang forthwith arranged it, indexed it, and made a digest of it, which was presented to the emperor. While the undertaking was in progress, Heang died, and the emperor Gae (bc 5 — ad) appointed his son, Hin, a master of the imperial carriages, to complete his father's work. On this, Hin collected all the Books, and presented a report of them, under seven divisions."

The first of these divisions seems to have been a general catalogue, containing perhaps only the titles of the works included in the other six. The second embraced the classical Works. From the abstract of it, which is preserved in the chapter referred to, we find that there were 294 collections of the Yih-king, from 13 different individuals or editors; 412 collections of the Shoo-king, from nine different individuals; 416 volumes of the She-king, from six different individuals; of the Book of Rites, 555 collections, from 13 different individuals; of the Books on Music, 165 collections, from six different editors; 948 collections of History, under the heading of the Ch'un Ts'ew, from 23 different individuals; 229 collections of the Lun Yu, including the Analects and kindred fragments, from 12 different individuals; of the Heaou-king, embracing also the Urh Ya, and some other portions of the ancient literature, 59 collections, from 11 different individuals; and finally of the Lesser Learning, being works on the form of the characters, 45 collections, from 11 different individuals. The Works of Mencius were included in the second division, among the Writings of what

were deemed orthodox scholars, of which there were 836 collections, from 53 different individuals.

The above important document is sufficient to show how the emperors of the Han dynasty, as soon as they had made good their possession of the empire, turned their attention to recover the ancient literature of the nation, the Classical Books engaging their first care, and how earnestly and effectively the scholars of the time responded to the wishes of their rulers. In addition to the facts specified in the preface to it, I may relate that the ordinance of the Ts'in dynasty against possessing the Classical Books (with the exception, as will appear in its proper place, of the Yih-king) was repealed by the second sovereign of the Han, the emperor Heaou Hwuy, in the 4th year of his reign, bc 190, and that a large portion of the Shoo-king was recovered in the time of the third emperor, bc 178 — 156, while in the year bc 135, a special Board was constituted, consisting of literati who were put in charge of the five King.

The collections reported on by Lew Hin suffered damage in the troubles which began ad 8, and continued till the rise of the second or eastern Han dynasty in the year 25. The founder of it (ad 25 — 57) zealously promoted the undertaking of his predecessors, and additional repositories were required for the books which were collected. His successors, the emperors, Heaou-ming (58 — 75), Heaou-chang (75 — 88), and Heaou-hwo (89 — 105), took a part themselves in the studies and discussions of the literary tribunal, and the emperor Heaou-ling, between the years 172 — 178, had the text of the five King, as it had been fixed, cut in slabs of stone, in characters of three different forms.

Since the Han, the successive dynasties have considered the literary monuments of the country to be an object of their special care. Many of them have issued editions of the classics, embodying the commentaries of preceding generations. No dynasty has distinguished itself more in this line than the present Manchow possessors of the Empire. In fine, the evidence is complete that the Classical Books of China have come down from at least a century before our Christian era, substantially the same as we have them at present.

But it still remains to inquire in what condition we may suppose the Books were when the scholars of the Han dynasty commenced their labours upon them. They acknowledge that the tablets — we cannot here speak of manuscripts — were mutilated and in disorder. Was the injury which they had received of such an extent that all the care and study put forth on the small remains would be of little use? This question can be answered satisfactorily only by an examination of the evidence which is adduced for the text of each particular Classic; but it can be made apparent that there is nothing, in the nature of the case, to interfere

with our believing that the materials were sufficient to enable the scholars to execute the work intrusted to them.

The burning of the ancient Books by order of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty is always referred to as the greatest disaster which they sustained, and with this is coupled the slaughter of many of the literati by the same monarch.

The account which we have of these transactions in the Historical Records is the following: —

"In his 34th year" (the 34th year, that is, after he had ascended the throne of Ts'in. It was only the 8th after he had been acknowledged Sovereign of the empire, coinciding with bc 212) "the emperor, returning from a visit to the south, which had extended as far as Yuĕ, gave a feast in the palace of Heen-yang, when the Great Scholars, amounting to seventy men, appeared and wished him long life. The superintendent of archery, Chow Ts'ing-ch'in, came forward and praised him, saying, 'Formerly, the State of Ts'in was only 1000 le in extent, but Your Majesty, by your spirit-like efficacy and intelligent wisdom, has tranquillized and settled the whole empire, and driven away all barbarous tribes, so that wherever the sun and moon shine, all appear before you as guests acknowledging subjection. You have formed the States of the various princes into provinces and districts, where the people enjoy a happy tranquillity, suffering no more from the calamities of war and contention. This condition of things will be transmitted for 10,000 generations. From the highest antiquity there has been no one in awful virtue like Your Majesty.'

"The Emperor was pleased with this flattery, when Shun-yu Yuĕ, one of the great scholars, a native of Ts'e, advanced and said, 'The sovereigns of Yin and Chow, for more than a thousand years, invested their sons and younger brothers, and meritorious ministers, with domains and rule, and could thus depend upon them for support and aid; — that I have heard. But now Your Majesty is in possession of all within the seas, and your sons and younger brothers are nothing but private individuals. The issue will be that some one will arise to play the part of T'een Ch'ang, or of the six nobles of Ts'in. Without the support of your own family, where will you find the aid which you may require? That a state of things not modelled from the lessons of antiquity can long continue; — that is what I have not heard. Ts'ing is now showing himself to be a flatterer, who increases the errors of Your Majesty, and is not a loyal minister.'

"The Emperor requested the opinions of others on this representation, when the premier, Le Sze, said, 'The five emperors were not one the double of the other, nor did the three dynasties accept one another's ways. Each had a peculiar system of government, not for the sake of the contrariety, but as being required by the changed times. Now, Your Majesty has laid the foundations of imperial

sway, so that it will last for 10,000 generations. This is indeed beyond what a stupid scholar can understand. And, moreover, Yuĕ only talks of things belonging to the Three Dynasties, which are not fit to be models to you. At other times, when the princes were all striving together, they endeavoured to gather the wandering scholars about them; but now, the empire is in a stable condition, and laws and ordinances issue from one supreme authority. Let those of the people who abide in their homes give their strength to the toils of husbandry, and those who become scholars should study the various laws and prohibitions. Instead of doing this, however, the scholars do not learn what belongs to the present day, but study antiquity. They go on to condemn the present time, leading the masses of the people astray, and to disorder.

" 'At the risk of my life, I, the prime minister, say, — Formerly, when the empire was disunited and disturbed, there was no one who could give unity to it. The princes therefore stood up together; constant references were made to antiquity to the injury of the present state; baseless statements were dressed up to confound what was real, and men made a boast of their own peculiar learning to condemn what their rulers appointed. And now, when Your Majesty has consolidated the empire, and, distinguishing black from white, has constituted it a stable unity, they still honour their peculiar learning, and combine together; they teach men what is contrary to your laws. When they hear that an ordinance has been issued, every one sets to discussing it with his learning. In the court, they are dissatisfied in heart; out of it, they keep talking in the streets. While they make a pretence of vaunting their Master, they consider it fine to have extraordinary views of their own. And so they lead on the people to be guilty of murmuring and evil speaking. If these things are not prohibited, Your Majesty's authority will decline, and parties will be formed. As to the best way to prohibit them, I pray that all the Records in charge of the Historiographers be burned, excepting those of Ts'in; that, with the exception of those officers belonging to the Board of Great Scholars, all throughout the empire who presume to keep copies of the She-king, or of the Shoo-king, or of the books of the Hundred Schools, be required to go with them to the officers in charge of the several districts, and burn them; that all who may dare to speak together about the She and the Shoo be put to death, and their bodies exposed in the market-place; that those who make mention of the past, so as to blame the present, be put to death along with their relatives; that officers who shall know of the violation of these rules and not inform against the offenders, be held equally guilty with them; and that whoever shall not have burned their books within thirty days after the issuing of the ordinance, be branded and sent to labour on the wall for four years. The only books which should be spared are those on medicine, divination,

and husbandry. Whoever wants to learn the laws may go to the magistrates and learn of them.'

"The imperial decision was— 'Approved.'"

The destruction of the scholars is related more briefly. In the year after the burning of the Books, the resentment of the Emperor was excited by the remarks and flight of two scholars who had been favourites with him, and he determined to institute a strict inquiry about all of their class in Hëen-yang, to find out whether they had been making ominous speeches about him, and disturbing the minds of the people. The investigation was committed to the Censors; and it being discovered that upwards of 460 scholars had violated the prohibitions, they were all buried alive in pits, for a warning to the empire, while degradation and banishment were employed more strictly than before against all who fell under suspicion. The Emperor's eldest son, Foo-soo, remonstrated with him, saying that such measures against those who repeated the words of Confucius, and sought to imitate him, would alienate all the people from their infant dynasty, but his interference offended his father so much that he was sent off from court, to be with the general who was superintending the building of the great wall.

No attempts have been made by Chinese critics and historians to discredit the record of these events, though some have questioned the extent of the injury inflicted by them on the monuments of their ancient literature. It is important to observe that the edict against the Books did not extend to the Yih-king, which was exempted as being a work on divination, nor did it extend to the other classics which were in charge of the Board of Great Scholars. There ought to have been no difficulty in finding copies when the Han dynasty superseded that of Ts'in; and probably there would have been none but for the sack of the capital, in bc 203, by Heang Yu, the most formidable opponent of the founder of the House of Han. Then, we are told, the fires blazed for three months among the palaces and public buildings, and proved as destructive to the copies of the 'Great Scholars,' as those ordered by the tyrant had done to the copies of the people.

It is to be noted, moreover, that his life lasted only three years after the promulgation of his edict. He died bc 209; and the reign of his second son, who succeeded him, lasted only other three years. Then the reign of the founder of the Han dynasty dates from bc 201: — eleven years were all which intervened between the order for the burning of the Books and the establishment of that Family which signalized itself by the care which it bestowed for their recovery; and from the issue of the edict against private individuals having copies in their keeping to its express abrogation by the Emperor Hwuy, there were only 22 years. We may believe, indeed, that vigorous efforts to carry the edict into effect

would not be continued longer than the life of its author, — that is, not for more than about three years. The calamity inflicted on the ancient Books of China by the House of Ts'in could not have approached to anything like a complete destruction of them.

The idea of forgery by the scholars of the Han dynasty on a large scale is out of the question. The catalogues of Lew Hin enumerated more than 13,000 volumes of a larger or smaller size, the productions of nearly 600 different writers, and arranged in 38 subdivisions of subjects. In the third catalogue, the first subdivision contained the orthodox writers, to the number of 53, with 836 Works or portions of their Works. Between Mencius and K'ung Keih, the grandson of Confucius, eight different authors have place. The second subdivision contained the Works of the Taouist school, amounting to 993 collections, from 37 different authors. The sixth subdivision contained the Mihist writers, to the number of six, with their productions in 86 collections. I specify these two subdivisions, because they embraced the Works of schools or sects antagonist to that of Confucius, and some of them still hold a place in Chinese literature, and contain many references to the five Classics, and to Confucius and his disciples.

The inquiry pursued in the above paragraphs conducts us to the conclusion that the materials from which the Classics, as they have come down to us, were compiled and edited in the two centuries preceding our Christian era, were genuine remains, going back to a still more remote period. The injury which they sustained from the dynasty of Ts'in was, I believe, the same in character as that to which they were exposed during all the time of "the Warring States." It may have been more intense in degree, but the constant warfare which prevailed for some centuries among the different States which composed the empire was eminently unfavourable to the cultivation of literature. Mencius tells us how the princes had made away with many of the records of antiquity, from which their own usurpations and innovations might have been condemned. Still the times were not unfruitful, either in scholars or statesmen, to whom the ways and monuments of antiquity were dear, and the space from the rise of the Ts'in dynasty to Confucius was not very great. It only amounted to 258 years. Between these two periods Mencius stands as a connecting link. Born probably in the year bc 371, he reached, by the intervention of K'ung Keih, back to the sage himself, and as his death happened bc 288, we are brought down to within nearly half a century of the Ts'in dynasty. From all these considerations, we may proceed with confidence to consider each separate Work, believing that we have in these Classics and Books what the great sage of China and his disciples found, or gave to their country, more than 2000 years ago.

CHAPTER II. OF THE CONFUCIAN ANALECTS.

SECTION I. FORMATION OF THE TEXT OF THE ANALECTS BY THE SCHOLARS OF THE HAN DYNASTY.

When the work of collecting and editing the remains of the Classical Books was undertaken by the scholars of Han, there appeared two different copies of the Analects; one from Loo, the native State of Confucius, and the other from Ts'e, the State adjoining. Between these there were considerable differences. The former consisted of twenty Books or Chapters, the same as those into which the Classic is now divided. The latter contained two Books in addition, and in the twenty Books, which they had in common, the chapters and sentences were somewhat more numerous than in the Loo exemplar.

The names of several individuals are given, who devoted themselves to the study of those two copies of the Classic. Among the patrons of the Loo copy are mentioned the names of Hea-how Shing, grand-tutor of the heir-apparent, who died at the age of 90, and in the reign of the Emperor Seuen (bc 72 — 48); Seaou Wangche, a general officer, who died in the reign of the Emperor Yuen (bc 47 — 32); Wei Heen, who was premier of the empire from bc 70 — 66; and his son Heuen-shing. As patrons of the Ts'e copy, we have Wang K'ing, who was a censor in the year bc 99; Yung Tan, and Wang Keih, a statesman who died in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Yuen.

But a third copy of the Analects was discovered about bc 150. One of the sons of the Emperor King was appointed king of Loo, in the year bc 153, and some time after, wishing to enlarge his palace, he proceeded to pull down the house of the K'ung family, known as that where Confucius himself had lived. While doing so, there were found in the wall copies of the Shoo-king, the Ch'un Ts'ew, the Heaou-king, and the Lun Yu or Analects, which had been deposited there, when the edict for the burning of the Books was issued. They were all written, however, in the most ancient form of the Chinese character, which had fallen into disuse; and the king returned them to the K'ung family, the head of which, K'ung Gan-kwŏ, gave himself to the study of them, and finally, in obedience to an imperial order, published a Work called "The Lun Yu, with explanations of the Characters, and Exhibition of the Meaning."

The recovery of this copy will be seen to be a most important circumstance in the history of the text of the Analects. It is referred to by Chinese writers, as "The old Lun Yu." In the historical narrative which we have of the affair, a circumstance is added which may appear to some minds to throw suspicion on

the whole account. The king was finally arrested, we are told, in his purpose to destroy the house, by hearing the sound of bells, musical stones, lutes, and harpsichords, as he was ascending the steps that led to the ancestral hall or temple. This incident was contrived, we may suppose, by the K'ung family, to preserve the house, or it may have been devised by the historian to glorify the sage, but we may not, on account of it, discredit the finding of the ancient copies of the Books. We have K'ung Gan-kwŏ's own account of their being committed to him, and of the ways which he took to decipher them. The work upon the Analects, mentioned above, has not indeed come down to us, but his labours on the Shoo-king still remain.

It has been already stated, that the Lun Yu of Ts'e contained two Books more than that of Loo. In this respect, the old Lun Yu agreed with the Loo exemplar. Those two books were wanting in it as well. The last book of the Loo Lun was divided in it, however, into two, the chapter beginning, "Yaou said," forming a whole Book by itself, and the remaining two chapters formed another Book beginning "Tsze-chang." With this trifling difference, the old and the Loo copies appear to have agreed together.

Chang Yu, prince of Gan-ch'ang, who died bc 4, after having sustained several of the highest offices of the empire, instituted a comparison between the exemplars of Loo and Ts'e, with a view to determine the true text. The result of his labours appeared in twenty-one Books, which are mentioned in Lew Hin's catalogue. They were known as the Lun of the Prince Chang, and commanded general approbation. To Chang Yu is commonly ascribed the ejecting from the Classic of the two additional books which the Ts'e exemplar contained, but Ma Twan-lin prefers to rest that circumstance on the authority of the old Lun, which we have seen was without them. If we had the two Books, we might find sufficient reason from their contents to discredit them. That may have been sufficient for Chang Yu to condemn them as he did, but we can hardly suppose that he did not have before him the old Lun, which had come to light about a century before he published his Work.

In the course of the second century, a new edition of the Analects, with a commentary, was published by one of the greatest scholars which China has ever produced, — Ch'ing Heuen, known also as Ch'ing K'ang-shing. He died in the reign of the Emperor Heen (ad109 — 220) at the age of 74, and the amount of his labours on the ancient classical literature is almost incredible. While he adopted the Loo Lun as the received text of his time, he compared it minutely with those of Ts'e and the old exemplar. He produced three different works on the Analects, which unfortunately do not subsist. They were current, however, for several centuries; and the name of one of them— "The Meaning of the Lun

Yu explained," — appears in the Catalogues of Books in the T'ang dynasty (ad 624 — 907).

On the whole, the above statements will satisfy the reader of the care with which the text of the Lun Yu was fixed during the dynasty of Han.

SECTION II. AT WHAT TIME, AND BY WHOM, THE ANALECTS WERE WRITTEN; THEIR PLAN; AND AUTHENTICITY.

At the commencement of the notes upon the first Book, under the heading— "The Title of the Work," I have given the received account of its authorship, taken from the "History of Literature" of the western Han dynasty. According to that, the Analects were compiled by the disciples of Confucius, coming together after his death, and digesting the memorials of his discourses and conversations which they had severally preserved. But this cannot be true. We may believe, indeed, that many of the disciples put on record conversations which they had had with their master, and notes about his manners and incidents of his life, and that these have been incorporated with the Work which we have, but that Work must have taken its present form at a period somewhat later.

In Book VIII., chapters iii. and iv., we have some notices of the last days of Tsăng Sin, and are told that he was visited on his death-bed by the officer Măng King. Now King was the posthumous title of Chung-sun Tseĕ, and we find him alive (Le Ke, II. Pt. II. ii. 2) after the death of Duke To of Loo, which took place bc 430, about fifty years after the death of Confucius.

Again, Book XIX. is all occupied with the sayings of the disciples. Confucius personally does not appear in it. Parts of it, as chapters iii., xii., xviii., and xix., carry us down to a time when the disciples had schools and followers of their own, and were accustomed to sustain their teachings by referring to the lessons which they had heard from the sage.

Thirdly, there is the second chapter of Book XI., the second paragraph of which is evidently a note by the compilers of the work, enumerating ten of the principal disciples, and classifying them according to their distinguishing characteristics. We can hardly suppose it to have been written while any of the ten were alive. But there is among them the name of Tsze-hea, who lived to the age of about a hundred. We find him, bc 406, three quarters of a century after the death of Confucius, at the court of Wei, to the prince of which he is reported to have presented some of the Classical Books.

We cannot therefore accept the above account of the origin of the Analects, — that they were compiled by the disciples of Confucius. Much more likely is the view that we owe the work to their disciples. In the note on Book I. ii. 1, a

peculiarity is pointed out in the use of the surnames of Yew Jŏ and Tsăng Sin, which has made some Chinese critics attribute the compilation to their followers. But this conclusion does not stand investigation. Others have assigned different portions to different schools. Thus Book V. is given to the disciples of Tsze-kung; Book XI. to those of Min Tsze-k'een; Book XIV. to Yuen Heen; and Book XVI. has been supposed to be interpolated from the Analects of Ts'e. Even if we were to acquiesce in these decisions, we should have accounted only for a small part of the work. It is better to rest in the general conclusion, that it was compiled by the disciples of the disciples of the sage, making free use of the written memorials concerning him which they had received, and the oral statements which they had heard, from their several masters. And we shall not be far wrong, if we determine its date as about the beginning of the third, or the end of the fourth century before Christ.

In the critical work on the Classical Books, called "Record of Remarks in the village of Yung," published in 1743, it is observed, "The Analects, in my opinion, were made by the disciples, just like this Record of Remarks. There they were recorded, and afterwards came a first-rate hand, who gave them the beautiful literary finish which we now witness, so that there is not a character which does not have its own indispensable place." We have seen that the first of these statements contains only a small amount of truth with regard to the materials of the Analects, nor can we receive the second. If one hand or one mind had digested the materials provided by many, the arrangement and style of the work would have been different. We should not have had the same remark appearing in several Books, with little variation, and sometimes with none at all. Nor can we account on this supposition for such fragments as the last chapters of the 9th, 10th, and 16th Books, and many others. No definite plan has been kept in view throughout. A degree of unity appears to belong to some Books more than to others, and in general to the first ten more than to those which follow, but there is no progress of thought or illustration of subject from Book to Book. And even in those where the chapters have a common subject, they are thrown together at random more than on any plan.

When the Work was first called the Lun Yu, we cannot tell. The evidence in the preceding section is sufficient to prove that when the Han scholars were engaged in collecting the ancient Books, it came before them, not in broken tablets, but complete, and arranged in Books or Sections, as we now have it. The old Lun was found deposited in the wall of the house which Confucius had occupied, and must have been placed there not later than bc 211, distant from the date which I have assigned to the compilation, not much more than a century and

a half. That copy, written in the most ancient characters, was, possibly, the autograph, so to speak, of the compilers.

We have the Writings, or portions of the Writings, of several authors of the third and fourth centuries before Christ. Of these, in addition to "The Great Learning," "The Doctrine of the Mean," and "The Works of Mencius," I have looked over the Works of Seun K'ing of the orthodox school, of the philosophers Chwang and Leĕ of the Taouist school, and of the heresiarch Mih.

In The Great Learning, Commentary, chapter iv., we have the words of Ana. XII. xiii. In The Doctrine of the Mean, ch. iii., we have Ana. VI. xxvii.; and in ch. xxviii. 5, we have Ana. III. ix. and xiv. In Mencius, II. Pt. I. ii. 19, we have Ana. VII. xxxiii., and in vii. 2, Ana. IV. i.; in III. Pt. I. iv. 11, Ana. VIII. xviii., xix.; in IV. Pt. I. xiv. 1, Ana. XI. xvi. 2; V. Pt. II. vii. 9, Ana. X. xiii. 4; and in VII. Pt. II. xxxvii. 1, 2, 8, Ana. V. xxi., XIII. xxi., and XVII. xiii. These quotations, however, are introduced by "The Master said," or "Confucius said," no mention being made of any book called "The Lun Yu," or Analects. In The Great Learning, Commentary, x. 15, we have the words of Ana. IV. iii., and in Mencius, III. Pt. II. vii. 3, those of Ana. XVII. i., but without any notice of quotation.

In the Writings of Seun K'ing, Book I. page 2, we find some words of Ana. XV. xxx.; , those of XIV. xxv. In Book VIII. , we have some words of Ana. II. xvii. But in these three instances there is no mark of quotation.

In the Writings of Chwang, I have noted only one passage where the words of the Analects are reproduced. Ana. XVIII. v. is found, but with large additions, and no reference of quotation, in his treatise on "The state of Men in the world, Intermediate," placed, that is, between Heaven and Earth. In all these Works, as well as in those of Leĕ and Mih, the references to Confucius and his disciples, and to many circumstances of his life, are numerous. The quotations of sayings of his not found in the Analects are likewise many, especially in the Doctrine of the Mean, in Mencius, and in the works of Chwang. Those in the latter are mostly burlesques, but those by the orthodox writers have more or less of classical authority. Some of them may be found in the Kea Yu, or "Family Sayings," and in parts of the Le Ke, while others are only known to us by their occurrence in these Writings. Altogether, they do not supply the evidence, for which I am in quest, of the existence of the Analects as a distinct Work, bearing the name of the Lun Yu, prior to the Ts'in dynasty. They leave the presumption, however, in favour of those conclusions, which arises from the facts stated in the first section, undisturbed. They confirm it rather. They show that there was abundance of materials at hand to the scholars of Han, to compile a much larger

Work with the same title, if they had felt it their duty to do the business of compilation, and not that of editing.

SECTION III. OF COMMENTARIES UPON THE ANALECTS.

It would be a vast and unprofitable labour to attempt to give a list of the Commentaries which have been published on this Work. My object is merely to point out how zealously the business of interpretation was undertaken, as soon as the text had been recovered by the scholars of the Han dynasty, and with what industry it has been persevered in down to the present time.

Mention has been made, in Section I. 6, of the Lun of Prince Chang, published in the half century before our era. Paou Heen, a distinguished scholar and officer, of the reign of Kwang-woo, the first emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty, ad 25 — 57, and another scholar of the surname Chow, less known but of the same time, published Works, containing arrangements of this into chapters and sentences, with explanatory notes. The critical work of K'ung Gan-kwŏ on the old Lun Yu has been referred to. That was lost in consequence of troubles which arose towards the close of the reign of the Emperor Woo, but in the time of the Emperor Shun, ad 126 — 144, another scholar, Ma Yung, undertook the exposition of the characters in the old Lun, giving at the same time his views of the general meaning. The labours of Ch'ing Heuen in the second century have been mentioned. Not long after his death, there ensued a period of anarchy, when the empire was divided into three governments, well known from the celebrated historical romance, called "The Three States." The strongest of them, the House of Wei, patronized literature, and three of its high officers and scholars, Ch'in K'eun, Wang Suh, and Chow Shang-lëĕ, in the first half, and probably the second quarter of the third century, all gave to the world their notes on the Analects.

Very shortly after, five of the chief ministers of the Government of Wei, Sun Yung, Ch'ing Ch'ung, Tsaou He, Seun K'ae, and Ho An, united in the production of one great work, entitled, "A Collection of Explanations of the Lun Yu." It embodied the labours of all the writers which have been mentioned, and having been frequently reprinted by succeeding dynasties, it still remains. The preface of the five compilers, in the form of a memorial to the emperor, so called, of the House of Wei, is published with it, and has been of much assistance to me in writing these sections. Ho An was the leader among them, and the work is commonly quoted as if it were the production of him alone.

From Ho An downwards, there has not been a dynasty which has not contributed its labourers to the illustration of the Analects. In the Leang, which

occupied the throne a good part of the sixth century, there appeared the "Comments of Wang K'an," who to the seven authorities cited by Ho An added other thirteen, being scholars who had deserved well of the Classic during the intermediate time. Passing over other dynasties, we come to the Sung, ad 960 — 1279. An edition of the Classics was published by imperial authority, about the beginning of the 11th century, with the title of "The Correct Meaning." The principal scholar engaged in the undertaking was Hing Ping. The portion of it on the Analects is commonly reprinted in "The Thirteen Classics," after Ho An's explanations. But the names of the Sung dynasty are all thrown into the shade by that of Choo He, than whom China has not produced a greater scholar. He composed, in the 12th century, three Works on the Analects, which still remain: — the first called "Collected Meanings;" the second, "Collected Comments;" and the third, "Queries." Nothing could exceed the grace and clearness of his style, and the influence which he has exerted on the literature of China has been almost despotic.

The scholars of the present dynasty, however, seem inclined to question the correctness of his views and interpretations of the Classics, and the chief place among them is due to Maou K'eling, known more commonly as Maou Se-ho. His writings, under the name of "The Collected Works of Se-ho," have been published in 80 volumes, containing between three and four hundred books or sections. He has nine treatises on The Four Books, or parts of them, and deserves to take rank with Ch'ing Heuen and Choo He at the head of Chinese scholars, though he is a vehement opponent of the latter. Many of his writings are to be found also in the great Work called "A Collection of Works on the Classics, under the Imperial dynasty of Ts'ing," which contains 1400 sections, and is a noble contribution by scholars of the present dynasty to the illustration of its ancient literature.

CHAPTER III. OF THE GREAT LEARNING.

SECTION I. HISTORY OF THE TEXT; AND THE DIFFERENT ARRANGEMENTS OF IT WHICH HAVE BEEN PROPOSED.

It has already been mentioned that "The Great Learning" forms one of the chapters of the Le Ke, or "Record of Rites," the formation of the text of which will be treated of in its proper place. I will only say here that the Book, or Books, of Rites had suffered much more, after the death of Confucius, than the other ancient Classics. They were in a more dilapidated condition at the time of the revival of the ancient literature under the Han dynasty, and were then published in three collections, only one of which — the Record of Rites — retains its place among the King.

The Record of Rites consists, according to the current arrangement, of 49 chapters or Books. Lew Heang (see ch. I. sect. II. 2) took the lead in its formation, and was followed by the two famous scholars, Tae Tih, and his relative, Tae Shing. The first of these reduced upwards of 200 chapters, collected by Heang, to 89, and Shing reduced these again to 46. The three other Books were added in the second century of our era, The Great Learning being one of them, by Ma Yung, mentioned in the last chaper, section III. 2. Since his time, the Work has not received any further additions.

In his note appended to what he calls the chapter of "Classical Text," Choo He says that the tablets of the "old copies" of the rest of The Great Learning were considerably out of order. By those old copies, he intends the Work of Ch'ing Heuen, who published his commentary on the Classic, soon after it was completed by the additions of Ma Yung; and it is possible that the tablets were in confusion, and had not been arranged with sufficient care; but such a thing does not appear to have been suspected until the 12th century; nor can any authority from ancient monuments be adduced in its support.

I have related how the ancient Classics were cut on slabs of stone by imperial order, ad 175, the text being that which the various literati had determined, and which had been adopted by Ch'ing Heuen. The same work was performed about seventy years later, under the so-called dynasty of Wei, between the years 240 and 248, and the two sets of slabs were set up together. The only difference between them was, that whereas the Classics had been cut in the first instance in three different forms, called the Seal character, the Pattern style, and the Imperfect form, there was substituted for the latter in the slabs of Wei the oldest form of the characters, similar to that which has been described in connection

with the discovery of the old Lun Yu in the wall of Confucius' house. Amid the changes of dynasties, the slabs both of Han and Wei had perished before the rise of the T'ang dynasty, ad 624; but under one of its emperors, in the year 836, a copy of the Classics was again cut on stone, though only in one form of the character. These slabs we can trace down through the Sung dynasty when they were known as the tablets of Shen. They were in exact conformity with the text of the Classics adopted by Ch'ing Heuen in his commentaries.

The Sung dynasty did not accomplish a similar work itself, nor has any one of the three which have followed it thought it necessary to engrave in stone in this way the ancient classics. About the middle of the 16th century, however, the literary world in China was startled by a report that the slabs of Wei which contained The Great Learning had been discovered. But this was nothing more than the result of an impudent attempt at an imposition, for which it is difficult to a foreigner to assign any adequate cause. The treatise, as printed from these slabs, has some trifling additions, and many alterations in the order of the text, but differing from the arrangements proposed by Choo He, and by other scholars. There seems to be now no difference of opinion among Chinese critics that the whole affair was a forgery. The text of The Great Learning, as it appears in the Book of Rites with the commentary of Ch'ing Heuen, and was thrice engraved on stone, in three different dynasties, is, no doubt, that which was edited in the Han dynasty by Ma Yung.

I have said that it is possible that the tablets containing the text were not arranged with sufficient care by him, and, indeed, any one who studies the treatise attentively will probably come to the conclusion that the part of it forming the first six chapters of Commentary in the present Work is but a fragment. It would not be a difficult task to propose an arrangement of the text different from any which I have yet seen; but such an undertaking would not be interesting out of China. My object here is simply to mention the Chinese scholars who have rendered themselves famous or notorious in their own country, by what they have done in this way. The first was Ch'ing Haou, a native of Lohyang in Ho-nan province, in the 11th century. His designation was Pih-shun, but since his death he has been known chiefly by the style of Ming-taou, which we may render the Wise-in-doctrine. The eulogies heaped on him by Choo He and others are extravagant, and he is placed immediately after Mencius in the list of great scholars. Doubtless he was a man of vast literary acquirements. The greatest change which he introduced into The Great Learning, was to read sin for ts'in, at the commencement, making the second object proposed in the treatise to be the renovation of the people, instead of loving

them. This alteration and his various transpositions of the text are found in Maou Se-ho's treatise on "The attested text of The Great Learning."

Hardly less illustrious than Ch'ing Haou was his younger brother Ch'ing E, known by the style of Ching-shuh, and since his death by that of E-ch'uen. He followed Haou in the adoption of the reading "to renovate," instead of "to love." But he transposed the text differently, more akin to the arrangement afterwards made by Choo He, suggesting also that there were some superfluous sentences in the old text which might conveniently be erased. The Work, as proposed to be read by him, will be found in the volume of Maou just referred to.

We come to the name of Choo He who entered into the labours of the brothers Ch'ing, the younger of whom he styles his Master, in his introductory note to The Great Learning. His arrangement of the text is that now current in all the editions of the Four Books, and it had nearly displaced the ancient text altogether. The sanction of Imperial approval was given to it during the Yuen and Ming dynasties. In the editions of the five King published by them, only the names of the Doctrine of the Mean and The Great Learning were preserved. No text of these Books was given, and Se-ho tells us, that in the reign of Kea-tsing, the most flourishing period of the Ming dynasty (ad 1522 — 1566), when a Wang Wăn-shing published a copy of The Great Learning, taken from the T'ang edition of the Thirteen King, all the officers and scholars looked at one another in astonishment, and were inclined to suppose that the Work was a forgery. Besides adopting the reading of sin for ts'in from the Ch'ing, and modifying their arrangements of the text, Choo He made other innovations. He first divided the whole into one chapter of Classical text, which he assigned to Confucius, and ten chapters of Commentary, which he assigned to the disciple Tsăng. Previous to him, the whole had been published, indeed, without any specification of chapters and paragraphs. He undertook, moreover, to supply one whole chapter, which he supposed, after his master Ch'ing, to be missing.

Since the time of Choo He, many scholars have exercised their wit on The Great Learning. The Work of Maou Se-ho contains four arrangements of the text, proposed respectively by the scholars Wang Loo-chae, Ke P'ang-san, Kaon King-yih, and Kŏ Hoo-chen. The curious student may examine them there.

Under the present dynasty, the tendency has been to depreciate the labours of Choo He. The integrity of the text of Ch'ing Heuen is zealously maintained, and the simpler method of interpretation employed by him is advocated in preference to the more refined and ingenious schemes of the Sung scholars. I have referred several times in the notes to a Work published a few years ago, under the title of "The Old Text of the sacred King, with Commentary and Discussions, by Lo Chung-fan of Nan-hae." I knew the man seventeen years ago. He was a fine

scholar, and had taken the second degree, or that of Keu-jin. He applied to me in 1843 for Christian baptism, and offended by my hesitancy went and enrolled himself among the disciples of another Missionary. He soon, however, withdrew into seclusion, and spent the last years of his life in literary studies. His family have published the work on The Great Learning, and one or two others. He most vehemently impugns nearly every judgment of Choo He: but in his own exhibitions of the meaning he blends many ideas of the Supreme Being and of the condition of human nature, which he had learned from the Christian Scriptures.

SECTION II. OF THE AUTHORSHIP, AND DISTINCTION OF THE TEXT INTO CLASSICAL TEXT AND COMMENTARY.

The authorship of The Great Learning is a very doubtful point, and one on which it does not appear possible to come to a decided conclusion. Choo He, as I have stated in the last section, determined that so much of it was king, or Classic, being the very words of Confucius, and that all the rest was chuen, or Commentary, being the views of Tsăng Sin upon the sage's words, recorded by his disciples. Thus, he does not expressly attribute the composition of the Treatise to Tsăng, as he is generally supposed to do. What he says, however, as it is destitute of external support, is contrary also to the internal evidence. The 4th chapter of Commentary commences with "The Master said." Surely, if there were anything more, directly from Confucius, there would be an intimation of it in the same way. Or, if we may allow that short sayings of Confucius might be interwoven with the Work, as in the 15th paragraph of the 10th chapter, without mention of "The Master," it is too much to ask us to receive the long chapter at the beginning as being from him. With regard to the Work having come from the disciples of Tsăng Sin, recording their master's views, the paragraph in chapter 6th, commencing with "The disciple Tsăng said," seems to be conclusive against that hypothesis. So much we may be sure is Tsăng's, and no more. Both of Choo He's judgments must be set aside. We cannot admit either the distinction of the contents into Classical text and Commentary, or that the Work was the production of Tsăng's disciples.

Who then was the author? An ancient tradition attributes it to K'ung Keih, the grandson of Confucius. In a notice published at the time of their preparation, about the stone slabs of Wei, the following statement by Kea Kwei, a noted scholar of the 1st century, is quoted:— "When K'ung Keih was living, and in straits, in Sung, being afraid lest the lessons of the former sages should become obscure, and the principles of the ancient emperors and kings fall to the ground,

he therefore made The Great Learning as the warp of them, and The Doctrine of the Mean as the woof." This would seem, therefore, to have been the opinion of that early time, and I may say the only difficulty in admitting it is that no mention is made of it by Ch'ing Heuen. There certainly is that agreement between the two treatises, which makes their common authorship not at all unlikely.

Though we cannot positively assign the authorship of The Great Learning, there can be no hesitation in receiving it as a genuine monument of the Confucian school. There are not many words in it from the sage himself, but it is a faithful reflection of his teachings, written by some of his followers, not far removed from him by lapse of time. It must synchronize pretty nearly with the Analects, and may be safely referred to the fourth century before our era.

SECTION III. ITS SCOPE AND VALUE.

The worth of The Great Learning has been celebrated in most extravagant terms by many Chinese writers, and there have been foreigners who have not yielded to them in their estimation of it. Pauthier, in the "Argument Philosophique," prefixed to his translation of the Work, says:— "It is evident that the aim of the Chinese philosopher is to exhibit the duties of political government as those of the perfecting of self, and of the practice of virtue by all men. He felt that he had a higher mission than that with which the greater part of ancient and modern philosophers have contented themselves; and his immense love for the happiness of humanity, which dominated over all his other sentiments, has made of his philosophy a system of social perfectionating, which, we venture to say, has never been equalled."

Very different is the judgment passed upon the treatise by a writer in the Chinese Repository:— "The Ta Heŏ is a short politico-moral discourse. Ta Heŏ, or 'Superior Learning,' is at the same time both the name and the subject of the discourse; it is the summum bonum of the Chinese. In opening this Book, compiled by a disciple of Confucius, and containing his doctrines, we might expect to find a Work like Cicero's De Officiis; but we find a very different production, consisting of a few commonplace rules for the maintenance of a good government."

My readers will perhaps think, after reading the present section, that the truth lies between these two representations.

I believe that the Book should be styled T'ae Heŏ, and not Ta Heŏ, and that it was so named as setting forth the higher and more extensive principles of moral science, which come into use and manifestation in the conduct of government.

When Choo He endeavours to make the title mean— "The principles of Learning, which were taught in the higher schools of antiquity," and tells us how at the age of 15 all the sons of the emperor, with the legitimate sons of the nobles and high officers, down to the more promising scions of the common people, all entered these seminaries, and were taught the difficult lessons here inculcated, we pity the ancient youth of China. Such "strong meat" is not adapted for the nourishment of youthful minds. But the evidence adduced for the existence of such educational institutions in ancient times is unsatisfactory, and from the older interpretation of the title we advance more easily to contemplate the object and method of the Work.

The object is stated definitely enough in the opening paragraph:— "What The Great Learning teaches, is — to illustrate illustrious virtue; to love the people; and to rest in the highest excellence." The political aim of the writer is here at once evident. He has before him on one side the people, the masses of the empire, and over against them are those whose work and duty, delegated by Heaven, is to govern them, culminating, as a class, in "the son of Heaven," "the one man," the emperor. From the 4th and 5th paragraphs, we see that if the lessons of the treatise be learned and carried into practice, the result will be that "illustrious virtue will be illustrated throughout the empire," which will be brought, through all its length and breadth, to a condition of happy tranquillity. This object is certainly both grand and good; and if a reasonable and likely method to secure it were proposed in the Work, language would hardly supply terms adequate to express its value.

But the above account of the object of The Great Learning leads us to the conclusion that the student of it should be an emperor. What interest can an ordinary man have in it? It is high up in the clouds, far beyond his reach. This is a serious objection to it, and quite unfits it for a place in schools, such as Choo He contends it once had. Intelligent Chinese, whose minds were somewhat quickened by Christianity, have spoken to me of this defect, and complained of the difficulty they felt in making the book a practical directory for their conduct. "It is so vague and vast," was the observation of one man. The writer, however, has made some provision for the general application of his instructions. He tells us, that from the emperor down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person to be the root, that is, the first thing to be attended to. As in his method, moreover, he reaches from the cultivation of the person to the tranquillization of the Empire, through the intermediate steps of the regulation of the family, and the government of the State, there is room for setting forth principles that parents and rulers generally may find adapted for their guidance.

The method which is laid down for the attainment of the great object proposed consists of seven steps: — the investigation of things; the completion of knowledge; the sincerity of the thoughts; the rectifying of the heart; the cultivation of the person; the regulation of the family; and the government of the State. These form the steps of a climax, the end of which is the empire tranquillized. Pauthier calls the paragraphs where they occur instances of the sorites, or abridged syllogism. But they belong to rhetoric, and not to logic.

In offering some observations on these steps, and the writer's treatment of them, it will be well to separate them into those preceding the cultivation of the person, and those following it; and to deal with the latter first. — Let us suppose that the cultivation of the person is all attained, every discordant mental element having been subdued and removed. It is assumed that the regulation of the family will necessarily flow from this. Two short paragraphs are all that are given to the illustration of the point, and they are vague generalities on the subject of men being led astray by their feelings and affections.

The family being regulated, there will result from it the government of the State. First, the virtues taught in the family have their correspondences in the wider sphere. Filial piety will appear as loyalty. Fraternal submission will be seen in respect and obedience to elders and superiors. Kindness is capable of universal application. Second, "From the loving example of one family, a whole State becomes loving, and from its courtesies the whole State becomes courteous." Seven paragraphs suffice to illustrate these statements, and short as they are, the writer goes back to the topic of self-cultivation, returning from the family to the individual.

The State being governed, the whole empire will become peaceful and happy. There is even less of connection, however, in the treatment of this theme, between the premise and the conclusion, than in the two previous chapters. Nothing is said about the relation between the whole empire, and its component States, or any one of them. It is said at once, "What is meant by 'The making the whole empire peaceful and happy depends on the government of the State,' is this: — when the sovereign behaves to his aged, as the aged should be behaved to, the people become filial; when the sovereign behaves to his elders, as elders should be behaved to, the people learn brotherly submission; when the sovereign treats compassionately the young and helpless, the people do the same." This is nothing but a repetition of the preceding chapter, instead of that chapter's being made a step from which to go on to the splendid consummation of the good government of the whole empire.

The words which I have quoted are followed by a very striking enunciation of the golden rule in its negative form, and under the name of the measuring square,

and all the lessons of the chapter are connected more or less closely with that. The application of this principle by a ruler, whose heart is in the first place in loving sympathy with the people, will guide him in all the exactions which he lays upon them, and in the selection of ministers, in such a way that he will secure the affections of his subjects, and his throne will be established, for "by gaining the people, the kingdom is gained; and, by losing the people, the kingdom is lost." There are in this part of the treatise many valuable sentiments, and counsels for all in authority over others. The objection to it is, that, as the last step of the climax, it does not rise upon all the others with the accumulated force of their conclusions, but introduces us to new principles of action and a new line of argument. Cut off the commencement of the first paragraph which connects it with the preceding chapters, and it would form a brief but admirable treatise by itself on the art of government.

This brief review of the writer's treatment of the concluding steps of his method will satisfy the reader that the execution is not equal to the design; and, moreover, underneath all the reasoning, and more especially apparent in the 8th and 9th chapters of Commentary (according to the ordinary arrangement of the work), there lies the assumption that example is all but omnipotent. We find this principle pervading all the Confucian philosophy. And doubtless it is a truth, most important in education and government, that the influence of example is very great. I believe, and will insist upon it hereafter in these prolegomena, that we have come to overlook this element in our conduct of administration. It will be well if the study of the Chinese Classics should call attention to it. Yet in them the subject is pushed to an extreme, and represented in an extravagant manner. Proceeding from the view of human nature that it is entirely good, and led astray only by influences from without, the sage of China and his followers attribute to personal example and to instruction a power which we do not find that they actually possess.

The steps which precede the cultivation of the person are more briefly dealt with than those which we have just considered. "The cultivation of the person results from the rectifying the heart or mind." True, but in The Great Learning very inadequately set forth.

"The rectifying of the mind is realized when the thoughts are made sincere." And the thoughts are sincere when no self-deception is allowed, and we move without effort to what is right and wrong, "as we love what is beautiful, and as we hate a bad smell." How are we to attain to this state? Here the Chinese moralist fails us. According to Choo He's arrangement of the Treatise, there is only one sentence from which we can frame a reply to the above question. "Therefore," it is said, "the superior man must be watchful over himself when he

is alone." Following Choo's 6th chapter of Commentary, and forming, we may say, part of it, we have in the old arrangement of The Great Learning all the passages which he has distributed so as to form the previous five chapters. But even from the examination of them, we do not obtain the information which we desire on this momentous inquiry.

Indeed, the more I study the Work, the more satisfied I become, that from the conclusion of what is now called the chapter of Classical text to the sixth chapter of Commentary, we have only a few fragments, which it is of no use trying to arrange, so as fairly to exhibit the plan of the author. According to his method, the chapter on the connection between making the thoughts sincere and so rectifying the mental nature, should be preceded by one on the completion of knowledge as the means of making the thoughts sincere, and that again by one on the completion of knowledge by the investigation of things, or whatever else the phrase kih wuh may mean. I am less concerned for the loss and injury which this part of the Work has suffered, because the subject of the connection between intelligence and virtue is very fully exhibited in The Doctrine of the Mean, and will come under my notice in the review of that Treatise. The manner in which Choo He has endeavoured to supply the blank about the perfecting of knowledge by the investigation of things is too extravagant. "The Learning for Adults," he says, "at the outset of its lessons, instructs the learner, in regard to all things in the world, to proceed from what knowledge he has of their principles, and pursue his investigation of them, till he reaches the extreme point. After exerting himself for a long time, he will suddenly find himself possessed of a wide and far-reaching penetration. Then, the qualities of all things, whether external or internal, the subtle or the coarse, will be apprehended, and the mind, in its entire substance and its relation to things, will be perfectly intelligent. This is called the investigation of things. This is called the perfection of knowledge." And knowledge must be thus perfected before we can achieve the sincerity of our thoughts and the rectifying of our hearts! Verily this would be learning not for adults only, but even Methuselahs would not be able to compass it. Yet for centuries this has been accepted as the orthodox exposition of the Classic. Lo Chung-fan does not express himself too strongly when he says that such language is altogether incoherent. The author would only be "imposing on himself and others."

The orthodox doctrine of China concerning the connection between intelligence and virtue is most seriously erroneous, but I will not lay to the charge of the author of The Great Learning the wild representations of the commentator of the twelfth century, nor need I make here any remarks on what the doctrine really is. After the exhibition which I have given, my readers will

probably conclude that the Work before us is far from developing, as Pauthier asserts, “a system of social perfectionating which has never been equalled.”

The Treatise has undoubtedly great merits, but they are not to be sought in the severity of its logical processes, or the large-minded prosecution of any course of thought. We shall find them in the announcement of certain seminal principles, which, if recognized in government and the regulation of conduct, would conduce greatly to the happiness and virtue of mankind. I will conclude these observations by specifying four such principles.

First, The writer conceives nobly of the object of government, that it is to make its subjects happy and good. This may not be a sufficient account of that object, but it is much to have it so clearly laid down to “all kings and governors,” that they are to love the people, ruling not for their own gratification, but for the good of those over whom they are exalted by Heaven. Very important also is the statement that rulers have no divine right but what springs from the discharge of their duty. “The decree does not always rest on them. Goodness obtains it, and the want of goodness loses it.”

Second, The insisting on personal excellence in all who have authority in the family, the State, and the empire, is a great moral and social principle. The influence of such personal excellence may be overstated, but by the requirement of its cultivation the writer deserved well of his country.

Third, Still more important than the requirement of such excellence is the principle that it must be rooted in the state of the heart, and be the natural outgrowth of internal sincerity. “As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.” This is the teaching alike of Solomon and the author of The Great Learning.

Fourth, I mention last the striking exhibition which we have of the golden rule, though only in its negative form. “What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors; what he dislikes in inferiors, let him not display in his service of his superiors; what he dislikes in those who are before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind him; what he dislikes in those who are behind him, let him not therewith follow those who are before him; what he dislikes to receive on the right, let him not bestow on the left; what he dislikes to receive on the left, let him not bestow on the right: — this is what is called the principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate one’s conduct.”

The Work which contains those principles cannot be thought meanly of. They are “commonplace,” as the writer in the Chinese repository calls them, but they are at the same time eternal verities.

CHAPTER IV. THE DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN.

SECTION I. ITS PLACE IN THE LE KE, AND ITS PUBLICATION SEPARATELY.

The Doctrine of the Mean was one of the treatises which came to light in connection with the labours of Lew Heang, and its place as the 31st Book in the Le Ke was finally determined by Ma Yung and Ch'ing Heuen.

But while it was thus made to form a part of the great collection of Works on Ceremonies, it maintained a separate footing of its own. In Lew Hin's catalogue of the Classical Works, we find "Two p'een of Observations on the Chung Yung." In the Records of the dynasty of Suy (ad 589 — 617), in the chapter on the History of Literature, there are mentioned three Works on the Chung Yung;" — the first called "The Record of the Chung Yung," in two keuen, attributed to Tae Yung, a scholar who flourished about the middle of the 5th century; the second, "A Paraphrase and Commentary on the Chung Yung," attributed to the Emperor Woo (ad 502 — 549) of the Leang dynasty, in one keuen; and the third, "A Private Record, determining the Meaning of the Chung Yung," in five keuen, the author, or supposed author, of which is not mentioned.

It thus appears, that the Chung Yung had been published and commented on separately long before the time of the Sung dynasty. The scholars of that, however, devoted special attention to it, the way being led by the famous Chow Leen-k'e. He was followed by the two brothers Ch'ing, but neither of them published upon it. At last came Choo He, who produced his Work called "The Chung Yung, in Chapters and Sentences," which was made the text book of the Classic at the literary examinations, by the fourth emperor of the Yuen dynasty (ad 1312 — 1320), and from that time the name merely of the Treatise was retained in editions of the Le Ke. Neither text nor ancient commentary was given.

Under the present dynasty it is not so. In the superb edition of "The Five King," edited by a numerous committee of scholars towards the end of the reign K'ang-he, the Chung Yung is published in two parts, the ancient commentaries from "The Thirteen King" being given side by side with those of Choo He.

SECTION II. ITS AUTHOR; AND SOME ACCOUNT OF HIM.

The composition of the Chung Yung is attributed to K'ung Keih, the grandson of Confucius. Chinese inquirers and critics are agreed on this point, and apparently

on sufficient grounds. There is indeed no internal evidence in the Work to lead us to such a conclusion. Among the many quotations of Confucius' words and references to him, we might have expected to find some indication that the sage was the grandfather of the author, but nothing of the kind is given. The external evidence, however, or that from the testimony of authorities, is very strong. In Sze-ma Ts'een's Historical Records, published about the beginning of the first century bc, it is expressly said that "Tsze-sze made the Chung Yung." And we have a still stronger proof, a century earlier, from Tsze-sze's own descendant, K'ung Foo, whose words are, "Tsze-sze compiled the Chung Yung in 49 p'ëen." We may, therefore, accept the received account without hesitation.

As Keih, spoken of chiefly by his designation of Tsze-sze, thus occupies a distinguished place in the classical literature of China, it may not be out of place to bring together gether here a few notices of him gathered from reliable sources.

He was the son of Le, whose death took place bc 482, four years before that of the sage, his father. I have not found it recorded in what year he was born. Sze-ma Ts'een says he died at the age of 62. But this is evidently wrong, for we learn from Mencius that he was high in favour with the Duke Muh of Loo, whose accession to that principality dates in bc 408, seventy years after the death of Confucius. In the "Plates and Notices of the Worthies, sacrificed to in the Sage's Temples," it is supposed that the 62 in the Historical Records should be 82. It is maintained by others that Tsze-sze's life was protracted beyond 100 years. This variety of opinions simply shows that the point cannot be positively determined. To me it seems that the conjecture in the Sacrificial Canon must be pretty near the truth.

During the years of his boyhood, then, Tsze-sze must have been with his grandfather, and received his instructions. It is related, that one day, when he was alone with the sage, and heard him sighing, he went up to him, and, bowing twice, inquired the reason of his grief. "Is it," said he, "because you think that your descendants, through not cultivating themselves, will be unworthy of you? Or is it that, in your admiration of the ways of Yaou and Shun, you are vexed that you fall short of them?" "Child," replied Confucius, "how is it that you know my thoughts?" "I have often," said Tsze-sze, "heard from you the lesson, that when the father has gathered and prepared the firewood, if the son cannot carry the bundle, he is to be pronounced degenerate and unworthy. The remark comes frequently into my thoughts, and fills me with great apprehension." The sage was delighted. He smiled and said, "Now, indeed, shall I be without anxiety! My undertakings will not come to nought. They will be carried on and flourish."

After the death of Confucius, Keih became a pupil, it is said, of the philosopher Tsăng. But he received his instructions with discrimination, and in one instance which is recorded in the Le Ke, the pupil suddenly took the place of the master. We there read:— "Tsăng said to Tsze-sze, 'Keih, when I was engaged in mourning for my parents, neither congee nor water entered my mouth for seven days.' Tsze-sze answered, 'In ordering their rules of propriety, it was the design of the ancient kings that those who would go beyond them should stoop and keep by them, and that those who could hardly reach them should stand on tiptoe to do so. Thus it is that the superior man, in mourning for his parents, when he has been three days without water or congee, takes a staff to enable himself to rise.'"

While he thus condemned the severe discipline of Tsăng, Tsze-sze appears in various incidents which are related of him, to have been himself more than sufficiently ascetic. As he was living in great poverty, a friend supplied him with grain, which he readily received. Another friend was emboldened by this to send him a bottle of wine, but he declined to receive it. "You receive your corn from other people," urged the donor, "and why should you decline my gift, which is of less value? You can assign no ground in reason for it; and if you wish to show your independence, you should do so completely." "I am so poor," was the reply, "as to be in want; and being afraid lest I should die, and the sacrifices not be offered to my ancestors, I accept the grain as an alms. But the wine and the dried flesh which you offer to me are the appliances of a feast. For a poor man to be feasting is certainly unreasonable. This is the ground of my refusing your gift. I have no thought of asserting my independence."

To the same effect is the account of Tsze-sze, which we have from Lew Heang. That scholar relates:— "When Keih was living in Wei, he wore a tattered coat, without any lining, and in 30 days had only nine meals. T'ëen Tsze-fang having heard of his distress, sent a messenger to him with a coat of fox-fur, and being afraid that he might not receive it, he added the message,— 'When I borrow from a man, I forget it; when I give a thing, I part with it freely as if I threw it away.' Tsze-sze declined the gift thus offered, and when Tsze-fang said, 'I have, and you have not; why will you not take it?' he replied, 'You give away so rashly, as if you were casting your things into a ditch. Poor as I am, I cannot think of my body as a ditch, and do not presume to accept your gift.'"

Tsze-sze's mother married again, after Le's death, into a family of Wei. But this circumstance, which is not at all creditable in Chinese estimation, did not alienate his affections from her. He was in Loo when he heard of her death, and proceeded to weep in the temple of his family. A disciple came to him and said, "Your mother married again into the family of the Shoo, and do you weep for

her in the temple of the K'ung?" "I am wrong," said Tsze-sze, "I am wrong;" and with these words he went to weep elsewhere.

In his own married relation he does not seem to have been happy; and for some cause, which has not been transmitted to us, he divorced his wife, following in this, it would appear, the example of Confucius. On her death her son, Tsze-shang, did not undertake any mourning for her. Tsze-sze's disciples were surprised and questioned him. "Did not your father," they asked, "mourn for his mother who had been divorced?" "Yes," was the reply. "Then why do you not cause Pih to mourn for his mother?" Tsze-sze answered, "My father failed in nothing to pursue the proper path. His observances increased or decreased as the case required. But I cannot attain to this. While she was my wife, she was Pih's mother; when she ceased to be my wife, she ceased to be Pih's mother." The custom of the K'ung family not to mourn for a mother who had left it herself, or been divorced, took its rise from Tsze-sze.

These few notices of K'ung Keih in his more private relations bring him before us as a man of strong feeling and strong will, independent, and with a tendency to asceticism in his habits.

As a public character, we find him at the ducal courts of Wei, Sung, Loo, and Pe, and at each of them held in high esteem by the rulers. To Wei he was carried probably by the fact of his mother having married into that State. We are told that the prince of Wei received him with great distinction and lodged him honourably. On one occasion he said to him, "An officer of the State of Loo, you have not despised this small and narrow Wei, but have bent your steps hither to comfort and preserve it; — vouchsafe to confer your benefits upon me." Tsze-sze replied, "If I should wish to requite your princely favour with money and silks, your treasuries are already full of them, and I am poor. If I should wish to requite it with good words, I am afraid that what I should say would not suit your ideas, so that I should speak in vain, and not be listened to. The only way in which I can requite it, is by recommending to your notice men of worth." The duke said, "Men of worth is exactly what I desire." "Nay," said Keih, "you are not able to appreciate them." "Nevertheless," was the reply, "I should like to hear whom you consider deserving that name." Tsze-sze replied, "Do you wish to select your officers for the name they may have, or for their reality?" "For their reality, certainly," said the duke. His guest then said, "In the eastern borders of your State, there is one Le Yin, who is a man of real worth." "What were his grandfather and father?" asked the duke. "They were husbandmen," was the reply, on which the duke broke into a loud laugh, saying, "I do not like husbandry. The son of a husbandman cannot be fit for me to employ. I do not put into office all the cadets of those families even in which office is hereditary."

Tsze-sze observed, “I mention Le Yin because of his abilities; what has the fact of his forefathers being husbandmen to do with the case? And moreover, the duke of Chow was a great sage, and K’ang-shuh was a great worthy. Yet if you examine their beginnings, you will find that from the business of husbandry they came forth to found their States. I did certainly have my doubts that in the selection of your officers you did not have regard to their real character and capacity.” With this the conversation ended. The duke was silent.

Tsze-sze was naturally led to Sung, as the K’ung family originally sprang from that principality. One account, quoted in “The Four Books, Text and Commentary, with Proofs and Illustrations,” says that he went thither in his 16th year, and having foiled an officer of the State, named Yŏ Sŏ, in a conversation on the Shoo-king, his opponent was so irritated at the disgrace put on him by a youth, that he listened to the advice of evil counsellors, and made an attack on him to put him to death. The duke of Sung, hearing the tumult, hurried to the rescue, and when Keih found himself in safety, he said, “When King Wăn was imprisoned in Yew-le, he made the Yih of Chow. My grandfather made the Ch’un Ts’ew after he had been in danger in Ch’in and Ts’ae. Shall I not make something when rescued from such a risk in Sung?” Upon this he made the Chung Yung in 49 p’een.

According to this account, the Chung Yung was the work of Tsze-sze’s early manhood, and the tradition has obtained a wonderful prevalence. The notice in “The Sacrificial Canon” says, on the contrary, that it was the work of his old age, when he had finally settled in Loo; which is much more likely.

Of Tsze-sze in Pe, which could hardly be said to be out of Loo, we have only one short notice, — in Mencius, V. Pt. II. iii. 3, where the Duke Hwuy of Pe is introduced as saying, “I treat Tsze-sze as my master.”

We have fuller accounts of him in Loo, where he spent all the latter years of his life, instructing his disciples to the number of several hundred, and held in great reverence by the Duke Muh. The duke indeed wanted to raise him to the highest office, but he declined this, and would only occupy the position of a “guide, philosopher, and friend.” Of the attention which he demanded, however, instances will be found in Mencius, II. Pt. II. xi. 3; V. Pt. II. vi. 5, and vii. 3. In his intercourse with the duke he spoke the truth to him fearlessly. In the “Cyclopædia of Surnames,” I find the following conversations, but I cannot tell from what source they are extracted into that work— “One day the duke said to Tsze-sze, ‘The officer Heen told me that you do good without wishing for any praise from men; — is it so?’ Tsze-sze replied, ‘No, that is not my feeling. When I cultivate what is good, I wish men to know it, for when they know it and praise me, I feel encouraged to be more zealous in the cultivation. This is what I

desire, and am not able to obtain. If I cultivate what is good, and men do not know it, it is likely that in their ignorance they will speak evil of me. So by my good-doing I only come to be evil spoken of. This is what I do not desire, but am not able to avoid. In the case of a man, who gets up at cockcrowing to practise what is good, and continues sedulous in the endeavour till midnight, and says at the same time that he does not wish men to know it, lest they should praise him, I must say of such a man, that if he be not deceitful he is stupid.'"

Another day, the duke asked Tsze-sze saying, "Can my State be made to flourish?" "It may," was the reply. "And how?" Tsze-sze said, "O prince, if you and your ministers will only strive to realize the government of the dukes of Chow and of Pih-k'in; practising their transforming principles, sending forth wide the favours of your ducal house, and not letting advantages flow in private channels; — if you will thus conciliate the affections of the people, and at the same time cultivate friendly relations with neighbouring States, your kingdom will soon begin to flourish."

On one occasion, the duke asked whether it had been the custom of old for ministers to go into mourning for a prince whose service and State they had left. Tsze-sze replied to him, "Of old, princes advanced their ministers to office according to propriety, and dismissed them in the same way, and hence there was that rule. But now-a-days princes bring their ministers forward as if they were going to take them on their knees, and send them away as if they would cast them into an abyss. If they do not treat them as their greatest enemies, it is well. — How can you expect the ancient practice to be observed in such circumstances?"

These instances may suffice to illustrate the character of Tsze-sze, as it was displayed in his intercourse with the princes of his time. We see the same independence which he affected in private life, and a dignity not unbecoming the grandson of Confucius. But we miss the reach of thought and capacity for administration which belonged to the Sage. It is with him, however, as a thinker and writer that we have to do, and his rank in that capacity will appear from the examination of the Chung Yung in the section that follows. His place in the temples of the Sage has been that of one of his four assessors, since the year 1267. He ranks with Yen Hwuy, Tsăng Sin, and Mencius, and bears the title of "The Philosopher Tsze-sze, Transmitter of the Sage."

SECTION III. ITS SCOPE AND VALUE.

The Doctrine of the Mean is a work not easy to understand. "It first," says the philosopher Ch'ing, "speaks of one principle; it next spreads this out and

embraces all things; finally, it returns and gathers them up under the one principle. Unroll it, and it fills the universe; roll it up, and it retires and lies hid in secrecy." There is this advantage, however, to the student of it, that, more than most other Chinese Treatises, it has a beginning, a middle, and an end. The first chapter stands to all that follows in the character of a text, containing several propositions of which we have the expansion or development. If that development were satisfactory, we should be able to bring our own minds en rapport with that of the author. Unfortunately it is not so. As a writer he belongs to the intuitional school more than to the logical. This is well put in the "Continuation of the General Examination of Literary Monuments and Learned Men:"— "The philosopher Tsăng reached his conclusions by following in the train of things, watching and examining; whereas Tsze-sze proceeds directly and reaches to heavenly virtue. His was a mysterious power of discernment, approaching to that of Yen Hwuy." We must take the Book and the author, however, as we have them, and get to their meaning, if we can, by assiduous examination and reflection.

"Man has received his nature from Heaven. Conduct in accordance with that nature constitutes what is right and true, — is a pursuing of the proper path. The cultivation or regulation of that path is what is called instruction." It is with these axioms that the Treatise commences, and from such an introduction we might expect that the writer would go on to unfold the various principles of duty, derived from an analysis of man's moral constitution.

Confining himself, however, to the second axiom, he proceeds to say that "the path may not for an instant be left, and that the superior man is cautious and careful in reference to what he does not see, and fearful and apprehensive in reference to what he does not hear. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute, and therefore the superior man is watchful over his aloneness." This is not all very plain. Comparing it with the 6th chapter of Commentary in The Great Learning, it seems to inculcate what is there called "making the thoughts sincere." The passage contains an admonition about equivalent to that of Solomon,— "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life."

The next paragraph seems to speak of the nature and the path under other names. "While there are no movements of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, we have what may be called the state of equilibrium. When those feelings have been moved, and they all act in the due degree, we have what may be called the state of harmony. This equilibrium is the great root of the world, and this harmony is its universal path." What is here called "the state of equilibrium" is the same as the nature given by Heaven, considered absolutely in itself, without deflection or

inclination. This nature acted on from without, and responding with the various emotions, so as always "to hit" the mark with entire correctness, produces the state of harmony, and such harmonious response is the path along which all human activities should proceed.

Finally, "Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish." Here we pass into the sphere of mystery and mysticism. The language, according to Choo He, "describes the meritorious achievements and transforming influence of sage and spiritual men in their highest extent." From the path of duty, where we tread on solid ground, the writer suddenly raises us aloft on wings of air, and will carry us we know not where, and to we know not what.

The paragraphs thus presented, and which constitute Choo He's first chapter, contain the sum of the whole Work. This is acknowledged by all; — by the critics who disown Choo He's interpretations of it, as freely as by him. Revolving them in my own mind often and long, I collect from them the following as the ideas of the author: — 1st, Man has received from Heaven a moral nature by which he is constituted a law to himself; 2nd, Over this nature man requires to exercise a jealous watchfulness; and 3rd, As he possesses it, absolutely and relatively, in perfection, or attains to such possession of it, he becomes invested with the highest dignity and power, and may say to himself— "I am a God; yea, I sit in the seat of God." I will not say here that there is blasphemy in the last of these ideas; but do we not have in them the same combination which we found in The Great Learning, — a combination of the ordinary and the extraordinary, the plain and the vague, which is very perplexing to the mind, and renders the Book unfit for the purposes of mental and moral discipline?

And here I may inquire whether we do right in calling the Treatise by any of the names which foreigners have hitherto used for it? In the note on the title, I have entered a little into this question. The Work is not at all what a reader must expect to find in what he supposes to be a treatise on "The Golden Medium," "The Invariable Mean," or "The Doctrine of the Mean." Those names are descriptive only of a portion of it. Where the phrase Chung Yung occurs in the quotations from Confucius, in nearly every chapter, from the 2nd to the 11th, we do well to translate it by "the course of the Mean," or some similar terms; but the conception of it in Tsze-sze's mind was of a different kind, as the preceding analysis of the first chapter sufficiently shows.

I may return to this point of the proper title for the Work again, but in the mean time we must proceed with the analysis of it. — The ten chapters from the

2nd to the 11th constitute the second part, and in them Tsze-sze quotes the words of Confucius, "for the purpose," according to Choo He, "of illustrating the meaning of the first chapter." Yet, as I have just intimated, they do not to my mind do this. Confucius bewails the rarity of the practice of the Mean, and graphically sets forth the difficulty of it. "The empire, with its component States and families, may be ruled; dignities and emoluments may be declined, naked weapons may be trampled under foot; but the course of the Mean cannot be attained to." "The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it." Yet some have attained to it. Shun did so, humble and ever learning from people far inferior to himself; and Yen Hwuy did so, holding fast whatever good he got hold of, and never letting it go. Tszeloo thought the Mean could be taken by storm, but Confucius taught him better. And in fine, it is only the sage who can fully exemplify the Mean.

All these citations do not throw any light on the ideas presented in the first chapter. On the contrary, they interrupt the train of thought. Instead of showing us how virtue, or the path of duty, is in accordance with our Heaven-given nature, they lead us to think of it as a mean between two extremes. Each extreme may be a violation of the law of our nature, but that is not made to appear. Confucius' sayings would be in place in illustrating the doctrine of the Peripatetics, "which placed all virtue in a medium between opposite vices." Here in the Chung Yung of Tsze-sze, I have always felt them to be out of place.

In the 12th chapter Tsze-sze speaks again himself, and we seem at once to know the voice. He begins by saying that "the way of the superior man reaches far and wide, and yet is secret," by which he means to tell us that the path of duty is to be pursued everywhere and at all times, while yet the secret spring and rule of it is near at hand, in the Heaven-conferred nature, the individual consciousness, with which no stranger can intermeddle. Choo He, as will be seen in the notes, gives a different interpretation of the utterance. But the view which I have adopted is maintained convincingly by Maou Se-ho in the second part of his "Observations on the Chung Yung." With this chapter commences the third part of the Work, which embraces also the eight chapters which follow. "It is designed," says Choo He, "to illustrate what is said in the first chapter that the path may not be left." But more than that one sentence finds its illustration here. Tsze-sze had reference in it also to what he had said— "The superior man does not wait till he sees things to be cautious, nor till he hears things to be apprehensive. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore, the superior man is watchful over himself when he is alone."

It is in this portion of the Chung Yung that we find a good deal of moral instruction which is really valuable. Most of it consists of sayings of Confucius, but the sentiments of Tsze-sze himself in his own language are interspersed with them. The sage of China has no higher utterances than those which are given in the 13th chapter:— "The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a course which is far from the common indications of consciousness, this course cannot be considered the path. In the Book of Poetry it is said —

'In hewing an axe-handle, in hewing an axe-handle,
The pattern is not far off'

We grasp one axe-handle to hew the other, and yet if we look askance from the one to the other, we may consider them as apart. Therefore, the superior man governs men according to their nature, with what is proper to them; and as soon as they change what is wrong, he stops. When one cultivates to the utmost the moral principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others.

"In the way of the superior man there are four things, to none of which have I as yet attained: — To serve my father as I would require my son to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me: to this I have not attained; to set the example in behaving to a friend as I would require him to behave to me: to this I have not attained. Earnest in practising the ordinary virtues, and careful in speaking about them; if in his practice he has anything defective, the superior man dares not but exert himself, and if in his words he has any excess, he dares not allow himself such license. Thus his words have respect to his actions, and his actions have respect to his words; — is it not just an entire sincerity which marks the superior man?"

We have here the golden rulo in its negative form expressly propounded:— "What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others." But in the paragraph which follows we have the rule virtually in its positive form. Confucius recognizes the duty of taking the initiative, — of behaving himself to others in the first instance as he would that they should behave to him. There is a certain narrowness, indeed, in that the sphere of its operations seems to be confined to the relations of society, which are spoken of more at large in the 20th chapter; but let us not grudge the tribute of our warm approbation to the sentiments.

This chapter is followed by two from Tsze-sze, to the effect that the superior man does what is proper in every change of his situation, always finding his rule

in himself; and that in his practice there is an orderly advance from step to step, — from what is near to what is remote. Then follow five chapters from Confucius: — the first, on the operation and influence of spiritual beings, to show "the manifestness of what is minute, and the irrepressibleness of sincerity;" the second, on the filial piety of Shun, and how it was rewarded by Heaven with the empire, with enduring fame, and with long life; the third and fourth, on the kings Wăn and Woo, and the duke of Chow, celebrating them for their filial piety and other associate virtues; and the fifth, on the subject of government. These chapters are interesting enough in themselves, but when I go back from them, and examine whether I have from them any better understanding of the paragraphs in the first chapter which they are said to illustrate, I do not find that I have. Three of them, the 17th, 18th, and 19th, would be more in place in the Classic of Filial Piety than here in the Chung Yung. The meaning of the 16th is shadowy and undefined. After all the study which I have directed to it, there are some points in reference to which I have still doubts and difficulties.

The 20th chapter, which concludes the third portion of the Work, contains a full exposition of Confucius' views on government, though professedly descriptive only of that of the kings Wăn and Woo. Along with lessons proper for a ruler there are many also of universal application, but the mingling of them perplexes the mind. It tells us of "the five duties of universal application," — those between sovereign and minister, husband and wife, father and son, elder and younger brother, and friends; of "the three virtues by which those duties are carried into effect," namely, knowledge, benevolence, and energy; and of "the one thing, by which those virtues are practised," which is singleness or sincerity. It sets forth in detail the "nine standard rules for the administration of government," which are "the cultivation by the ruler of his own character; the honouring men of virtue and talents; affection to his relatives; respect towards the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; cherishing the mass of the people as children; encouraging all classes of artizans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the States." There are these and other equally interesting topics in this chapter; but, as they are in the Work, they distract the mind, instead of making the author's great object more clear to it, and I will not say more upon them here.

Doubtless it was the mention of "singleness," or "sincerity," in the 20th chapter, which made Tsze-sze introduce it into this Treatise, for from those terms he is able to go on to develope what he intended in saying, that "if the states of Equilibrium and Harmony exist in perfection, a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish." It is here, that now we are astonished at the audacity of the writer's assertions, and

now lost in vain endeavours to ascertain his meaning. I have quoted the words of Confucius that it is "singleness," by which the three virtues of knowledge, benevolence, and energy are able to carry into practice the duties of universal obligation. He says also that it is this same "singleness" by which "the nine standard rules of government" can be effectively carried out. This "singleness" is just a name for "the states of Equilibrium and Harmony existing in perfection." It denotes a character absolutcly and relatively good, wanting nothing in itself, and correct in all its outgoings. "Sincerity" is another term for the same thing, and in speaking about it, Confucius makes a distinction between sincerity absolute and sincerity acquired. The former is born with some, and practised by them without any effort; the latter is attained by study and practised by strong endeavour. The former is "the way of Heaven;" the latter is "the way of men." "He who possesses sincerity," — absolutely, that is,— "is he who without effort hits what is right, and apprehends without the exercise of thought; — he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast. And to this attainment there are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practice of it." In these passages Confucius unhesitatingly enunciates his belief that there are some men who are absolutely perfect, who come into the world as we may conceive the first man was, when he was created by God "in His own image," full of knowledge and righteousness, and who grow up as we know that Christ did, "increasing in wisdom and in stature." He disclaimed being considered to be such an one himself, but the sages of China were such. And, moreover, others who are not so naturally may make themselves to become so. Some will have to put forth more effort and to contend with greater struggles, but the end will be the possession of the knowledge and the achievement of the practice.

I need not say that these sentiments are contrary to the views of human nature which are presented in the Bible. The testimony of Revelation is that "there is not a just man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not." "If we say that we have no sin," and in writing this term, I am thinking here not of sin against God, but, if we can conceive of it apart from that, of failures in regard to what ought to be in our regulation of ourselves, and in our behaviour to others;— "if we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." This language is appropriate in the lips of the learned as well as in those of the ignorant, to the highest sage as to the lowest child of the soil. Neither the Scriptures of God nor the experience of man know of individuals absolutely perfect. The other sentiment that men can make themselves perfect is equally

wide of the truth. Intelligence and goodness by no means stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect. The sayings of Ovid, "Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor," "Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata," are a more correct expression of the facts of human consciousness and conduct than the high-flown phrases of Confucius.

But Tsze-sze adopts the dicta of his grandfather without questioning them, and gives them forth in his own style at the commencement of the fourth part of his Treatise. "When we have intelligence resulting from sincerity, this condition is to be ascribed to nature; when we have sincerity resulting from intelligence, this condition is to be ascribed to instruction. But given the sincerity, and there shall be the intelligence; given the intelligence, and there shall be the sincerity."

Tsze-sze does more than adopt the dicta of Confucius. He applies them in a way which the sage never did, and which he would probably have shrunk from doing. The sincere, or perfect man of Confucius is he who satisfies completely all the requirements of duty in the various relations of society, and in the exercise of government; but the sincere man of Tsze-sze is a potency in the universe. "Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion." Such are the results of sincerity natural. The case below this — of sincerity acquired, is as follows,— "The individual cultivates its shoots. From these he can attain to the possession of sincerity. This sincerity becomes apparent. From being apparent, it becomes manifest. From being manifest, it becomes brilliant. Brilliant, it affects others. Affecting others, they are changed by it. Changed by it, they are transformed. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can transform." It may safely be affirmed, that when he thus expressed himself, Tsze-sze understood neither what he said nor whereof he affirmed. Maou Se-ho and some other modern writers explain away many of his predicates of sincerity, so that in their hands they become nothing but extravagant hyperboles, but the author himself would, I believe, have protested against such a mode of dealing with his words. True, his structures are castles in the air, but he had no idea himself that they were so.

In the 24th chapter there is a ridiculous descent from the sublimity of the two preceding. We are told that the possessor of entire sincerity is like a spirit, and can foreknow, but the foreknowledge is only a judging by the milfoil and

tortoise and other auguries! But the author recovers himself, and resumes his theme about sincerity as conducting to self-completion, and the completion of other men and things, describing it also as possessing all the qualities which can be predicated of Heaven and Earth. Gradually the subject is made to converge to the person of Confucius, who is the ideal of the sage, as the sage is the ideal of humanity at large. An old account of the object of Tsze-sze in the Chung Yung is that "he wrote it to celebrate the virtue of his grandfather." He certainly contrives to do this in the course of it. The 30th, 31st, and 32nd chapters contain his eulogium, and never has any other mortal been exalted in such terms. "He may be compared to Heaven and Earth in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining all things; he may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining." "Quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, he was fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, he was fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, he was fitted to maintain a firm hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean, and correct, he was fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, he was fitted to exercise discrimination." "All-embracing and vast, he was like heaven; deep and active as a fountain, he was like the abyss." "Therefore his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and moon shine; wherever frosts and dews fall; all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honour and love him. Hence it is said, — He is the equal of Heaven!" "Who can know him but he who is indeed quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing all heavenly virtue?"

We have arrived at the concluding chapter of the Work, in which the author, according to Choo He, "having carried his descriptions to the highest point in the preceding chapters, turns back and examines the source of his subjects; and then again from the work of the learner, free from all selfishness and watchful over himself when he is alone, he carries out his description, till by easy steps he brings it to the consummation of the whole empire tranquillized by simple and sincere reverentialness. He moreover eulogizes its mysteriousness, till he speaks of it at last as without sound or smell." Between the first and last chapters there is a correspondency, and each of them may be considered as a summary of the whole treatise. The difference between them is, that in the first a commencement is made with the mention of Heaven as the conferrer of man's nature, while in

this the progress of man in virtue is traced, step by step, till at last it is equal to that of High Heaven.

I have thus in the preceding paragraphs given a general and somewhat copious review of this Work. My object has been to seize, if I could, the train of thought, and to hold it up to the reader. Minor objections to it, arising from the confused use of terms and singular applications of passages from the older Classics, are noticed in the notes subjoined to the translation. I wished here that its scope should be seen, and the means be afforded of judging how far it is worthy of the high character attributed to it. “The relish of it,” says the younger Ch’ing, “is inexhaustible. The whole of it is solid learning. When the skilful reader has explored it with delight till he has apprehended it, he may carry it into practice all his life, and will find that it cannot be exhausted.”

My own opinion of it is much less favourable. The names by which it has been called in translations of it have led to misconceptions of its character. Were it styled “The states of Equilibrium and Harmony,” we should be prepared to expect something strange and probably extravagant. Assuredly we should expect nothing more strange or extravagant than what we have. It begins sufficiently well, but the author has hardly enunciated his preliminary apophthegms, when he conducts into an obscurity where we can hardly grope our way, and when we emerge from that, it is to be bewildered by his gorgeous but unsubstantial pictures of sagely perfection. He has eminently contributed to nourish the pride of his countrymen. He has exalted their sages above all that is called God or is worshipped, and taught the masses of the people that with them they have need of nothing from without. In the mean time it is antagonistic to Christianity. By and by, when Christianity has prevailed in China, men will refer to it as a striking proof how their fathers by their wisdom knew neither God nor themselves.

CHAPTER V. CONFUCIUS; HIS INFLUENCE AND DOCTRINES.

SECTION I. LIFE OF CONFUCIUS.

"And have you foreigners surnames as well?" This question has often been put to me by Chinese. It marks the ignorance which belongs to the people of all that is external to themselves, and the pride of antiquity which enters largely as an element into their character. If such a pride could in any case be justified, we might allow it to the family of the K'ung, the descendants of Confucius. In the reign K'ang-he, twenty-one centuries and a half after the death of the sage, they amounted to eleven thousand males. But their ancestry is carried back through a period of equal extent, and genealogical tables are common, in which the descent of Confucius is traced down from Hwang-te, the inventor of the cycle, bc 2637.

The more moderate writers, however, content themselves with exhibiting his ancestry back to the commencement of the Chow dynasty, bc 1121. Among the relatives of the tyrant Chow, the last emperor of the Yin dynasty, was an elder brother, by a concubine, named K'c, who is celebrated by Confucius, Ana. XVIII. i., under the title of the viscount of Wei. Foreseeing the impending ruin of their family, K'e withdrew from the court; and subsequently, he was invested by the Emperor Ch'ing, the second of the house of Chow, with the principality of Sung, which embraced the eastern portion of the present province of Ho-nan, that he might there continue the sacrifices to the emperors of Yin. K'e was followed as duke of Sung by a younger brother, in whose line the succession continued. His great-grandson, the Duke Min, was followed, bc 908, by a younger brother, leaving, however, two sons, Fuh-foo Ho, and Fang-sze. Fuh Ho resigned his right to the dukedom in favour of Fang-sze, who put his uncle to death in bc 893, and became master of the State. He is known as the Duke Le, and to his elder brother belongs the honour of having the sage among his descendants.

Three descents from Fuh Ho, we find Ching K'au-foo, who was a distinguished officer under the dukes Tae, Woo, and Seuen (bc 799 — 728). He is still celebrated for his humility, and for his literary tastes. We have accounts of him as being in communication with the Grand-historiographer of the empire, and engaged in researches about its ancient poetry, thus setting an example of one of the works to which Confucius gave himself. K'aou gave birth to K'ung-foo Kea, from whom the surname of K'ung took its rise. Five generations had now elapsed since the dukedom was held in the direct line of his ancestry, and it

was according to the rule in such cases that the branch should cease its connection with the ducal stem, and merge among the people under a new surname. K'ung Kea was Master of the Horse in Sung, and an officer of well-known loyalty and probity. Unfortunately for himself, he had a wife of surpassing beauty, of whom the chief minister of the State, by name Hwa Tuh, happened on one occasion to get a glimpse. Determined to possess her, he commenced a series of intrigues, which ended, bc 709, in the murder of Kea and the reigning Duke Shang. At the same time, Tuh secured the person of the lady, and hastened to his palace with the prize, but on the way she had strangled herself with her girdle.

An enmity was thus commenced between the two families of K'ung and Hwa which the lapse of time did not obliterate, and the latter being the more powerful of the two, Kea's great-grandson withdrew into the State of Loo to avoid their persecution. There he was appointed commandant of the city of Fang, and is known in history by the name of Fang-shuh. Fang-shuh gave birth to Pih-hea, and from him came Shuh-leang Heih, the father of Confucius. Heih appears in the history of the times as a soldier of great prowess and daring bravery. In the year bc 562, when serving at the siege of a place called Peih-yang, a party of the assailants made their way in at a gate which had purposely been left open, and no sooner were they inside than the portcullis was dropped. Heih was just entering, and catching the massive structure with both his hands, he gradually by dint of main strength raised it and held it up, till his friends had made their escape.

Thus much on the ancestry of the sage. Doubtless he could trace his descent in the way which has been indicated up to the imperial house of Yin, nor was there one among his ancestors during the rule of Chow to whom he could not refer with satisfaction. They had been ministers and soldiers of Sung and Loo, all men of worth; and in Ching K'aou, both for his humility and literary researches, Confucius might have special complacency.

Confucius was the child of Shuh-leang Heih's old age. The soldier had married in early life, but his wife brought him only daughters, — to the number of nine, and no son. By a concubine he had a son, named Măng-p'e, and also Pih-ne, who proved a cripple, so that, when he was over seventy years, Heih sought a second wife in the Yen family, from which came subsequently Yen Hwuy, the favourite disciple of his son. There were three daughters in the family, the youngest being named Ching-tsae. Their father said to them, "Here is the commandant of Tsow. His father and grandfather were only scholars, but his ancestors before them were descendants of the sage emperors. He is a man ten feet high, and of extraordinary prowess, and I am very desirous of his alliance.

Though he is old and austere, you need have no misgivings about him. Which of you three will be his wife?" The two elder daughters were silent, but Ching-tsae said, "Why do you ask us, father? It is for you to determine." "Very well," said her father in reply, "you will do." Ching-tsae, accordingly, became Heih's wife, and in due time gave birth to Confucius, who received the name of K'ew, and was subsequently styled Chung-ne. The event happened on the 21st day of the 10th month of the 21st year of the Duke Seang, of Loo, being the 20th year of the Emperor Ling, bc 551. The birth-place was in the district of Tsow, of which Heih was the governor. It was somewhere within the limits of the present department of Yen-chow in Shan-tung, but the honour of being the exact spot is claimed for two places in two different districts of the department.

The notices which we have of Confucius' early years are very scanty. When he was in his third year his father died. It is related of him, that as a boy he used to play at the arrangement of sacrificial vessels, and at postures of ceremony. Of his schooling we have no reliable account. There is a legend, indeed, that at seven he went to school to Gan P'ing-chung, but it must be rejected, as P'ing-chung belonged to the State of Ts'e. He tells us himself that at fifteen he bent his mind to learning; but the condition of the family was one of poverty. At a subsequent period, when people were astonished at the variety of his knowledge, he explained it by saying, "When I was young my condition was low, and therefore I acquired my ability in many things; but they were mean matters."

When he was nineteen, he married a lady from the State of Sung, of the Keen-kwan family; and in the following year his son Le was born. On the occasion of this event, the Duke Ch'aou sent him a present of a couple of carp. It was to signify his sense of his prince's favour, that he called his son Le (The Carp), and afterwards gave him the designation of Pih-yu (Fish Primus). No mention is made of the birth of any other children, though we know, from Ana. V. i., that he had at least one daughter. The fact of the duke of Loo's sending him a gift on the occasion of Le's birth shows that he was not unknown, but was already commanding public attention and the respect of the great.

It was about this time, probably in the year after his marriage, that Confucius took his first public employment, as keeper of the stores of grain, and in the following year he was put in charge of the public fields and lands. Mencius adduces these employments in illustration of his doctrine that the superior man may at times take office on account of his poverty, but must confine himself in such a case to places of small emolument, and aim at nothing but the discharge of their humble duties. According to him, Confucius as keeper of stores, said, "My calculations must all be right: — that is all I have to care about;" and when in charge of the public fields, he said, "The oxen and sheep must be fat and

strong and superior: — that is all I have to care about." It does not appear whether these offices were held by Confucius in the direct employment of the State, or as a dependent of the Ke family in whose jurisdiction he lived. The present of the carp from the duke may incline us to suppose the former.

In his twenty-second year, Confucius commenced his labours as a public teacher, and his house became a resort for young and inquiring spirits, who wished to learn the doctrines of antiquity. However small the fee his pupils were able to afford, he never refused his instructions. All that he required, was an ardent desire for improvement, and some degree of capacity. "I do not open up the truth," he said, "to one who is not eager to get knowledge, nor help out any one who is not anxious to explain himself. When I have presented one corner of a subject to any one, and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson."

His mother died in the year bc 528, and he resolved that her body should lie in the same grave with that of his father, and that their common resting-place should be in Fang, the first home of the K'ung in Loo. But here a difficulty presented itself. His father's coffin had been for twenty years, where it had first been deposited, off the road of The Five Fathers, in the vicinity of Tsow: — would it be right in him to move it? He was relieved from this perplexity by an old woman of the neighbourhood, who told him that the coffin had only just been put into the ground, as a temporary arrangement, and not regularly buried. On learning this, he carried his purpose into execution. Both coffins were conveyed to Fang, and put in the ground together, with no intervening space between them, as was the custom in some States. And now came a new perplexity. He said to himself, "In old times, they had graves, but raised no tumulus over them. But I am a man, who belongs equally to the north and the south, the east and the west. I must have something by which I can remember the place." Accordingly he raised a mound, four feet high, over the grave, and returned home, leaving a party of his disciples to see everything properly completed. In the mean time there came on a heavy storm of rain, and it was a considerable time before the disciples joined him. "What makes you so late?" he asked. "The grave in Fang fell down," they said. He made no reply, and they repeated their answer three times, when he burst into tears, and said, "Ah! they did not make their graves so in antiquity."

Confucius mourned for his mother the regular period of three years, — three years nominally, but in fact only twenty-seven months. Five days after the mourning was expired, he played on his lute but could not sing. It required other five days before he could accompany an instrument with his voice.

Some writers have represented Confucius as teaching his disciples important lessons from the manner in which he buried his mother, and having a design to correct irregularities in the ordinary funeral ceremonies of the time. These things are altogether "without book." We simply have a dutiful son paying the last tribute of affection to a good parent. In one point he departs from the ancient practice, raising a mound over the grave, and when the fresh earth gives way from a sudden rain, he is moved to tears, and seems to regret his innovation. This sets Confucius vividly before us, — a man of the past as much as of the present, whose own natural feelings were liable to be hampered in their development, by the traditions of antiquity which he considered sacred. It is important, however, to observe the reason which he gave for rearing the mound. He had in it a presentiment of much of his future course. He was "a man of the north, the south, the east, and the west." He might not confine himself to any one State. He would travel, and his way might be directed to some "wise ruler," whom his counsels would conduct to a benevolent sway that would break forth on every side till it transformed the empire.

When the mourning for his mother was over, Confucius remained in Loo, but in what special capacity we do not know. Probably he continued to encourage the resort of inquirers to whom he communicated instruction, and pursued his own researches into the history, literature, and institutions of the empire. In the year bc 524, the chief of the small state of T'an made his appearance at the court of Loo, and discoursed in a wonderful manner, at a feast given to him by the duke, about the names which the most ancient sovereigns, from Hwang-te downwards, gave to their ministers. The sacrifices to the Emperor Shaou-haou, the next in descent from Hwang-te, were maintained in T'an, so that the chief fancied that he knew all about the abstruse subject on which he discoursed. Confucius, hearing about the matter, waited on the visitor, and learned from him all that he had to communicate.

To the year bc 523, when Confucius was twenty-nine years old, is referred his studying music under a famous master of the name of Seang. He was approaching his 30th year when, as he tells us, "he stood firm," that is, in his convictions on the subjects of learning to which he had bent his mind fifteen years before. Five years more, however, were still to pass by before the anticipation mentioned in the conclusion of the last paragraph began to receive its fulfilment, though we may conclude from the way in which it was brought about that he was growing all the time in the estimation of the thinking minds in his native State.

In the 24th year of Duke Ch'aou, bc 517, one of the principal ministers of Loo, known by the name of Măng He, died. Seventeen years before he had

painfully felt his ignorance of ceremonial observances, and had made it his subsequent business to make himself acquainted with them. On his deathbed, he addressed his chief officer, saying, “A knowledge of propriety is the stem of a man. Without it he has no means of standing firm. I have heard that there is one K’ung Kew, who is thoroughly versed in it. He is a descendant of Sages, and though the line of his family was extinguished in Sung, among his ancestors there were Fuh-foo Ho, who resigned the dukedom to his brother, and Ching K’aou-foo, who was distinguished for his humility. Tsang Heih has observed that if sage men of intelligent virtue do not attain to eminence, distinguished men are sure to appear among their posterity. His words are now to be verified, I think, in K’ung K’ew. After my death, you must tell Ho-ke to go and study proprieties under him.” In consequence of this charge, Ho-ke, Măng He’s son, who appears in the Analects under the name of Măng E, and a brother, or perhaps only a near relative, named Nan-kung King-shuh, became disciples of Confucius. Their wealth and standing in the State gave him a position which he had not had before, and he told King-shuh of a wish which he had to visit the court of Chow, and especially to confer on the subject of ceremonies and music with Laou Tan. King-shuh represented the matter to the Duke Ch’aou, who put a carriage and a pair of horses at Confucius’ disposal for the expedition.

At this time the court of Chow was in the city of Lŏ, in the present department of Ho-nan of the province of the same name. The reigning emperor is known by the title of King, but the sovereignty was little more than nominal. The state of China was then analogous to that of one of the European kingdoms, during the prevalence of the feudal system. At the commencement of the dynasty, the various States of the empire had been assigned to the relatives and adherents of the reigning family. There were thirteen principalities of greater note, and a large number of smaller dependencies. During the vigorous youth of the dynasty, the emperor or lord paramount exercised an effective control over the various chiefs, but with the lapse of time there came weakness and decay. The chiefs — corresponding somewhat to the European dukes, earls, marquises, barons, &c., — quarrelled and warred among themselves, and the stronger among them barely acknowledged their subjection to the emperor. A similar condition of things prevailed in each particular State. There were hereditary ministerial families, who were continually encroaching on the authority of their rulers, and the heads of those families again were frequently hard pressed by their inferior officers. Such was the state of China in Confucius’ time. The reader must have it clearly before him, if he would understand the position of the sage, and the reforms which, we shall find, it was subsequently his object to introduce.

Arrived at Chow, he had no intercourse with the court or any of the principal ministers. He was there not as a politician, but an inquirer about the ceremonies and maxims of the founders of the dynasty. Laou Tan, whom he had wished to see the acknowledged founder of the Taouists, or Rationalistic sect, which has maintained its ground in opposition to the followers of Confucius, was then a treasury-keeper. They met and freely interchanged their views, but no reliable account of their conversation has been preserved. In the 5th Book of the Le Ke, which is headed, "The philosopher Tsăng asked," Confucius refers four times to the views of Laou-tsze on certain points of funeral ceremonies, and in the "Family Sayings," Book xxiv., he tells Ke K'ang what he had heard from him about "The Five Te," but we may hope their conversation turned also on more important subjects. Sze-ma Ts'een, favourable to Laou-tsze, makes him lecture his visitor in the following style:— "Those whom you talk about are dead, and their bones are mouldered to dust; only their words remain. When the superior man gets his time, he mounts aloft; but when the time is against him, he moves as if his feet were entangled. I have heard that a good merchant, though he has rich treasures deeply stored, appears as if he were poor, and that the superior man whose virtue is complete, is yet to outward seeming stupid. Put away your proud air and many desires, your insinuating habit and wild will. These are of no advantage to you. This is all which I have to tell you." On the other hand, Confucius is made to say to his disciples, "I know how birds can fly, how fishes can swim, and how animals can run. But the runner may be snared, the swimmer may be hooked, and the flyer may be shot by the arrow. But there is the dragon. I cannot tell how he mounts on the wind through the clouds, and rises to heaven. To-day I have seen Laou-tsze, and can only compare him to the dragon."

While at Lŏ, Confucius walked over the grounds set apart for the great sacrifices to Heaven and Earth; inspected the pattern of the Hall of Light, built to give audience in to the princes of the empire; and examined all the arrangements of the ancestral temple and the court. From the whole he received a profound impression. "Now," said he with a sigh, "I know the sage wisdom of the duke of Chow, and how the house of Chow attained to the imperial sway." On the walls of the Hall of Light were paintings of the ancient sovereigns from Yaou and Shun downwards, their characters appearing in the representations of them, and words of praise or warning being appended. There was also a picture of the duke of Chow sitting with his infant nephew, the king Ch'ing, upon his knees, to give audience to all the princes. Confucius surveyed the scene with silent delight, and then said to his followers, "Here you see how Chow became so great. As we use a glass to examine the forms of things, so must we study antiquity in order to

understand the present." In the hall of the ancestral temple there was a metal statue of a man with three clasps upon his mouth, and his back covered over with an enjoyable homily on the duty of keeping a watch upon the lips. Confucius turned to his disciples, and said, "Observe it, my children. These words are true, and commend themselves to our feelings."

About music he made inquiries of Ch'ang Hwang, to whom the following remarks are attributed:— "I have observed about Chung-ne many marks of a sage. He has river eyes and a dragon forehead, — the very characteristics of Hwang-te. His arms are long, his back is like a tortoise, and he is nine feet six inches in height, — the very semblance of T'ang the Successful. When he speaks, he praises the ancient kings. He moves along the path of humility and courtesy. He has heard of every subject, and retains with a strong memory. His knowledge of things seems inexhaustible. — Have we not in him the rising of a sage?"

I have given these notices of Confucius at the court of Chow, more as being the only ones I could find, than because I put much faith in them. He did not remain there long, but returned the same year to Loo, and continued his work of teaching. His fame was greatly increased; disciples came to him from different parts, till their number amounted to three thousand. Several of those who have come down to us as the most distinguished among his followers, however, were yet unborn, and the statement just given may be considered as an exaggeration. We are not to conceive of the disciples as forming a community, and living together. Parties of them may have done so. We shall find Confucius hereafter always moving amid a company of admiring pupils; but the greater number must have had their proper avocations and ways of living, and would only resort to the master, when they wished specially to ask his counsel or to learn of him.

In the year succeeding the return to Loo, that State fell into great confusion. There were three Families in it, all connected irregularly with the ducal house, which had long kept the rulers in a condition of dependency.He withdraws to Ts'e, and returns to Loo the following year bc 516, 515. They appear frequently in the Analects as the Ke clan, the Shuh, and the Măng; and while Confucius freely spoke of their usurpations, he was a sort of dependent of the Ke family, and appears in frequent communication with members of all the three. In the year bc 516, the duke Chaou came to open hostilities with them, and being worsted, fled into Ts'e, the State adjoining Loo on the north. Thither Confucius also repaired, that he might avoid the prevailing disorder of his native State. Ts'e was then under the government of a duke, afterwards styled King, who "had a thousand teams, each of four horses, but on the day of his death the people did not praise him for a single virtue." His chief minister, however, was Gan Ying, a

man of considerable ability and worth. At his court the music of the ancient sage-emperor, Shun, originally brought to T'se from the State of Ch'in, was still preserved.

According to the "Family Sayings," an incident occurred on the way to Ts'e, which I may transfer to these pages as a good specimen of the way in which Confucius turned occurring matters to account in his intercourse with his disciples. As he was passing by the side of the T'ae mountain, there was a woman weeping and wailing by a grave. Confucius bent forward in his carriage, and after listening to her for some time, sent Tsze-loo to ask the cause of her grief. "You weep, as if you had experienced sorrow upon sorrow," said Tsze-loo. The woman replied, "It is so. My husband's father was killed here by a tiger, and my husband also; and now my son has met the same fate." Confucius asked her why she did not remove from the place, and on her answering, "There is here no oppressive government," he turned to his disciples, and said, "My children, remember this. Oppressive government is fiercer than a tiger."

As soon as he crossed the border from Loo, we are told he discovered from the gait and manners of a boy, whom he saw carrying a pitcher, the influence of the sage's music, and told the driver of his carriage to hurry on to the capital. Arrived there, he heard the strain, and was so ravished with it, that for three months he did not know the taste of flesh. "I did not think," he said, "that music could have been made so excellent as this." The Duke King was pleased with the conferences which he had with him, and proposed to assign to him the town of Lin-k'ew, from the revenues of which he might derive a sufficient support; but Confucius refused the gift, and said to his disciples, "A superior man will only receive reward for services which he has done. I have given advice to the Duke King, but he has not yet obeyed it, and now he would endow me with this place! Very far is he from understanding me."

On one occasion the duke asked about government, and received the characteristic reply, "There is government when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son." I say that the reply is characteristic. Once, when Tsze-loo asked him what he would consider the first thing to be done if intrusted with the government of a State, Confucius answered, "What is necessary is to rectify names." The disciple thought the reply wide of the mark, but it was substantially the same with what he said to the Duke King. There is a sufficient foundation in nature for government in the several relations of society, and if those be maintained and developed according to their relative significancy, it is sure to obtain. This was a first principle in the political ethics of Confucius.

Another day the duke got to a similar inquiry the reply that the art of government lay in an economical use of the revenues; and being pleased, he resumed his purpose of retaining the philosopher in his State, and proposed to assign to him the fields of Ne-k'e. His chief minister, Gan Ying, dissuaded him from the purpose, saying, "Those scholars are impracticable, and cannot be imitated. They are haughty and concerted of their own views, so that they will not be content in inferior positions. They set a high value on all funeral ceremonies, give way to their grief, and will waste their property on great burials, so that they would only be injurious to the common manners. This Mr K'ung has a thousand peculiarities. It would take generations to exhaust all that he knows about the ceremonies of going up and going down. This is not the time to examine into his rules of propriety. If you, prince, wish to employ him to change the customs of Ts'e, you will not be making the people your primary consideration."

I had rather believe that these were not the words of Gan Ying; but they must represent pretty correctly the sentiments of many of the statesmen of the time about Confucius. The duke of Ts'e got tired ere long of having such a monitor about him, and observed, "I cannot treat him as I would the chief of the Ke family. I will treat him in a way between that accorded to the chief of the Ke, and that given to the chief of the Măng family." Finally he said, "I am old; I cannot use his doctrines." These observations were made directly to Confucius, or came to his hearing. It was not consistent with his self-respect to remain longer in Ts'e, and he returned to Loo.

Returned to Loo, he remained for the long period of about fifteen years without being engaged in any official employment.He remains without office in Loo, bc 515-501. It was a time, indeed, of great disorder. The Duke Chaou continued a refugee in Ts'e, the government being in the hands of the great Families, up to his death in bc 509, on which event the rightful heir was set aside, and another member of the ducal house, known to us by the title of Ting, substituted in his place. The ruling authority of the principality became thus still more enfeebled than it had been before, and, on the other hand, the chiefs of the Ke, the Shuh, and the Măng, could hardly keep their ground against their own officers. Of those latter the two most conspicuous were Yang Hoo, called also Yang Ho, and Kung-shan Fuh-jaou. At one time Ke Hwan, the most powerful of the chiefs, was kept a prisoner by Yang Hoo, and was obliged to make terms with him in order to secure his liberation. Confucius would give his countenance to none, as he disapproved of all, and he studiously kept aloof from them. Of how he comported himself among them we have a specimen in the incident related in the Analects, xvii. 1.— "Yang Ho wished to see Confucius, but

Confucius would not go to see him. On this, he sent a present of a pig to Confucius, who, having chosen a time when Ho was not at home, went to pay his respects for the gift. He met him, however, on the way. 'Come, let me speak with you,' said the officer. 'Can he be called benevolent, who keeps his jewel in his bosom, and leaves his country to confusion?' Confucius replied, 'No.' 'Can he be called wise, who is anxious to be engaged in public employment, and yet is constantly losing the opportunity of being so?' Confucius again said, 'No.' The other added, 'The days and months are passing away; the years do not wait for us.' Confucius said, 'Right; I will go into office.' " Chinese writers are eloquent in their praise of the sage for the combination of propriety, complaisance, and firmness, which they see in his behaviour in this matter. To myself there seems nothing remarkable in it but a somewhat questionable dexterity. But it was well for the fame of Confucius that his time was not occupied during those years with official services. He turned them to better account, prosecuting his researches into the poetry, history, ceremonies, and music of the empire. Many disciples continued to resort to him, and the legendary writers tell us how he employed their services in digesting the results of his studies. I must repeat, however, that several of them, whose names are most famous, such as Tsăng Sin, were as yet children, and Min Sun was not born till bc 500.

To this period we must refer the almost single instance which we have of the manner of Confucius' intercourse with his son Le. "Have you heard any lessons from your father different from what we have all heard?" asked one of the disciples once of Le. "No," said Le. "He was standing alone once, when I was passing through the court below with hasty steps, and said to me, 'Have you read the Odes?' On my replying, 'Not yet,' he added, 'If you do not learn the Odes, you will not be fit to converse with.' Another day, in the same place and the same way, he said to me, 'Have you read the rules of Propriety?' On my replying, 'Not yet,' he added, 'If you do not learn the rules of Propriety, your character cannot be established.' I have heard only these two things from him." The disciple was delighted, and observed, "I asked one thing, and I have got three things. I have heard about the Odes; I have heard about the rules of Propriety. I have also heard that the superior man maintains a distant reserve towards his son."

I can easily believe that this distant reserve was the rule which Confucius followed generally in his treatment of his son. A stern dignity is the quality which a father has to maintain upon his system. It is not to be without the element of kindness, but that must never go beyond the line of propriety. There is too little room left for the play and development of natural affection.

The divorce of his wife must also have taken place during these years, if it ever took place at all, which is a disputed point. The curious reader will find the question discussed in the notes on the second Book of the Le Ke. The evidence inclines, I think, against the supposition that Confucius did put his wife away. When she died, at a period subsequent to the present, Le kept on weeping aloud for her after the period for such a demonstration of grief had expired, when Confucius sent a message to him that his sorrow must be subdued, and the obedient son dried his tears. We are glad to know that on one occasion — the death of his favourite disciple, Yen Hwuy — the tears of Confucius himself would flow over and above the measure of propriety.

We come to the short period of Confucius' official life.He holds office. bc 500 — 496. In the year bc 501, things had come to a head between the chiefs of the three Families and their ministers, and had resulted in the defeat of the latter. In bc 500, the resources of Yang Hoo were exhausted, and he fled into Ts'e, so that the State was delivered from its greatest troubler, and the way was made more clear for Confucius to go into office, should an opportunity occur. It soon presented itself. Towards the end of that year he was made chief magistrate of the town of Chung-too.

Just before he received this appointment, a circumstance occurred of which we do not well know what to make. When Yang-hoo fled into Ts'e, Kung-shan Fuh-jaou, who had been confederate with him, continued to maintain an attitude of rebellion, and held the city of Pe against the Ke family. Thence he sent a message to Confucius inviting him to join him, and the sage seemed so inclined to go that his disciple Tsze-loo remonstrated with him, saying, "Indeed you cannot go! why must you think of going to see Kung-shan?" Confucius replied, "Can it be without some reason that he has invited me? If any one employ me, may I not make an eastern Chow?" The upshot, however, was that he did not go, and I cannot suppose that he had ever any serious intention of doing so. Amid the general gravity of his intercourse with his followers, there gleam out a few instances of quiet pleasantry, when he amused himself by playing with their notions about him. This was probably one of them.

As magistrate of Chung-too he produced a marvellous reformation of the manners of the people in a short time. According to the "Family Sayings," he enacted rules for the nourishing of the living, and all observances to the dead. Different food was assigned to the old and the young, and different burdens to the strong and the weak. Males and females were kept apart from each other in the streets. A thing dropt on the road was not picked up. There was no fraudulent carving of vessels. Inner coffins were made four inches thick, and the outer ones five. Graves were made on the high grounds, no mounds being raised over them,

and no trees planted about them. Within twelve months, the princes of the States all about wished to imitate his style of administration.

The Duke Ting, surprised at what he saw, asked whether his rules could be employed to govern a whole State, and Confucius told him that they might be applied to the whole empire. On this the duke appointed him assistant-superintendent of Works, in which capacity he surveyed the lands of the State, and made many improvements in agriculture. From this he was quickly made minister of Crime, and the appointment was enough to put an end to crime. There was no necessity to put the penal laws in execution. No offenders showed themselves.

These indiscriminating eulogies are of little value. One incident, related in the annotations of Tso-k'ew on the Ts'un Ts'ew, commends itself at once to our belief, as in harmony with Confucius' character. The chief of the Ke, pursuing with his enmity the Duke Chaou, even after his death, had placed his grave apart from the graves of his predecessors; and Confucius surrounded the ducal cemetery with a ditch so as to include the solitary resting-place, boldly telling the chief that he did it to hide his disloyalty. But he signalized himself most of all, in bc 499, by his behaviour at an interview between the dukes of Loo and Ts'e, at a place called Shih-k'e, and Keă-kuh, in the present district of Lae-woo, in the department of T'ae-gan. Confucius was present as master of ceremonies on the part of Loo, and the meeting was professedly pacific. The two princes were to form a covenant of alliance. The principal officer on the part of Ts'e, however, despising Confucius as "a man of ceremonies, without courage," had advised his sovereign to make the duke of Loo a prisoner, and for this purpose a band of the half-savage original inhabitants of the place advanced with weapons to the stage where the two dukes were met. Confucius understood the scheme, and said to the opposite party, "Our two princes are met for a pacific object. For you to bring a band of savage vassals to disturb the meeting with their weapons, is not the way in which Ts'e can expect to give law to the princes of the empire. These barbarians have nothing to do with our Great Flowery land. Such vassals may not interfere with our covenant. Weapons are out of place at such a meeting. As before the spirits, such conduct is unpropitious. In point of virtue, it is contrary to right. As between man and man, it is not polite." The duke of Ts'e ordered the disturbers off, but Confucius withdrew, carrying the duke of Loo with him. The business proceeded, notwithstanding, and when the words of the alliance were being read on the part of Ts'e,— "So be it to Loo, if it contribute not 300 chariots of war to the help of Ts'e, when its army goes across its borders," a messenger from Confucius added,— "And so it be to us, if we obey your orders, unless you return to us the fields on the south of the Wăn." At the

conclusion of the ceremonies, the prince of Ts'e wanted to give a grand entertainment, but Confucius demonstrated that such a thing would be contrary to the established rules of propriety, his real object being to keep his sovereign out of danger. In this way the two parties separated, they of Ts'e filled with shame at being foiled and disgraced by "the man of ceremonies," and the result was that the lands of Loo which had been appropriated by Ts'e were restored.

For two years more Confucius held the office of minister of Crime. Some have supposed that he was further raised to the dignity of chief minister of State, but that was not the case. One instance of the manner in which he executed his functions is worth recording. When any matter came before him, he took the opinion of different individuals upon it, and in giving judgment would say, "I decide according to the view of so and so." There was an approach to our jury system in the plan, Confucius' object being to enlist general sympathy, and carry the public judgment with him in his administration of justice. A father having brought some charge against his son, Confucius kept them both in prison for three months, without making any difference in favour of the father, and then wished to dismiss them both. The head of the Ke was dissatisfied, and said, "You are playing with me, Sir minister of Crime. Formerly you told me that in a State or a family filial duty was the first thing to be insisted on. What hinders you now from putting to death this unfilial son as an example to all the people?" Confucius with a sigh replied, "When superiors fail in their duty, and yet go to put their inferiors to death, it is not right. This father has not taught his son to be filial; — to listen to his charge would be to slay the guiltless. The manners of the age have been long in a sad condition; we cannot expect the people not to be transgressing the laws."

At this time two of his disciples, Tsze-loo and Tsze-yew, entered the employment of the Ke family, and lent their influence, the former especially, to forward the plans of their master. One great cause of disorder in the State was the fortified cities held by the three chiefs, in which they could defy the supreme authority, and were in turn defied themselves by their officers. Those cities were like the castles of the barons of England in the time of the Norman kings. Confucius had their destruction very much at heart, and partly by the influence of persuasion, and partly by the assisting counsels of Tsze-loo, he accomplished his object in regard to Pe, the chief city of the Ke, and How, the chief city of the Shuh.

It does not appear that he succeeded in the same way in dismantling Ch'ing, the chief city of the Măng; but his authority in the State greatly increased. "He strengthened the ducal House and weakened the private Families. He exalted the sovereign, and depressed the ministers. A transforming government went abroad.

Dishonesty and dissoluteness were ashamed, and hid their heads. Loyalty and good faith became the characteristics of the men, and chastity and docility those of the women. Strangers came in crowds from other States. Confucius became the idol of the people, and flew in songs through their mouths.

But this sky of bright promise was soon overcast. As the fame of the reformations in Loo went abroad, the neighbouring princes began to be afraid. The duke of Ts'e said, "With Confucius at the head of its government, Loo will become supreme among the States, and Ts'e which is nearest to it will be the first swallowed up. Let us propitiate it by a surrender of territory." One of his ministers proposed they should first try to separate between the sage and his sovereign, and to effect this, they hit upon the following scheme. Eighty beautiful girls, with musical and dancing accomplishments, were selected, and a hundred and twenty of the finest horses that could be found, and sent as a present to Duke Ting. They were put up at first outside the city, and Ke Hwan having gone in disguise to see them, forgot the lessons of Confucius, and took the duke to look at the bait. They were both captivated. The women were received, and the sage was neglected. For three days the duke gave no audience to his ministers. "Master," said Tsze-loo to Confucius, "it is time for you to be going." But Confucius was very unwilling to leave. The time was drawing near when the great sacrifice to Heaven would be offered, and he determined to wait and see whether the solemnity of that would bring the duke back to his right mind. No such result followed. The ceremony was hurried through, and portions of the offerings were not sent round to the various ministers, according to the established custom. Confucius regretfully took his departure, going away slowly and by easy stages. He would have welcomed a messenger of recall. The duke continued in his abandonment, and the sage went forth to thirteen weary years of homeless wandering.

On leaving Loo, Confucius first bent his steps westward to the State of Wei, situate about where the present provinces of Chih-le and Ho-nan adjoin.He wanders from State to State bc 496 — 483. He was now in his 56th year, and felt depressed and melancholy. As he went along, he gave expression to his feeling in verse: —

"Fain would I still look towards Loo,
But this Kwei hill cuts off my view.
With an axe, I'd hew the thickets through: —
Vain thought! 'gainst the hill I nought can do;"

and again, —

"Through the valley howls the blast,

Drizzling rain falls thick and fast.
Homeward goes the youthful bride,
O'er the wild, crowds by her side,
How is it. O azure Heaven,
From my home I thus am driven,
Through the land my way to trace,
With no certain dwelling-place?
Dark, dark, the minds of men!
Worth in vain comes to their ken.
Hastens on my term of years;
Old age, desolate, appears."

A number of his disciples accompanied him, and his sadness infected them. When they arrived at the borders of Wei, at a place called E, the warden sought an interview, and on coming out from the sage, he tried to comfort the disciples, saying, "My friends, why are you distressed at your Master's loss of office? The empire has been long without the principles of truth and right; Heaven is going to use your master as a bell with its wooden tongue." Such was the thought of this friendly stranger. The bell did indeed sound, but few had ears to hear.

Confucius' fame, however, had gone before him, and he was in little danger of having to suffer from want. On arriving at the capital of Wei, he lodged at first with a worthy officer, named Yen Ch'ow-yew. The reigning duke, known to us by the epithet of Ling, was a worthless, dissipated man, but he could not neglect a visitor of such eminence, and soon assigned to Confucius a revenue of 60,000 measures of grain. Here he remained for ten months, and then for some reason left it to go to Ch'in. On the way he had to pass by K'wang, a place probably in the present department of K'ae-fung in Ho-nan, which had formerly suffered from Yang-hoo. It so happened that Confucius resembled Hoo, and the attention of the people being called to him by the movements of his carriage-driver, they thought it was their old enemy, and made an attack upon him. His followers were alarmed, but he was calm, and tried to assure them by declaring his belief that he had a divine mission. He said to them, "After the death of King Wăn, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me? If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'wang do to me?" Having escaped from the hands of his assailants, he does not seem to have carried out his purpose of going to Ch'in, but returned to Wei.

On the way, he passed a house where he had formerly been lodged, and finding that the master was dead, and the funeral ceremonies going on, he went in to condole and weep. When he came out, he told Tsze-kung to take one of the horses from his carriage, and give it as a contribution to the expenses of the occasion. “You never did such a thing,” Tsze-kung remonstrated, “at the funeral of any of your disciples; is it not too great a gift on this occasion of the death of an old host?” “When I went in,” replied Confucius, “my presence brought a burst of grief from the chief mourner, and I joined him with my tears. I dislike the thought of my tears not being followed by anything. Do it, my child.”

On reaching Wei, he lodged with Keu Pih-yuh, an officer of whom honourable mention is made in the Analects. But this time he did not remain long in the State.bc 495. The duke was married to a lady of the house of Sung, known by the name of Nan-tsze, notorious for her intrigues and wickedness. She sought an interview with the sage, which he was obliged unwillingly to accord. No doubt he was innocent of thought or act of evil; but it gave great dissatisfaction to Tsze-loo that his master should have been in company with such a woman, and Confucius, to assure him, swore an oath, saying, “Wherein I have done improperly, may Heaven reject me! May Heaven reject me!” He could not well abide, however, about such a court. One day the duke rode out through the streets of his capital in the same carriage with Nan-tsze, and made Confucius follow them in another. Perhaps he intended to honour the philosopher, but the people saw the incongruity, and cried out, “Lust in the front; virtue behind!” Confucius was ashamed, and made the observation, “I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty.” Wei was no place for him. He left it, and took his way towards Ch’in.

Ch’in, which formed part of the present province of Ho-nan, lay south from Wei. After passing the small State of Ts’aou, he approached the borders of Sung, occupying the present prefecture of Kwei-tih, and had some intentions of entering it, when an incident occurred, which it is not easy to understand from the meagre style in which it is related, but which gave occasion to a remarkable saying. Confucius was practising ceremonies with his disciples, we are told, under the shade of a large tree. Hwan T’uy, an ill-minded officer of Sung, heard of it, and sent a band of men to pull down the tree, and kill the philosopher, if they could get hold of him. The disciples were much alarmed, but Confucius observed, “Heaven has produced the virtue that is in me; — what can Hwan T’uy do to me?” They all made their escape, but seem to have been driven westwards to the State of Ch’ing, on arriving at the gate conducting into which from the east, Confucius found himself separated from his followers. Tsze-kung had arrived before him, and was told by a native of Ch’ing that “there was a man

standing by the east gate, with a forehead like Yaou, a neck like Kaou-yaou, his shoulders on a level with those of Tsze-ch'an, but wanting, below the waist, three inches of the height of Yu, and altogether having the disconsolate appearance of a stray dog." Tsze-kung knew it was the master, hastened to him, and repeated to his great amusement the description which the man had given. "The bodily appearance," said Confucius, "is but a small matter, but to say I was like a stray dog — capital! capital!" The stay they made at Ch'ing was short, and by the end of bc 495, Confucius was in Ch'in.

All the next year he remained there lodging with the warder of the city wall, an officer of worth, of the name of Ching, and we have no accounts of him which deserve to be related here.

In bc 493, Ch'in was much disturbed by attacks from Woo, a large State, the capital of which was in the present department of Soo-chow, and Confucius determined to retrace his steps to Wei. On the way he was laid hold of at a place called P'oo, which was held by a rebellious officer against Wei, and before he could get away, he was obliged to engage that he would not proceed thither. Thither, notwithstanding, he continued his route, and when Tsze-kung asked him whether it was right to violate the oath he had taken, he replied, "It was a forced oath. The spirits do not hear such." The duke Ling received him with distinction, but paid no more attention to his lessons than before, and Confucius is said then to have uttered his complaint, "If there were any of the princes who would employ me, in the course of twelve months I should have done something considerable. In three years the government would be perfected."

A circumstance occurred to direct his attention to the State of Tsin, which occupied the southern part of the present Shan-se, and extended over the Yellow river into Ho-nan. An invitation came to Confucius, like that which he had formerly received from Kung-shan Fuh-jaou. Peih Heih, an officer of Tsin, who was holding the town of Chung-mow against his chief, invited him to visit him, and Confucius was inclined to go. Tsze-loo was always the mentor on such occasions. He said to him, "Master, I have heard you say, that when a man in his own person is guilty of doing evil, a superior man will not associate with him. Peih Heih is in rebellion; if you go to him, what shall be said?" Confucius replied, "Yes, I did use those words. But is it not said that if a thing be really hard, it may be ground without being made thin; and if it be really white, it may be steeped in a dark fluid without being made black? Am I a bitter gourd? Am I to be hung up out of the way of being eaten?"

These sentiments sound strangely from his lips. After all, he did not go to Peih Heih; and having travelled as far as the Yellow river that he might see one of the principal ministers of Tsin, he heard of the violent death of two men of

worth, and returned to Wei, lamenting the fate which prevented him from crossing the stream, and trying to solace himself with poetry as he had done on leaving Loo. Again did he commuuicate with the duke, but as ineffectually, and disgusted at being questioned by him about military tactics, he left and went back to Ch'in.

He resided in Ch'in all the next year, bc 491, without anything occurring there which is worthy of note. Events had transpired in Loo, however, which were to issue in his return to his native State. The duke Ting had deceased bc 494, and Ke Hwan, the chief of the Ke family, died in this year. On his deathbed, he felt remorse for his conduct to Confucius, and charged his successor, known to us in the Analects as Ke K'ang, to recall the sage; but the charge was not immediately fulfilled. Ke K'ang, by the advice of one of his officers, sent to Ch'in for the disciple Yen K'ew instead. Confucius willingly sent him off, and would gladly have accompanied him. "Let me return!" he said, "Let me return!" But that was not to be for several years yet.

In bc 490, accompanied, as usual, by several of his disciples, he went from Ch'in to Ts'ae, a small dependency of the great fief of Ts'oo, which occupied a large part of the present provinces of Hoo-nan and Hoo-pih. On the way, between Ch'in and Ts'ae, their provisions became exhausted, and they were cut off somehow from obtaining a fresh supply. The disciples were quite overcome with want, and Tsze-loo said to the master, "Has the superior man indeed to endure in this way?" Confucius answered him, "The superior man may indeed have to endure want; but the mean man, when he is in want, gives way to unbridled license." According to the "Family Sayings," the distress continued seven days, during which time Confucius retained his equanimity, and was even cheerful, playing on his lute and singing. He retained, however, a strong impression of the perils of the season, and we find him afterwards recurring to it, and lamenting that of the friends that were with him in Ch'in and Ts'ae, there were none remaining to enter his door.

Escaped from this strait, he remained in Ts'ae over bc 489, and in the following year we find him in Shĕ, another district of Ts'oo, the chief of which had usurped the title of duke. Puzzled about his visitor, he asked Tsze-loo what he should think of him, but the disciple did not venture a reply. When Confucius heard of it, he said to Tsze-loo, "Why did you not say to him, — He is simply a man who in his eager pursuit of knowledge forgets his food, who in the joy of its attainment forgets his sorrows, and who does not perceive that old age is coming on?" Subsequently, the duke, in conversation with Confucius, asked him about government, and got the reply, dictated by some circumstances of which we are

ignorant, “Good government obtains, when those who are near are made happy, and those who are far off are attracted.”

After a short stay in Shĕ, according to Sze-ma Ts’een, he returned to Ts’ae, and having to cross a river, he sent Tsze-loo to inquire for the ford of two men who were at work in a neighbouring field. They were recluses, — men who had withdrawn from public life in disgust at the waywardness of the times. One of them was called Ch’ang-tseu, and instead of giving Tsze-loo the information he wanted, he asked him, “Who is it that holds the reins in the carriage there?” “It is K’ung Kew.” “K’ung Kew of Loo?” “Yes,” was the reply, and then the man rejoined, “He knows the ford.”

Tsze-loo applied to the other, who was called Kĕĕ-neih, but got for answer the question, “Who are you, Sir?” He replied, “I am Chung Yew.” “Chung Yew, who is the disciple of K’ung Kew of Loo?” “Yes,” again replied Tsze-loo, and Keĕ-heih addressed him, “Disorder, like a swelling flood, spreads over the whole empire, and who is he that will change it for you? Than follow one who merely withdraws from this one and that one, had you not better follow those who withdraw from the world altogether?” With this he fell to covering up the seed, and gave no more heed to the stranger. Tsze-loo went back and reported what they had said, when Confucius vindicated his own course, saying, “It is impossible to associate with birds and bcasts as if they were the same with us. If I associate not with these people, — with mankind, — with whom shall I associate? If right principles prevailed through the empire, there would be no use for me to change its state.”

About the same time he had an encounter with another recluse, who was known as “The madman of Ts’oo.” He passed by the carriage of Confucius, singing out, “O Fung, O Fung, how is your virtue degenerated! As to the past, reproof is useless, but the future may be provided against. Give up, give up your vain pursuit.” Confucius alighted and wished to enter into conversation with him, but the man hastened away.

But now the attention of the ruler of Ts’oo — king, as he styled himself — was directed to the illustrious stranger who was in his dominions, and he met Confucius and conducted him to his capital, which was in the present district of E-shing, in the department of Seang-yang, in Hoo-pih. After a time, he proposed endowing the philosopher with a considerable territory, but was dissuaded by his prime minister, who said to him, “Has your Majesty any officer who could discharge the duties of an ambassador like Tsze-kung? or any one so qualified for a premier as Yen Hwuy? or any one to compare as a general with Tsze-loo? The kings Wăn and Woo, from their hereditary dominions of a hundred le, rose to the sovereignty of the empire. If K’ung K’ew, with such disciples to be his

ministers, get the possession of any territory, it will not be to the prosperity of Ts'oo? On this remonstrance, the king gave up his purpose, and when he died in the same year, Confucius left the State, and went back again to Wei.

The Duke Ling had died four years before, soon after Confucius had last parted from him, and the reigning duke, known to us by the title of Ch'uh, was his grandson, and was holding the principality against his own father.bc 489. The relations between them were rather complicated. The father had been driven out in consequence of an attempt which he had instigated on the life of his mother, the notorious Nan-tsze, and the succession was given to his son. Subsequently, the father wanted to reclaim what he deemed his right, and an unseemly struggle ensued. The Duke Ch'uh was conscious how much his cause would be strengthened by the support of Confucius, and hence when he got to Wei, Tsze-loo could say to him, "The prince of Wei has been waiting for you, in order with you to administer the government; — what will you consider the first thing to be done?" The opinion of the philosopher, however, was against the propriety of the duke's course, and he declined taking office with him, though he remained in Wei for between five and six years. During all that time there is a blank in his history. In the very year of his return, according to the "Annals of the Empire," his most beloved disciple, Yen Hwuy, died, on which occasion he exclaimed, "Alas! Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!" The death of his wife is assigned to bc 484, but nothing else is related which we can connect with this long period.

His return to Loo was brought about by the disciple Yen Yew, who, we have seen, went into the service of Ke K'ang, in bc 491.From his return to Loo to his death. bc 483 — 478. In the year bc 483, Yew had the conduct of some military operations against Ts'e, and being successful, Ke K'ang asked him how he had obtained his military skill; — was it from nature, or by learning? He replied that he had learned it from Confucius, and entered into a glowing eulogy of the philosopher. The chief declared that he would bring Confucius home again to Loo. "If you do so," said the disciple, "see that you do not let mean men come between you and him." On this K'ang sent three officers with appropriate presents to Wei, to invite the wanderer home, and he returned with them accordingly.

This event took place in the eleventh year of the Duke Gae, who succeeded to Ting, and according to K'ung Foo, Confucius' descendant, the invitation proceeded from him. We may suppose that while Ke K'ang was the mover and director of the proceeding, it was with the authority and approval of the duke. It is represented in the chronicle of Tso-k'ew Ming as having occurred at a very opportune time. The philosopher had been consulted a little before by K'ung

Wăn, an officer of Wei, about how he should conduct a feud with another officer, and disgusted at being referred to on such a subject, had ordered his carriage and prepared to leave the State, exclaiming, “The bird chooses its tree. The tree does not chase the bird.” K’ung Wăn endeavoured to excuse himself, and to prevail on Confucius to remain in Wei, and just at this juncture the messengers from Loo arrived.

Confucius was now in his 69th year. The world had not dealt kindly with him. In every State which he had visited he had met with disappointment and sorrow. Only five more years remained to him, nor were they of a brighter character than the past. He had, indeed, attained to that state, he tells us, in which “he could follow what his heart desired without transgressing what was right,” but other people were not more inclined than they had been to abide by his counsels. The Duke Gae and Ke K’ang often conversed with him, but he no longer had weight in the guidance of State affairs, and wisely addressed himself to the completion of his literary labours. He wrote, it is said, a preface to the Shoo-king; carefully digested the rites and ceremonies determined by the wisdom of the more ancient sages and kings; collected and arranged the ancient poetry; and undertook the reform of music. He has told us himself, “I returned from Wei to Loo, and then the music was reformed, and the pieces in the Imperial Songs and Praise Songs found all their proper place.” To the Yih-king he devoted much study, and Sze-ma Ts’een says that the leather thongs by which the tablets of his copy were bound together were thrice worn out. “If some years were added to my life,” he said, “I would give fifty to the study of the Yih, and then I might come to be without great faults.” During this time also, we may suppose that he supplied Tsăng Sin with the materials of the classic of Filial Piety. The same year that he returned, Ke K’ang sent Yen Yew to ask his opinion about an additional impost which he wished to lay upon the people, but Confucius refused to give any reply, telling the disciple privately his disapproval of the proposed measure. It was carried out, however, in the following year, by the agency of Yen, on which occasion, I suppose, it was that Confucius said to the other disciples, “He is no disciple of mine; my little children, beat the drum and assail him.” The year bc 482 was marked by the death of his son Le, which he seems to have borne with more equanimity than he did that of his disciple Yen Hwuy, which some writers assign to the following year, though I have already mentioned it under the year bc 488.

In the spring of bc 480, a servant of Ke K’ang caught a k’e-lin on a hunting excursion of the duke in the present district of Këa-ts’eang. No person could tell what strange animal it was, and Confucius was called to look at it. He at once knew it to be a lin, and the legend-writers say that it bore on one of its horns the

piece of ribbon, which his mother had attached to the one that appeared to her before his birth. According to the chronicle of Kung-yang, he was profoundly affected. He cried out, “For whom have you come? For whom have you come?” His tears flowed freely, and he added, “The course of my doctrines is run.”

Notwithstanding the appearance of the lin, the life of Confucius was still protracted for two years longer, though he took occasion to terminate with that event his history of the Ch’un Ts’ew. This Work, according to Sze-ma Ts’een, was altogether the production of this year, but we need not suppose that it was so. In it, from the stand-point of Loo, he briefly indicates the principal events occurring throughout the empire, every term being expressive, it is said, of the true character of the actors and events described. Confucius said himself, “It is the Spring and Autumn which will make men know me, and it is the Spring and Autumn which will make men condemn me.” Mencius makes the composition of it to have been an achievement as great as Yu’s regulation of the waters of the deluge.— “Confucius completed the Spring and Autumn, and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror.”

Towards the end of this year, word came to Loo that the duke of Ts’e had been murdered by one of his officers. Confucius was moved with indignation. Such an outrage, he felt, called for his solemn interference. He bathed, went to court, and represented the matter to the duke, saying, “Ch’in Hăng has slain his sovereign, I beg that you will undertake to punish him.” The duke pleaded his incapacity, urging that Loo was weak compared with Ts’e, but Confucius replied, “One half of the people of Ts’e are not consenting to the deed. If you add to the people of Loo one half of the people of Ts’e, you are sure to overcome.” But he could not infuse his spirit into the duke, who told him to go and lay the matter before the chief of the three Families. Sorely against his sense of propriety, he did so, but they would not act, and he withdrew with the remark, “Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter.”

In the year bc 479, Confucius had to mourn the death of another of his disciples, one of those who had been longest with him, — the well-known Tsze-loo. He stands out a sort of Peter in the Confucian school, a man of impulse, prompt to speak and prompt to act. He gets many a check from the master, but there is evidently a strong sympathy between them. Tsze-loo uses a freedom with him on which none of the other disciples dares to venture, and there is not one among them all, for whom, if I may speak from my own feeling, the foreign student comes to form such a liking. A pleasant picture is presented to us in one passage of the Analects. It is said, “The disciple Min was standing by his side, looking bland and precise; Tsze-loo (named Yew), looking bold and soldierly;

Yen Yew and Tsze-kung, with a free and straightforward manner. The master was pleased, but he observed, 'Yew there! — he will not die a natural death.'"

This prediction was verified. When Confucius returned to Loo from Wei, he left Tsze-loo and Tsze-kaou engaged there in official service. Troubles arose. News came to Loo, bc 479, that a revolution was in progress in Wei, and when Confucius heard it, he said, "Ch'ae will come here, but Yew will die." So it turned out. When Tsze-kaou saw that matters were desperate he made his escape, but Tsze-loo would not forsake the chief who had treated him well. He threw himself into the mêlée, and was slain. Confucius wept sore for him, but his own death was not far off. It took place on the 11th day of the 4th month in the following year, bc 478.

Early one morning, we are told, he got up, and with his hands behind his back, dragging his staff, he moved about by his door, crooning over, —

"The great mountain must crumble;
The strong beam must break;
And the wise man wither away like a plant."

After a little, he entered the house and sat down opposite the door. Tsze-kung had heard his words, and said to himself, "If the great mountain crumble, to what shall I look up? If the strong beam break, and the wise man wither away, on whom shall I lean? The master, I fear, is going to be ill." With this he hastened into the house. Confucius said to him, "Ts'ze, what makes you so late? According to the statutes of Hea, the corpse was dressed and coffined at the top of the eastern steps, treating the dead as if he were still the host. Under the Yin, the ceremony was performed between the two pillars, as if the dead were both host and guest. The rule of Chow is to perform it at the top of the western steps, treating the dead as if he were a guest. I am a man of Yin, and last night I dreamt that I was sitting with offerings before me between the two pillars. No intelligent monarch arises; there is not one in the empire that will make me his master. My time is come to die." So it was. He went to his couch, and after seven days expired.

Such is the account which we have of the last hours of the great philosopher of China. His end was not unimpressive, but it was melancholy. He sank behind a cloud. Disappointed hopes made his soul bitter. The great ones of the empire had not received his teachings. No wife nor child was by to do the kindly offices of affection for him. Nor were the expectations of another life present with him as he passed though the dark valley. He uttered no prayer, and he betrayed no apprehensions. Deep-treasured in his own heart may have been the thought that he had endeavoured to serve his generation by the will of God, but he gave no sign. "The mountain falling came to nought, and the rock was removed out of his

place. So death prevailed against him and he passed; his countenance was changed, and he was sent away."

I flatter myself that the preceding paragraphs contain a more correct narrative of the principal incidents in the life of Confucius than has yet been given in any European language. They might easily have been expanded into a volume, but I did not wish to exhaust the subject, but only to furnish a sketch, which, while it might satisfy the general reader, would be of special assistance to the careful student of the classical Books. I had taken many notes of the manifest errors in regard to chronology and other matters in the "Family Sayings," and the chapter of Sze-ma Ts'een on the K'ung family, when the digest of Keang Yung, to which I have made frequent reference, attracted my attention. Conclusions to which I had come were confirmed, and a clue was furnished to difficulties which I was seeking to disentangle. I take the opportunity to acknowledge here my obligations to it. With a few notices of Confucius' habits and manners, I shall conclude this section.

Very little can be gathered from reliable sources on the personal appearance of the sage. The height of his father is stated, as I have noted, to have been ten feet, and though Confucius came short of this by four inches, he was often called "the tall man." It is allowed that the ancient foot or cubit was shorter than the modern, but it must be reduced more than any scholar I have consulted has yet done, to bring this statement within the range of credibility. The legends assign to his figure "nine-and-forty remarkable peculiarities," a tenth part of which would have made him more a monster than a man. Dr Morrison says that the images of him, which he had seen in the northern parts of China, represent him as of a dark swarthy colour. It is not so with those common in the south. He was, no doubt, in size and complexion much the same as many of his descendants in the present day.

But if his disciples had nothing to chronicle of his personal appearance, they have gone very minutely into an account of many of his habits. The tenth book of the Analects is all occupied with his deportment, his eating, and his dress. In public, whether in the village, the temple, or the court, he was the man of rule and ceremony, but "at home he was not formal." Yet if not formal, he was particular. In bed even he did not forget himself;— "he did not lie like a corpse," and "he did not speak." "He required his sleeping dress to be half as long again as his body." "If he happened to be sick, and the prince came to visit him, he had his face to the east, made his court robes be put over him, and drew his girdle across them."

He was nice in his diet,— "not disliking to have his rice dressed fine, nor to have his minced meat cut small." "Anything at all gone he would not touch."

“He must have his meat cut properly, and to every kind its proper sauce; but he was not a great eater.” “It was only in wine that he laid down no limit to himself, but he did not allow himself to be confused by it.” “When the villagers were drinking together, on those who carried staves going out, he went out immediately after.” There must always be ginger at the table, and “when eating, he did not converse.” “Although his food might be coarse rice and poor soup, he would offer a little of it in sacrifice, with a grave respectful air.”

“On occasion of a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, he would change countenance. He would do the same, and rise up moreover, when he found himself a guest at a loaded board.” “At the sight of a person in mourning he would also change countenance, and if he happened to be in his carriage, he would bend forward with a respectful salutation.” “His general way in his carriage was not to turn his head round, nor talk hastily, nor point with his hands.” He was charitable. “When any of his friends died, if there were no relations who could be depended on for the necessary offices, he would say, ‘I will bury him.’”

The disciples were so careful to record these and other characteristics of their master, it is said, because every act, of movement or of rest, was closely associated with the great principles which it was his object to inculcate. The detail of so many small matters, however, does not impress a foreigner so favourably. There is a want of freedom about the philosopher. Somehow he is less a sage to me, after I have seen him at his table, in his undress, in his bed, and in his carriage.

SECTION II. HIS INFLUENCE AND OPINIONS.

Confucius died, we have seen, complaining that of all the princes of the empire there was not one who would adopt his principles and obey his lessons.Homage rendered to Confucius by the emperors of China. He had hardly passed from the stage of life when his merit began to be acknowledged. When the Duke Gae heard of his death, he pronounced his eulogy in the words, “Heaven has not left to me the aged man. There is none now to assist me on the throne. Woe is me! Alas! O venerable Ne!” Tsze-Kung complained of the inconsistency of this lamentation from one who could not use the master when he was alive, but the duke was probably sincere in his grief. He caused a temple to be erected, and ordered that sacrifice should be offered to the sage, at the four seasons of the year.

The emperors of the tottering dynasty of Chow had not the intelligence, nor were they in a position, to do honour to the departed philosopher, but the facts

detailed in the first chapter of these prolegomena, in connection with the attempt of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty to destroy the monuments of antiquity, show how the authority of Confucius had come by that time to prevail through the empire. The founder of the Han dynasty, in passing through Loo, bc 194, visited his tomb and offered an ox in sacrifice to him. Other emperors since then have often made pilgrimages to the spot. The most famous temple in the empire now rises over the place of the grave. K'ang-he, the second and greatest of the rulers of the present dynasty, in the twenty-third year of his reign, there set the example of kneeling thrice, and each time laying his forehead thrice in the dust, before the image of the sage.

In the year of our Lord 1, began the practice of conferring honorary designations on Confucius by imperial authority. The Emperor P'ing then styled him— "The Duke Ne, all-complete and illustrious." This was changed, in ad 492, to— "The venerable Ne, the accomplished Sage." Other titles have supplanted this. Shun-che, the first of the Manchow dynasty, adopted, in his second year, ad 1645, the style,— "K'ung, the ancient Teacher, accomplished and illustrious, all-complete, the perfect Sage;" but twelve years later, a shorter title was introduced,— "K'ung, the ancient Teacher, the perfect Sage." Since that year no further alteration has been made.

At first the worship of Confucius was confined to the country of Loo, but in ad 57 it was enacted that sacrifices should be offered to him in the imperial college, and in all the colleges of the principal territorial divisions throughout the empire. In those sacrifices he was for some centuries associated with the duke of Chow, the legislator to whom Confucius made frequent reference; but in ad 609 separate temples were assigned to them, and in 628 our sage displaced the older worthy altogether. About the same time began the custom, which continues to the present day, of erecting temples to him, — separate structures, in connection with all the colleges, or examination-halls, of the country.

The sage is not alone in those temples. In a hall behind the principal one occupied by himself are the tablets — in some cases, the images — of several of his ancestors, and other worthies; while associated with himself are his principal disciples, and many who in subsequent times have signalized themselves as expounders and exemplifiers of his doctrines. On the first day of every month, offerings of fruits and vegetables are set forth, and on the fifteenth there is a solemn burning of incense. But twice a year, in the middle months of spring and autumn, when the first "ting" day of the month comes round, the worship of Confucius is performed with peculiar solemnity. At the imperial college the emperor himself is required to attend in state, and is in fact the principal performer. After all the preliminary arrangements have been made, and the

emperor has twice knelt and six times bowed his head to the earth, the presence of Confucius' spirit is invoked in the words, "Great art thou, O perfect sage! Thy virtue is full; thy doctrine is complete. Among mortal men there has not been thine equal. All kings honour thee. Thy statutes and laws have come gloriously down. Thou art the pattern in this imperial school. Reverently have the sacrificial vessels been set out. Full of awe, we sound our drums and bells."

The spirit is supposed now to be present, and the service proceeds through various offerings, when the first of which has been set forth, an officer reads the following, which is the prayer on the occasion:— "On this. . . .month of this. . . .year, I, A.B., the emperor, offer a sacrifice to the philosopher K'ung, the ancient Teacher, the perfect Sage, and say, — O Teacher, in virtue equal to Heaven and Earth, whose doctrines embrace the past time and the present, thou didst digest and transmit the six classics, and didst hand down lessons for all generations! Now in this second month of spring (or autumn), in reverent observance of the old statutes, with victims, silks, spirits, and fruits, I carefully offer sacrifice to thee. With thee are associated the philosopher Yen, continuator of thee; the philosopher Tsăng, exhibiter of thy fundamental principles; the philosopher Tsze-sze, transmitter of thee; and the philosopher Măng, second to thee. May'st thou enjoy the offerings!"

I need not go on to enlarge on the homage which the emperors of China render to Confucius. It could not be more complete. It is worship and not mere homage. He was unreasonably neglected when alive. He is now unreasonably venerated when dead. The estimation with which the rulers of China regard their sage leads them to sin against God, and this is a misfortune to the empire.

The rulers of China are not singular in this matter, but in entire sympathy with the mass of their people. It is the distinction of this empire that education has been highly prized in it from the earliest times.General appreciation of Confucius. It was so before the era of Confucius, and we may be sure that the system met with his approbation. One of his remarkable sayings was,— "To lead an uninstructed people to war, is to throw them away." When he pronounced this judgment, he was not thinking of military training, but of education in the duties of life and citizenship. A people so taught, he thought, would be morally fitted to fight for their government. Mencius, when lecturing to the duke of T'ăng on the proper way of governing a kingdom, told him that he must provide the means of education for all, the poor as well as the rich. "Establish," said he, "ts'eang, seu, heŏ, and heaou, — all those educational institutions, — for the instruction of the people."

At the present day education is widely diffused throughout China. In no other country is the schoolmaster more abroad, and in all schools it is Confucius who

is taught. The plan of competitive examinations, and the selection for civil offices only from those who have been successful candidates, — good so far as the competition is concerned, but injurious from the restricted range of subjects with which an acquaintance is required, — have obtained for more than twelve centuries. The classical works are the text books. It is from them almost exclusively that the themes proposed to determine the knowledge and ability of the students are chosen. The whole of the magistracy of China is thus versed in all that is recorded of the sage, and in the ancient literature which he preserved. His thoughts are familiar to every man in authority, and his character is more or less reproduced in him.

The official civilians of China, numerous as they are, are but a fraction of its students, and the students, or those who make literature a profession, are again but a fraction of those who attend school for a shorter or longer period. Yet so far as the studies have gone, they have been occupied with the Confucian writings. In many school-rooms there is a tablet or inscription on the wall, sacred to the sage, and every pupil is required, on coming to school on the morning of the first and fifteenth of every month, to bow before it, the first thing, as an act of worship. Thus, all in China who receive the slightest tincture of learning do so at the fountain of Confucius. They learn of him and do homage to him at once. I have repeatedly quoted the statement that during his life-time he had three thousand disciples. Hundreds of millions are his disciples now. It is hardly necessary to make any allowance in this statement for the followers of Taouism and Buddhism, for, as Sir John Davis has observed, “whatever the other opinions or faith of a Chinese may be, he takes good care to treat Confucius with respect. For two thousand years he has reigned supreme, the undisputed teacher of this most populous land.

This position and influence of Confucius are to be ascribed, I conceive, chiefly to two causes: — his being the preserver, namely, of the monuments of antiquity, and the exemplifier and expounder of the maxims of the golden age of China; and the devotion to him of his immediate disciples and their early followers.The causes of his influence. The national and the personal are thus blended in him, each in its highest degree of excellence. He was a Chinese of the Chinese; he is also represented, and all now believe him to have been, the beau ideal of humanity in its best and noblest estate.

It may be well to bring forward here Confucius’ own estimate of himself and of his doctrines. It will serve to illustrate the statements just made. The following are some of his sayings.His own estimate of himself and of his doctrines.— “The sage and the man of perfect virtue; — how dare I rank myself with them? It may simply be said of me, that I strive to become such without satiety, and teach

others without weariness." "In letters I am perhaps equal to other men; but the character of the superior man, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not yet attained to." "The leaving virtue without proper cultivation; the not thoroughly discussing what is learned; not being able to move towards righteousness of which a knowledge is gained; and not being able to change what is not good; — these are the things which occasion me solicitude." "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity and earnest in seeking it there." "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old P'ang."

Confucius cannot be thought to speak of himself in these declarations more highly than he ought to do. Rather we may recognize in them the expressions of a genuine humility. He was conscious that personally he came short in many things, but he toiled after the character, which he saw, or fancied that he saw, in the ancient sages whom he acknowledged; and the lessons of government and morals which he laboured to diffuse were those which had already been inculcated and exhibited by them. Emphatically he was "a transmitter and not a maker." It is not to be understood that he was not fully satisfied of the truth of the principles which he had learned. He held them with the full approval and consent of his own understanding. He believed that if they were acted on, they would remedy the evils of his time. There was nothing to prevent rulers like Yaou and Shun and the great Yu from again arising, and a condition of happy tranquillity being realized throughout the empire under their sway.

If in anything he thought himself "superior and alone," having attributes which others could not claim, it was in his possessing a Divine commission as the conservator of ancient truth and rules. He does not speak very definitely on this point. It is noted that "the appointments of Heaven was one of the subjects on which he rarely touched." His most remarkable utterance was that which I have already given in the sketch of his Life:— "When he was put in fear in K'wang, he said, 'After the death of King Wăn, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me? If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'wang do to me?' " Confucius, then, did feel that he was in the world for a special purpose. But it was not to announce any new truths, or to initiate any new economy. It was to prevent what had previously been known from being lost. He followed in the wake of Yaou and Shun, of T'ang, and King Wăn. Distant from the last by a long interval of time, he would have said that he was distant from him also by a great inferiority of character, but still he had learned the principles on which they

all happily governed the empire, and in their name he would lift up a standard against the prevailing lawlessness of his age.

The language employed with reference to Confucius by his disciples and their early followers presents a striking contrast with his own. I have already, in writing of the scope and value of "The Doctrine of the Mean," called attention to the extravagant eulogies of his grandson Tsze-sze.Estimate of him by his disciples and their early followers. He only followed the example which had been set by those among whom the philosopher went in and out. We have the language of Yen Yuen, his favourite, which is comparatively moderate, and simply expresses the genuine admiration of a devoted pupil. Tsze-kung on several occasions spoke in a different style. Having heard that one of the chiefs of Loo had said that he himself — Tsze-kung — was superior to Confucius, he observed, "Let me use the comparison of a house and its encompassing wall. My wall only reaches to the shoulders. One may peep over it, and see whatever is valuable in the apartments. The wall of my master is several fathoms high. If one do not find the door and enter by it, he cannot see the rich ancestral temple with its beauties, nor all the officers in their rich array. But I may assume that they are few who find the door. The remark of the chief was only what might have been expected."

Another time, the same individual having spoken revilingly of Confucius, Tsze-kung said, "It is of no use doing so. Chung-ne cannot be reviled. The talents and virtue of other men are hillocks and mounds which may be stept over. Chung-ne is the sun or moon, which it is not possible to step over. Although a man may wish to cut himself off from the sage, what harm can he do to the sun and moon? He only shows that he does not know his own capacity."

In conversation with a fellow-disciple, Tsze-kung took a still higher flight. Being charged by Tsze-k'in with being too modest, for that Confucius was not really superior to him, he replied, "For one word a man is often deemed to be wise, and for one word he is often deemed to be foolish. We ought to be careful indeed in what we say. Our master cannot be attained to, just in the same way as the heavens cannot be gone up to by the steps of a stair. Were our master in the position of the prince of a State, or the chief of a Family, we should find verified the description which has been given of a sage's rule: — He would plant the people, and forthwith they would be established; he would lead them on, and forthwith they would follow him; he would make them happy, and forthwith multitudes would resort to his dominions; he would stimulate them, and forthwith they would be harmonious. While he lived, he would be glorious. When he died, he would be bitterly lamented. How is it possible for him to be attained to?"

From these representations of Tsze-kung, it was not a difficult step for Tsze-sze to make in exalting Confucius not only to the level of the ancient sages, but as "the equal of Heaven." And Mencius took up the theme. Being questioned by Kung-sun Ch'ow, one of his disciples, about two acknowledged sages, Pih-e and E Yin, whether they were to be placed in the same rank with Confucius, he replied, "No. Since there were living men until now, there never was another Confucius;" and then he proceeded to fortify his opinion by the concurring testimony of Tsae Go, Tsze-kung, and Yew Jŏ, who all had wisdom, he thought, sufficient to know their master. Tsae Go's opinion was, "According to my view of our master, he is far superior to Yaou and Shun." Tsze-kung said, "By viewing the ceremonial ordinances of a prince, we know the character of his government. By hearing his music, we know the character of his virtue. From the distance of a hundred ages after, I can arrange, according to their merits, the kings of a hundred ages; — not one of them can escape me. From the birth of mankind till now, there has never been another like our master." Yew Jŏ said, "Is it only among men that it is so? There is the k'elin among quadrupeds; the fung-hwang among birds; the T'ae mountain among mounds and ant-hills; and rivers and seas among rain-pools. Though different in degree, they are the same in kind. So the sages among mankind are also the same in kind. But they stand out from their fellows, and rise above the level; and from the birth of mankind till now, there has never been one so complete as Confucius." I will not indulge in farther illustration. The judgment of the sage's disciples, of Tsze-sze, and of Mencius, has been unchallenged by the mass of the scholars of China. Doubtless it pleases them to bow down at the shrine of the sage, for their profession of literature is thereby glorified. A reflection of the honour done to him falls upon themselves. And the powers that be, and the multitudes of the people, fall in with the judgment. Confucius is thus, in the empire of China, the one man by whom all possible personal excellence was exemplified, and by whom all possible lessons of social virtue and political wisdom are taught.

The reader will be prepared by the preceding account not to expect to find any light thrown by Confucius on the great problems of the human condition and destiny. He did not speculate on the creation of things or the end of them.Subjects on which Confucius did not treat. — That he was unreligious, unspiritual and open to the charge of insincerity. He was not troubled to account for the origin of man, nor did he seek to know about his hereafter. He meddled neither with physics nor metaphysics. The testimony of the Analects about the subjects of his teaching is the following:— "His frequent themes of discourse were the Book of Poetry, the Book of History, and the maintenance of the rules of Propriety." "He taught letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness."

“Extraordinary things; feats of strength; states of disorder; and spiritual beings he did not like to talk about.”

Confucius is not to be blamed for his silence on the subjects here indicated. His ignorance of them was to a great extent his misfortune. He had not learned them. No report of them had come to him by the ear; no vision of them by the eye. And to his practical mind the toiling of thought amid uncertainties seemed worse than useless.

The question has, indeed, been raised, whether he did not make changes in the ancient creed of China, but I cannot believe that he did so consciously and designedly. Had his idiosyncrasy been different, we might have had expositions of the ancient views on some points, the effect of which would have been more beneficial than the indefiniteness in which they are now left, and it may be doubted so far, whether Confucius was not unfaithful to his guides. But that he suppressed or added, in order to bring in articles of belief originating with himself, is a thing not to be charged against him.

I will mention two important subjects in regard to which there is a growing conviction in my mind that he came short of the faith of the older sages. The first is the doctrine of God. This name is common in the She-king, and Shoo-king. Te or Shung Te appears there as a personal being, ruling in heaven and on earth, the author of man’s moral nature, the governor among the nations, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the bad. Confucius preferred to speak of Heaven. Instances have already been given of this. Two others may be cited:— “He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray.” “Alas!” said he, “there is no one that knows me.” Tsze-kung said, “What do you mean by thus saying that no one knows you?” He replied, “I do not murmur against Heaven. I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low, and my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven; — that knows me!” Not once throughout the Analects does he use the personal name. I would say that he was unreligious rather than irreligious; yet by the coldness of his temperament and intellect in this matter, his influence is unfavourable to the development of true religious feeling among the Chinese people generally, and he prepared the way for the speculations of the literati of mediæval and modern times, which have exposed them to the charge of atheism.

Secondly, Along with the worship of God there existed in China, from the earliest historical times, the worship of other spiritual beings, — especially, and to every individual, the worship of departed ancestors. Confucius recognized this as an institution to be devoutly observed. “He sacrificed to the dead as if they were present; he sacrificed to the spirits as if the spirits were present. He said, ‘I consider my not being present at the sacrifice as if I did not sacrifice.’ “ The

custom must have originated from a belief of the continued existence of the dead. We cannot suppose that they who instituted it thought that with the cessation of this life on earth there was a cessation also of all conscious being. But Confucius never spoke explicitly on this subject. He tried to evade it. “Ke Loo asked about serving the spirits of the dead, and the master said, ‘While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?’ The disciple added, ‘I venture to ask about death,’ and he was answered, ‘While you do not know life, how can you know about death.’ “ Still more striking is a conversation with another disciple, recorded in the “Family Sayings.” Tsze-kung asked him, “Do the dead have knowledge (of our services, that is), or are they without knowledge?” The master replied, “If I were to say that the dead have such knowledge, I am afraid that filial sons and dutiful grandsons would injure their substance in paying the last offices to the departed; and if I were to say that the dead have not such knowledge, I am afraid lest unfilial sons should leave their parents unburied. You need not wish, Ts’ze, to know whether the dead have knowledge or not. There is no present urgency about the point. Hereafter you will know it for yourself.” Surely this was not the teaching proper to a sage. He said on one occasion that he had no concealments from his disciples. Why did he not candidly tell his real thoughts on so interesting a subject? I incline to think that he doubted more than he believed. If the case were not so, it would be difficult to account for the answer which he returned to a question as to what constituted wisdom. “To give one’s-self earnestly,” said he, “to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom.” At any rate, as by his frequent references to Heaven, instead of following the phraseology of the older sages, he gave occasion to many of his professed followers to identify God with a principle of reason and the course of nature; so, in the point now in hand, he has led them to deny, like the Sadducees of old, the existence of any spirit at all, and to tell us that their sacrifices to the dead are but an outward form, the mode of expression which the principle of filial piety requires them to adopt, when its objects have departed this life.

It will not be supposed that I wish to advocate or defend the practice of sacrificing to the dead. My object has been to point out how Confucius recognized it, without acknowledging the faith from which it must have originated, and how he enforced it as a matter of form or ceremony. It thus connects itself with the most serious charge that can be brought against him, — the charge of insincerity. Among the four things which it is said he taught, “truthfulness” is specified, and many sayings might be quoted from him, in which “sincerity” is celebrated as highly and demanded as stringently as ever it has been by any Christian moralist; yet he was not altogether the truthful and

true man to whom we accord our highest approbation. There was the case of Măng Chefan, who boldly brought up the rear of the defeated troops of Loo, and attributed his occupying the place of honour to the backwardness of his horse. The action was gallant, but the apology for it was weak and wrong. And yet Confucius saw nothing in the whole but matter for praise. He could excuse himself from seeing an unwelcome visitor on the ground that he was sick, when there was nothing the matter with him. These perhaps were small matters, but what shall we say to the incident which I have given in the sketch of his Life, — his deliberately breaking the oath which he had sworn, simply on the ground that it had been forced from him? I should be glad if I could find evidence on which to deny the truth of that occurrence. But it rests on the same authority as most other statements about him, and it is accepted as a fact by the people and scholars of China. It must have had, and it must still have, a very injurious influence upon them. Foreigners charge, and with reason, a habit of deceitfulness upon the nation and its government. For every word of falsehood and every act of insincerity the guilty party must bear his own burden, but we cannot but regret the example of Confucius in this particular. It is with the Chinese and their sage, as it was with the Jews of old and their teachers. He that leads them has caused them to err, and destroyed the way of their paths.

But was not insincerity a natural result of the unreligion of Confucius? There are certain virtues which demand a true piety in order to their flourishing in the corrupt heart of man. Natural affection, the feeling of loyalty, and enlightened policy, may do much to build up and preserve a family and a State, but it requires more to maintain the love of truth, and make a lie, spoken or acted, to be shrunk from with shame. It requires in fact the living recognition of a God of truth, and all the sanctions of revealed religion. Unfortunately the Chinese have not had these, and the example of him to whom they bow down as the best and wisest of men, encourages them to act, to dissemble, to sin.

I go on to a brief discussion of Confucius' views on government, or what we may call his principles of political science.His views on government. It could not be in his long intercourse with his disciples but that he should enunciate many maxims bearing on character and morals generally, but he never rested in the improvement of the individual. "The empire brought to a state of happy tranquillity" was the grand object which he delighted to think of; that it might be brought about as easily as "one can look upon the palm of his hand," was the dream which it pleased him to indulge in. He held that there was in men an adaptation and readiness to be governed, which only needed to be taken advantage of in the proper way. There must be the right administrators, but given those, and "the growth of government would be rapid, just as vegetation is

rapid in the earth; yea, their government would display itself like an easily-growing rush." The same sentiment was common from the lips of Mencius. Enforcing it one day, when conversing with one of the petty princes of his time, he said in his peculiar style, "Does your Majesty understand the way of the growing grain? During the seventh and eighth months, when drought prevails, the plants become dry. Then the clouds collect densely in the heavens, they send down torrents of rain, and the grain erects itself as if by a shoot. When it does so, who can keep it back?" Such, he contended, would be the response of the mass of the people to any true "shepherd of men." It may be deemed unnecessary that I should specify this point, for it is a truth applicable to the people of all nations. Speaking generally, government is by no device or cunning craftiness; human nature demands it. But in no other family of mankind is the characteristic so largely developed as in the Chinese. The love of order and quiet, and a willingness to submit to "the powers that be," eminently distinguish them. Foreign writers have often taken notice of this, and have attributed it to the influence of Confucius' doctrines as inculcating subordination; but it existed previous to his time. The character of the people moulded his system, more than it was moulded by it.

This readiness to be governed arose, according to Confucius, from the duties of universal obligation, or those between sovereign and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those belonging to the intercourse of friends." Men as they are born into the world, and grow up in it, find themselves existing in those relations. They are the appointment of Heaven. And each relation has its reciprocal obligations, the recognition of which is proper to the Heaven-conferred nature. It only needs that the sacredness of the relations be maintained, and the duties belonging to them faithfully discharged, and the "happy tranquillity" will prevail all under heaven. As to the institutions of government, the laws and arrangements by which, as through a thousand channels, it should go forth to carry plenty and prosperity through the length and breadth of the country, it did not belong to Confucius, "the throneless king," to set them forth minutely. And indeed they were existing in the records of "the ancient sovereigns." Nothing new was needed. It was only requisite to pursue the old paths, and raise up the old standards. "The government of Wăn and Woo," he said, "is displayed in the records, — the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men, and the government will flourish, but without the men, the government decays and ceases." To the same effect was the reply which he gave to Yen Hwuy when asked by him how the government of a State should be administered. It seems very wide of the mark, until we read it in the light of the sage's veneration for ancient ordinances, and

his opinion of their sufficiency. “Follow,” he said, “the seasons of Hea. Ride in the state-carriages of Yin. Wear the ceremonial cap of Chow. Let the music be the Shaou with its pantomimes. Banish the songs of Ch’ing, and keep far from specious talkers.”

Confucius’ idea then of a happy, well-governed State did not go beyond the flourishing of the five relations of society which have been mentioned; and we have not any condensed exhibition from him of their nature, or of the duties belonging to the several parties in them. Of the two first he spoke frequently, but all that he has said on the others would go into small compass. Mencius has said that “between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity.” Confucius, I apprehend, would hardly have accepted this account. It does not bring out sufficiently the authority which he claimed for the father and the sovereign, and the obedience which he exacted from the child and the minister. With regard to the relation of husband and wife, he was in no respect superior to the preceding sages who had enunciated their views of “propriety” on the subject. We have a somewhat detailed exposition of his opinions in the “Family Sayings.”— “Mau,” said he, “is the representative of Heaven, and is supreme over all things. Woman yields obedience to the instructions of man, and helps to carry out his principles. On this account she can determine nothing of herself, and is subject to the rule of the three obediences. When young, she must obey her father and elder brother; when married, she must obey her husband; when her husband is dead, she must obey her son. She may not think of marrying a second time. No instructions or orders must issue from the harem. Woman’s business is simply the preparation and supplying of wine and food. Beyond the threshold of her apartments she should not be known for evil or for good. She may not cross the boundaries of the State to accompany a funeral. She may take no step on her own motion, and may come to no conclusion on her own deliberation. There are five women who are not to be taken in marriage: — the daughter of a rebellious house; the daughter of a disorderly house; the daughter of a house which has produced criminals for more than one generation; the daughter of a leprous house; and the daughter who has lost her father and elder brother. A wife may be divorced for seven reasons, which may be overruled by three considerations. The grounds for divorce are disobedience to her husband’s parents; not giving birth to a son; dissolute conduct; jealousy (of her husband’s attentions, that is, to the other inmates of his harem); talkativeness; and thieving. The three considerations which may overrule these grounds are — first, if, while she was taken from a home, she has now no home to return to; second, if she

have passed with her husband through the three years' mourning for his parents; third, if the husband have become rich from being poor. All these regulations were adopted by the sages in harmony with the natures of man and woman, and to give importance to the ordinance of marriage."

With these ideas — not very enlarged — of the relations of society, Confucius dwelt much on the necessity of personal correctness of character on the part of those in authority, in order to secure the right fulfilment of the duties implied in them. This is one grand peculiarity of his teaching. I have adverted to it in the review of "The Great Learning," but it deserves some further exhibition, and there are three conversations with the chief Ke K'ang, in which it is very expressly set forth. "Ke K'ang asked about government, and Confucius replied, 'To govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?' " "Ke K'ang, distressed about the number of thieves in the State, inquired of Confucius about how to do away with them. Confucius said, 'If you, sir, were not covetous, though you should reward them to do it, they would not steal.' " "Ke K'ang asked about government, saying, 'What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?' Confucius replied, 'Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend, when the wind blows across it.'"

Example is not so powerful as Confucius in these and many other passages represented it, but its influence is very great. Its virtue is recognized in the family, and it is demanded in the Church of Christ. "A bishop" — and I quote the term with the simple meaning of overseer— "must be blameless." It seems to me, however, that in the progress of society in the West we have come to think less of the power of example in many departments of State than we ought to do. It is thought of too little in the army and the navy. We laugh at the "self-denying ordinance" and the "new model" of 1644, but there lay beneath them the principle which Confucius so broadly propounded, — the importance of personal virtue in all who are in authority. Now that Great Britain is the governing power over the masses of India, and that we are coming more and more into contact with tens of thousands of the Chinese, this maxim of our sage is deserving of serious consideration from all who bear rule, and especially from those on whom devolves the conduct of affairs. His words on the susceptibility of the people to be acted on by those above them, ought not to prove as water spilt on the ground.

But to return to Confucius. — As he thus lays it down that the mainspring of the well-being of society is the personal character of the ruler, we look anxiously

for what directions he has given for the cultivation of that. But here he is very defective. “Self-adjustment and purification,” he said, “with careful regulation of his dress, and the not making a movement contrary to the rules of propriety; — this is the way for the ruler to cultivate his person.” This is laying too much stress on what is external; but even to attain to this is beyond unassisted human strength. Confucius, however, never recognized a disturbance of the moral elements in the constitution of man. The people would move, according to him, to the virtue of their ruler as the grass bends to the wind, and that virtue would come to the ruler at his call. Many were the lamentations which he uttered over the degeneracy of his times; frequent were the confessions which he made of his own shortcomings. It seems strange that it never came distinctly before him, that there is a power of evil in the prince and the peasant, which no efforts of their own and no instructions of sages are effectual to subdue.

The government which Confucius taught was a despotism, but of a modified character. He allowed no “jus divinum,” independent of personal virtue and a benevolent rule. He has not explicitly stated, indeed, wherein lies the ground of the great relation of the governor and the governed, but his views on the subject were, we may assume, in accordance with the language of the Shoo-king:— “Heaven and Earth are the parents of all things, and of all things men are the most intelligent. The man among them most distinguished for intelligence becomes chief ruler, and ought to prove himself the parent of the people.” And again, “Heaven, protecting the inferior people, has constituted for them rulers and teachers, who should be able to be assisting to God, extending favour and producing tranquillity throughout all parts of the empire.” The moment the ruler ceases to be a minister of God for good, and does not administer a government that is beneficial to the people, he forfeits the title by which he holds the throne, and perseverance in oppression will surely lead to his overthrow. Mencius inculcated this principle with a frequency and boldness which are remarkable. It was one of the things about which Confucius did not like to talk. Still he held it. It is conspicuous in the last chapter of “The Great Learning.” Its tendency has been to check the violence of oppression, and to maintain the self-respect of the people, all along the course of Chinese history.

I must bring these observations on Confucius’ views of government to a close, and I do so with two remarks. First, they are adapted to a primitive, unsophisticated state of society. He is a good counsellor for the father of a family, the chief of a clan, and even the head of a small principality. But his views want the comprehension which would make them of much service in a great empire. Within three centuries after his death, the government of China passed into a new phase. The founder of the Ts’in dynasty conceived the grand

idea of abolishing all its feudal Kingdoms, and centralizing their administration in himself. He effected the revolution, and succeeding dynasties adopted his system, and gradually moulded it into the forms and proportions which are now existing. There has been a tendency to advance, and Confucius has all along been trying to carry the nation back. Principles have been needed, and not "proprieties." The consequence is that China has increased beyond its ancient dimensions, while there has been no corresponding development of thought. Its body politic has the size of a giant, while it still retains the mind of a child. Its hoary age is but senility.

Second, Confucius makes no provision for the intercourse of his country with other and independent nations. He knew indeed of none such. China was to him "The middle Kingdom," "The multitude of Great States," "All under heaven." Beyond it were only rude and barbarous tribes. He does not speak of them bitterly, as many Chinese have done since his time. In one place he contrasts them favourably with the prevailing anarchy of the empire, saying, "The rude tribes of the east and north have their princes, and are not like the States of our great land which are without them." Another time, disgusted with the want of appreciation which he experienced, he was expressing his intention to go and live among the nine wild tribes of the east. Some one said, "They are rude. How can you do such a thing?" His reply was, "If a superior man dwelt among them, what rudeness would there be?" But had he been an emperor-sage, he would not only have influenced them by his instructions, but brought them to acknowledge and submit to his sway, as the great Yu did. The only passage of Confucius' teachings from which any rule can be gathered for dealing with foreigners, is that in the "Doctrine of the Mean," where "indulgent treatment of men from a distance" is laid down as one of the nine standard rules for the government of the empire. But "the men from a distance" are understood to be pin and leu simply, — "guests," that is, or officers of one State seeking employment in another, or at the imperial court; and "visitors," or travelling merchants. Of independent nations the ancient classics have not any knowledge, nor has Confucius. So long as merchants from Europe and other parts of the world could have been content to appear in China as suppliants, seeking the privilege of trade, so long the government would have ranked them with the barbarous hordes of antiquity, and given them the benefit of the maxim about "indulgent treatment," according to its own understanding of it. But when their governments interfered, and claimed to treat with that of China on terms of equality, and that their subjects should be spoken to and of as being of the same clay with the Chinese themselves, an outrage was committed on tradition and prejudice, which it was necessary to resent with vehemence.

I do not charge the contemptuous arrogance of the Chinese government and people upon Confucius; what I deplore is, that he left no principles on record to check the development of such a spirit. His simple views of society and government were in a measure sufficient for the people, while they dwelt apart from the rest of mankind. His practical lessons were better than if they had been left, which but for him they probably would have been, to fall a prey to the influences of Taouism and Buddhism; but they could only subsist while they were left alone. Of the earth earthy, China was sure to go to pieces when it came into collision with a Christianly-civilized power. Its sage had left it no preservative or restorative elements against such a case.

It is a rude awakening from its complacency of centuries which China has now received. Its ancient landmarks are swept away. Opinions will differ as to the justice or injustice of the grounds on which it has been assailed, and I do not feel called to judge or to pronounce here concerning them. In the progress of events, it could not be but that the collision should come; and when it did come, it could not be but that China should be broken and scattered. Disorganization will go on to destroy it more and more, and yet there is hope for the people, with their veneration of the relations of society, with their devotion to learning, and with their habits of industry and sobriety; — there is hope for them, if they will look away from all their ancient sages, and turn to Him, who sends them, along with the dissolution of their ancient state, the knowledge of Himself, the only living and true God, and of Jesus Christ whom He hath sent.

I have little more to add on the opinions of Confucius. Many of his sayings are pithy, and display much knowledge of character; but as they are contained in the body of the Work, I will not occupy the space here with a selection of those which have struck myself as most worthy of notice. The fourth Book of the Analects, which is on the subject of jin, or perfect virtue, has several utterances which are remarkable.

Thornton observes:— “It may excite surprise, and probably incredulity, to state that the golden rule of our Saviour, ‘Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you,’ which Mr Locke designates as ‘the most unshaken rule of morality, and foundation of all social virtue,’ had been inculcated by Confucius, almost in the same words, four centuries before.” I have taken notice of this fact in reviewing both “The Great Learning,” and “The Doctrine of the Mean,” and would be far from grudging a tribute of admiration to Confucius for it. The maxim occurs also twice in the Analects. In Book XV. xxiii., Tsze-kung asks if there be one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one’s life, and is answered, “Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself do not do to others.” The same disciple appears in Book V. xi., telling

Confucius that he was practising the lesson. He says, “What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to men;” but the master tells him, “Ts’ze, you have not attained to that.” It would appear from this reply, that he was aware of the difficulty of obeying the precept; and it is not found, in its condensed expression at least, in the older classics. The merit of it is Confucius’ own.

When a comparison, however, is drawn between it and the rule laid down by Christ, it is proper to call attention to the positive form of the latter,— “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.” The lesson of the gospel commands men to do what they feel to be right and good. It requires them to commence a course of such conduct, without regard to the conduct of others to themselves. The lesson of Confucius only forbids men to do what they feel to be wrong and hurtful. So far as the point of priority is concerned, moreover, Christ adds, “This is the law and the prophets.” The maxim was to be found substantially in the earlier revelations of God.

But the worth of the two maxims depends on the intention of the enunciators in regard to their application. Confucius, it seems to me, did not think of the reciprocity coming into action beyond the circle of his five relations of society. Possibly, he might have required its observance in dealings even with the rude tribes, which were the only specimens of mankind besides his own countrymen of which he knew anything, for on one occasion, when asked about perfect virtue, he replied, “It is, in retirement, to be sedately grave; in the management of business, to be reverently attentive; in intercourse with others, to be strictly sincere. Though a man go among the rude uncultivated tribes, these qualities may not be neglected.” Still, Confucius delivered his rule to his countrymen only, and only for their guidance in their relations of which I have had so much occasion to speak. The rule of Christ is for man as man, having to do with other men, all with himself on the same platform, as the children and subjects of the one God and Father in heaven.

How far short Confucius came of the standard of Christian benevolence, may be seen from his remarks when asked what was to be thought of the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness. He replied, “With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness.” The same deliverance is given in one of the Books of the Le Ke, where he adds that “He who recompenses injury with kindness is a man who is careful of his person.” Ch’ing Heuen, the commentator of the second century, says that such a course would be “incorrect in point of propriety.” This “propriety” was a great stumbling-block in the way of Confucius. His morality was the result of the balancings of his intellect, fettered by the decisions of men

of old, and not the gushings of a loving heart, responsive to the promptings of Heaven, and in sympathy with erring and feeble humanity.

This subject leads me on to the last of the opinions of Confucius which I shall make the subject of remark in this place. A commentator observes, with reference to the inquiry about recompensing injury with kindness, that the questioner was asking only about trivial matters, which might be dealt with in the way he mentioned, while great offences, such as those against a sovereign or a father, could not be dealt with by such an inversion of the principles of justice. In the second Book of the Le Ke there is the following passage:— "With the slayer of his father, a man may not live under the same heaven; against the slayer of his brother, a man must never have to go home to fetch a weapon; with the slayer of his friend, a man may not live in the same State." The lex talionis is here laid down in its fullest extent. The Chow Le tells us of a provision made against the evil consequences of the principle, by the appointment of a minister called "The Reconciler." The provision is very inferior to the cities of refuge which were set apart by Moses for the manslayer to flee to from the fury of the avenger. Such as it was, however, it existed, and it is remarkable that Confucius, when consulted on the subject, took no notice of it, but affirmed the duty of blood-revenge in the strongest and most unrestricted terms. His disciple Tsze-hea asked him, "What course is to be pursued in the case of the murder of a father or mother?" He replied, "The son must sleep upon a matting of grass, with his shield for his pillow; he must decline to take office; he must not live under the same heaven with the slayer. When he meets him in the market-place or the court, he must have his weapon ready to strike him." "And what is the course on the murder of a brother?" "The surviving brother must not take office in the same State with the slayer; yet if he go on his prince's service to the State where the slayer is, though he meet him, he must not fight with him." "And what is the course on the murder of an uncle or a cousin?" "In this case the nephew or cousin is not the principal. If the principal on whom the revenge devolves can take it, he has only to stand behind with his weapon in his hand, and support him."

Sir John Davis has rightly called attention to this as one of the objectionable principles of Confucius. The bad effects of it are evident even in the present day. Revenge is sweet to the Chinese. I have spoken of their readiness to submit to government, and wish to live in peace, yet they do not like to resign even to government the "inquisition for blood." Where the ruling authority is feeble, as it is at present, individuals and clans take the law into their own hands, and whole districts are kept in a state of constant feud and warfare.

But I must now leave the sage. I hope I have not done him injustice; but after long study of his character and opinions, I am unable to regard him as a great man. He was not before his age, though he was above the mass of the officers and scholars of his time. He threw no new light on any of the questions which have a world-wide interest. He gave no impulse to religion. He had no sympathy with progress. His influence has been wonderful, but it will henceforth wane. My opinion is, that the faith of the nation in him will speedily and extensively pass away.

THE LIFE, LABOURS AND DOCTRINES OF CONFUCIUS by Edward Harper Parker

IN order to obtain a clear notion of our subject, it is desirable to explain who Confucius was, and the condition of the social life amid which he lived.

If the reader will look at the map, he will be surprised to see that the China of those days was practically confined to the valley of the Hwang Ho, (which means "Yellow-River "), taken in its broadest sense. I mean that the river which is commonly spoken of as " China's Sorrow/' has at different periods entered the sea through channels both north and south of its present course ; has, in fact, taken temporary possession of other river valleys and channels. The China of Confucius' time was, then, confined to the tract of country east of the Great Bend, where the river leaves Tartary for good ; and was enclosed or bounded north and south by the most outerly of those streams which have at any time been connected with the Yellow River system.

We know very little of China previous to Confucius' time (sixth century before Christ), but what little we do know was sifted for us and transmitted by Confucius. We may sum it up in a few words. The written character in an antique form had certainly existed for several thousand years, but it is quite uncertain how many : the best authorities say 3,000, that is 5,000 from now. Very recent discoveries in Babylonia have revealed to us original Sumerian cuneiform records on a wholesale scale, written in clay, and dating at least 5,000 years back ; but there are no such original ancient records in China, nor is there any trace of the Chinese ever having written in clay, still less of there being any connection between Chinese and those western hieroglyphs which preceded cuneiform. Several dynasties had existed, and the rulers of these had shifted their capitals from time to time according to the vagaries of the Yellow River. One of their chief cares was to deal with the havoc wrought or threatened by the floods which resulted from these fluvial irregularities. But although the earliest Chinese literature reaches -back 4,000 years, the older records are so brief and laconic that we derive no satisfactory mental picture from them.

In the time of Confucius the imperial power had dwindled down almost to nothing, and the appanage States of the vassal princes, most of which had been conferred originally upon kinsmen of the King (for the more modern title of hwang-ti or " Emperor," which in those days applied to the Supreme God, and

thence only by extension to past Emperors, had not yet assumed its present definite form), were almost independent. The condition of China was, in fact, almost exactly like that of France before Louis the Eleventh broke the power of the vassal dukes and counts ; and the position of the Chinese King, as a moral head over all men, was not unlike the present position of the Pope as the moral head of Christendom: he was towards the end as much a prisoner as a monarch ; his temporal sway was almost reduced to his immediate surroundings, and the whims of feudatories, coupled with the infiltration of barbarian customs, were gradually corrupting the old polity. Not only were the vassal principalities, dukedoms, and counties insubordinate in relation to the King, but their own counts, barons, and squires were equally presumptuous towards themselves ; and it was into this chaotic condition of society and policy, where each clever man was fighting for his own hand alone, that Confucius was ushered at his birth.

The ancestors of Confucius could, at the time of his birth in the year 551 before Christ, be traced back in a way for over two thousand years; but, as we know next to nothing of practical history previous to his time, it is futile to pursue enquiry into remote family matters. Where nothing is known of an extinct genus^ it is vain to enquire into its species. The royal dynasty nominally ruling in Confucius' time began 671 years before his birth, and one of Confucius' ancestors, who was a half-brother of the last monarch of the dethroned dynasty, was enfeoffed in a State called Sung, the capital of which I mark in the map with, a cross. About 250 years before Confucius' birth, the reigning duke of this state resigned his rights of succession to a younger brother. The elder brother and his heirs were thus for ever cut off from the ducal succession, and the customary law of China then was that, after five generations, a branch of the reigning family must found a new gens or clan of his own. So, then, it came to pass that K'ung-fu-kia, fifth in descent from the abdicating duke, gave the first syllable of his name as a clan name to his heirs. The great-grandson of the man who thus founded in its strict or narrower sense the family of K'ung was the great-grandfather of the philosopher. In Chinese the word fu-tsz has very much the same meaning, by extension, as the Latin word prudens ; and the responsa prudentum, or "legal dicta" of such Roman teachers as Paul, Papinian, Ulpian, and others, were very like the wise sayings of such fu-tsz as Confucius and Mencius. K'ung-fu-tsz, or " the learned K'ung," was too difficult a polysyllable for the Portuguese Jesuits who first came to China to pronounce accurately, and accordingly they latinised it into Confucius, or, as most Europeans would still pronounce it, Confutsitis.

K'ung means a " hole, *and, by extension, " a peacock," apparently* because that bird has a number of eyes or holes in its tail. Fu means vir y *i.e.* a man or

husband ; and tsz, meaning " a child," is simply a diminutive, just as homunculus is the diminutive of homo, u a human being," in Latin ; or as Mdnnchen is a diminutive of Mann^ " a man or husband," in German. Peacocks were most probably unknown in North China when Confucius lived, hence his name must be translated " Mr. Hole," and not " Mr. Peacock " ; and Confucius was the seventh of the Hole family counting from the time when that name was assumed ; or the twelfth of the family counting from the time when the reigning duke resigned his rights to a younger brother.

The great-grandfather of Confucius was obliged to fly from the duchy on account of some political trouble, and he became a citizen of a neighbouring state called Lu. His grandson, the father of Confucius, became an officer of state, and distinguished himself by proficiency in the warlike arts. He was ten feet in height ; but the learned are still disputing the question of ancient feet : probably a foot was then 8 inches, as now measured, and Confucius' father would thus be six feet eight inches in height, by no means a very rare thing even with modern Chinamen of the north. This promising soldier had nine daughters borne to him in succession by his wife. In China there can, except under very special circumstances, only be one strictly legal wife, but should this wife fail to present her lord with a son, it was and is still permissible to take a wife of the second class, or, in Scriptural language, a handmaid, who may in certain eventualities hope for future promotion to the full rank of wife. The present Empress-Dowager of China is a case in point. She was originally a handmaid, but after giving birth to the last Emperor, she was promoted in 1858 to the rank of Empress, and for many years acted as joint regent with the Empress-Dowager her senior, who had no children, and died in 1 88 1. It cannot be denied that Confucius' father was ;ery patient with his wife, for it seems he gave her nine chances before he took a handmaid in his despair. This handmaid gave birth to a son, who was a cripple. The gallant soldier was now seventy years of age. In China daughters do not count for so much as sons, and are often killed as useless incumbrances, the great object being to have at least one son to peiform religious rites, those rights which the Romans used to call sacra privuta. Confucius' father appears to have resolved therefore in his old age to stake everything upon a supreme effort, and he married a mere girl. Either he or she, or both of them, went to pray for a son at a temple on Mount JVi-k'iu, a spot which I mark on the map with a circle. The offspring of the union was Confucius, whose personal name was K'iu, and whose second name was Chung-ni or " Ni the Second " (his crippled brother having been the First). The chief feature in Confucius, as a baby, was that the crown of his head was concave instead of being convex, a peculiarity which must have given him a singular appearance. K l iu means "a

mound," and some say he was so called because his forehead protruded. In China personal names of great folk are tabued, sometimes in writing as well as speech. Hence, if it is ever found absolutely necessary to use the word K l iu, the ^difficulty is surmounted by omitting one stroke, and thus making it a little different. In speech the word " So-and-so " is substituted : thus instead of saying " Mr. Mound Hole," the Chinese say "Mr. So-and-so Hole." There is no tabu to the cognomen or second name, and so we have the characters chung-ni in daily use. Owing to one historian having used the expression " wild union " in connection with Confucius' mother, some authors have supposed that the soldier "kept company in the wilderness " ; but judicious commentators explain that a man is not supposed to go a-courting after 64, nor a woman to begin it before 14; and that the "wild union" in question did not refer to the absence of due ceremony in the marriage, but to the fact that the husband was unusually spry and the wife unusually precocious for their respective ages. This interesting event took place in the year 551 before Christ; and two or three years later the father died. He was buried at a spot eight miles east of Confucius' own grave, as will shortly be explained in full.

We may pass rapidly over the events which took place during Confucius' youth. They are of slender importance, and, such as they are, we know but little of them. At the age of six he was observed to take pleasure in playing with sacrificial vessels and in imitating ceremonial movements, much as English children of .the same age sometimes play at holding church services. He is supposed to have gone to school at the age of seven, but the best authorities, Chinese and European, are not satisfied upon this point, which in any case is just what a Chinese boy would do, and still usually does. Confucius himself informs us that, at fifteen, his whole mind was devoted to study. What is certain is that his mother removed with him to the town where his descendants now live : this town is marked on the map with a star, and is eight miles west of the spot where his father was buried. In Chinese it is called JPiih-fu, or, " Crooked Hill," on account of the winding eminence, a mile long, which runs through the city. About 600 years before Confucius' birth, the first Emperor of the imperial dynasty of Chow enfeoffed the regent, his uncle, Duke of Chow, as feudal prince at Crooked Hill, styling this feudal State Lu. It had an area, or perhaps circuit, of 330 English miles. As we shall soon see, the Duke of Chow's tomb is still there and Confucius always took him as a model. Amongst other things Duke Chow invented the compass or " South-pointing cart." The circumstance of our hero's widowed mother being a mere girl, and consequently unable, through maidenly modesty, to follow her venerable husband to the grave, led to Confucius' remaining for some years in ignorance of a fact so transcendently important from

a Chinese point of view the exact position of his father's grave : perhaps matters were made worse by the name of his father's village being transferred to the new residence, just as with us Ann Hathaway's cottage might have been called Stratford if Shakespeare's mother had taken him to live there. This circumstance may also account for the conflicting statements of European visitors as to the exact sites of the existing house and temple of the Confucius family.

All authorities clearly agree that Confucius married at the age of 19, that is, after passing 18 new year's days subsequently to his birth; for in China, a man born on the 3ist December is considered to be two. years old on the following day, whilst a man born on the 2nd of January would still be two years old on the 3ist of December in the following year: so that there may be 700 days difference between the ages of two people both nominally in their igth year. Thus we find, as we go along, that the simplest Chinese facts have to be tested before we can nail them down fairly before our eyes and understandings. In Confucius' case the birth really did take place in the nth moon, but the next dynasty made some alterations in the calendar, and what was the nth moon in Confucius' time became the ist moon of the following year a few centuries later : moreover, although we are told the exact day, the accounts disagree in such a way that there is a discrepancy of some days to account for. All that we can say for certain, therefore, is that according to our way of reckoning, Confucius was about eighteen when he married.

The next year a son was born, and received the name of " Fish No. i," with the cognomen of " Carp." This apparently singular choice of names was made in consequence of the reigning duke having sent a congratula-tory present of a couple of carp to the young pair. The carp is the king of fish, and no doubt the duke's action had some hidden meaning ; just as, in modern marriages, the Chinese often send a couple of geese as a present to wedded couples : the goose is supposed to be the only creature which does not marry again when its spouse dies. Nothing is known of this son except that on two occasions he is recorded to have suddenly come across his father, and to have been severely questioned as to his studies : he seems to have given his father as wide a berth as possible. The fact of the duke having deigned to congratulate a poor man like Confucius is accounted for by the latter having held, at the age of 20, the post of grain distributor : but here, again, we are confronted with a difficulty ; it is not known whether this means a post in the public granaries, and, if so, central or local ; or whether it means a relief officer. The philosopher Mencius, in alluding to this episode, says that " a superior man may occasionally accept office purely for the relief of his poverty." We may therefore fairly conclude that the duke gave the

carp because Confucius was a ducal officer, and that Confucius accepted office, as people do in modern times, to relieve his own poverty.

It is incidentally mentioned in the " Conversations of Confucius " with his disciples that he gave a daughter in marriage. Nothing more. We may therefore once more safely conclude that he had at least one daughter, who, on her marriage, would in accordance with custom cease to belong to his family.

In his 21st year Confucius was promoted or transferred to a post resembling that of estate-agent or watcher over farms ; and a year later he collected round him a number of disciples, much after the fashion of the peripatetic philosophers of Greece. He was six inches taller than his father ; but, if we are to judge of his personal appearance by the pictures and effigies of him still exhibited in his old house, he was far from being a beautiful man, even though he may have been a commanding one. He was strong and well-built, with a large singularly shaped head, full red face, and contemplative, heavy expression. He had a long sparse beard, ill-shaped ears, a thick round-tipped nose, but flat and shovel-like ; two projecting lower teeth, gaping nostrils, and eyes which showed more white than is usual. His back was described by an admirer as being like that of a tortoise. Confucius accepted fees for his instruction, but was more particular about the diligence of the student than the amount of his present. Even at the present day teachers' fees are invariably called " dried meat," or " fuel and water," and schoolboys always make periodical presents of food to their masters.

His mother died when he was in his 24th year. Confucius seems to have buried her temporarily whilst he made inquiry touching the exact spot where his father's body lay : he then opened his father's grave, and transferred to it the coffin of his mother. Both native and foreign commentators have somewhat confused the facts connected with this event. None of the Europeans who have visited Confucius' tomb seem to have taken the trouble to pass on to the parents' grave : even the Emperor of China, who went carefully over all the chief show-places in 1684, contented himself with sending an officer to sacrifice for him at the paternal shrine : but the position is quite certain ; it is at Mount Fang, marked on the map with a black circle. Confucius had to retire from office for 27 months in order to mourn, as the modern Chinese still do, for his mother. He did this so effectively that it took him five days to recover his natural voice after the 27 months had expired. During the next seven years he continued his teachings, besides himself studying music, official formalities, and archaeology. His position was much strengthened when one of the leading men in the state commanded, on his death-bed, that his own son and another relative should join the rising philosopher's school. The duke liberally placed a carriage and pair at the disposal of Confucius, who proceeded in it to the imperial capital in order to

make further learned research. The springless, covered, two-wheeled carts (not unlike a Liverpool market-cart on a small scale), which still ply for hire in the streets of Peking, are exactly the style of vehicle in which Confucius rode 2,400 years ago. At the imperial capital Confucius had interviews with the keeper of the imperial archives, a semi-mythical philosopher named Lao-tso, who founded a rival doctrine or system of mystics called Taoism ; but as Confucius himself said that he was unable to comprehend those misty teachings, and the very existence of the Taoist philosopher is largely a matter of conjecture, we need not dwell further upon this incident." Eighteen years ago I met the individual usually known as the Pope of the Taoist creed, who also enjoys a certain amount of imperial favour. Of course this visit to the capital enhanced the fame of Confucius, who, on his return the same year, was regarded in much the same light as the Mussulmans regard a pilgrim to Mecca, that is, as a haji. He had also taken the opportunity to improve his knowledge of music.

When Confucius was in his 36th year, a civil war broke out in the ducal dominions of Lu, owing to factional disputes with the three leading families ; the ruler was obliged to fly for refuge to the dominions of a neighbour to his north, and Confucius soon followed. According to China's greatest historian, the origin of the civil war was a disagreement connected with cock-fighting, and it is incidentally mentioned that metal spurs were used by one of the factions. This political quarrelling about cock-fighting has its counterpart in Europe, for it will be remembered that in Justinian's time the Byzantine court at Constantinople was shaken to its foundations by the faction fights between the red and white, the blue and green parties of the race-course and circus.

Confucius became so enamoured of the music he heard in the country of his temporary adoption that for three months he lost all zest for savoury meats. After he had been six years in the land of Ts'i, the duke of that country expressed a wish to confer a feudal estate upon him ; but one of the local statesmen and one, too, who has left behind him a high reputation for economy and sagacity objected, on the ground that " these learned fellows are too glib and intractable, too proud and insubmissive, too fond of showy funerals and exaggerated lamentations, too persuasive and fond of borrowing to govern a kingdom." In truth, the duke seems to have gradually become rather tired of Confucius, who accordingly betook himself once more to his native land. His disciples were now more numerous than ever. It is interesting to notice that the term which I have here translated "learned fellows" is that which is now applied to Confucianists as distinguished from Taoists and Buddhists : the term is thus older than Confucius, and seems to mean " men of parts."

It was not until his 47th year that Confucius again obtained office ; this was under a new duke, the legitimate ruler, his brother, having four years previously died in the country to which he had fled for asylum. It must be here stated that the dukes of Lu were the direct descendants of Confucius' great model, Duke Chow. A brother or a nephew had occasionally succeeded in the absence of a son ; but, with the exception of an unexplained hiatus between B.C. 920 and 855, the twenty-five dukes had regularly succeeded ever since B.C. 1122, and the reigns of the last eleven of them formed part of Confucius' own original work on history. This fact explains Confucius' great loyalty to his master, who was, in fact, a member of the imperial house, and whose ancestors were tutelary spirits on a subordinate scale. Confucius so reformed the manners of the people in | the district entrusted to him that in two years he was promoted to the ministry of public works, and two years later again to that of justice. In this latter capacity he succeeded in crushing several of the haughty mesne-lords, and dismantling their castles. He even went so far as to arrest and order the execution of a rich and dangerous intriguer. At the age of 52 he accompanied his master in the capacity of prime minister to a spot near the borders of the two states, and took part in an interview between his own ruler and the one who had given him hospitality for so many years. On this occasion he succeeded in defeating the insidious diplomacy of the rival state, and in forcing the surrender of disputed territory. But, though Confucius considered that a display of force should accompany diplomatic action, he took the general view that good example was more efficacious * than might. Honesty, morality, and funeral etiquette advanced with such strides under the premiership of Confucius that neighbouring states began to grow uneasy. It was first thought advisable to conciliate the rising power by a cession of territory ; but wilier counsels prevailed, and a successful effort was made to corrupt the new duke's heart with presents of beautiful singing girls and fine horses. This moral collapse so distressed the philosopher that he left the country.

Now commences the period of Confucius' travels through the various feudal states, which covered a period of thirteen years. He and his disciples met with various adventures. On several occasions they were menaced by suspicious or hostile bands. On one occasion Confucius incurred the censure of a disciple by accepting (although he tried to escape

it) an invitation to pay his respects to a divorced or adulterous duchess. On another he was annoyed at a local duke's relegating him to the second carriage whilst the duchess seated herself along with her husband in the first. One

instance is recorded in which he distinctly broke his pledged word ; but he defended himself on the ground that promises extorted by force are not binding. This saying was advanced by Chinese statesmen 17 years ago as an excuse and a precedent for repudiating the treaty made by a Chinese envoy with Russia.

Time, however, will not permit of our dwelling further upon this period of wanderings : suffice it to say that the philosopher had as many rebuffs as he had successes, and that most of the rulers, whilst willing to listen to his counsels, seemed to consider that they possessed more of an academic than a practical value. At the age of 66 Confucius heard of the death of his wife, and that his son continued weeping for her notwithstanding the lapse of the regulation period of one year. He took the view that, so long as the father was alive, crying more than twelve months for a mother was excessive. This fact, coupled with the circumstance that Confucius' grandson divorced his wife, and would not permit her son to mourn, has given rise to suspicions, owing to certain references to an ancestor made by the grandson, that Confucius must have divorced his wife. The learning upon this point is very intricate, but the best opinion appears to be that the ancestor referred to was not Confucius but Confucius' father, who had divorced, not the young girl, but the lady who gave him nine daughters ; and that the philosopher was thus, not only the offspring of a strictly legal union, but true to his wife until her death.

When Confucius was 68 years of age, his own duke, son of the man who had sacrificed his reputation to horses and singing girls, sent a messenger with presents to invite the philosopher back. He went ; but he neither asked for nor was offered any official post. He spent his time in composing the history of his own state, beginning with the year B.C. 722, and thus extending over about 250 years. Confucius desired posterity to judge him by this work, which, though not equal to Sz-ma Ts'ien's Book of History, published three centuries later, was in its human interest far ahead of the dry records of the then past. All Chinese history previous to this date is as vague and unsatisfactory as our own European history previous to the founding of Rome in B.C. 753. The Twelve Tables, which are the foundation of Roman jurisprudence and administrative civilisation, date from 20 years after Confucius' death ; during the half century following the death of Confucius and the publication of the Twelve Tables, Herodotus went upon his travels and wrote his history. So far as my own humble researches go, I incline to compare Confucius in some respects with Herodotus, and to place exact Chinese history on a level in point of antiquity with that of Greece and Rome, and no more. Previous to the eighth century before Christ, we have skeleton annals, lists of kings, accounts of floods, and narratives of wars in the Chinese world, just as we have in the Babylonian or Egyptian world ; with this

important difference that, whereas in China there are no antiquities to speak of which corroborate tradition, in Egypt and Mesopotamia we have innumerable remains in the

shape of buildings, mummies, and documentary evidences. Confucius attached no credence to the very ancient traditions. He used, indeed, to speak of the Emperors Yao and Shun, who lived 2,000 years before his time ; and, as we shall see, there are antiquities of that date in his temple. Then came three hereditary dynasties which lasted 1,100 years: then the imperial dynasty of which his ducal master was a scion. But, though there is no reason to question the existence of these ancient dynasties, the whole of the information amounts to very little of a practical kind.

Confucius spent the few remaining years of his life in collecting the old songs and traditions, the best specimens of which he has transmitted to us ; in fixing the principles of music, and in establishing forms, ceremonies, and etiquette. His son died four years before him, and this son's relict com-mitted the crime of marrying again. The grandson, then 17 years of age, was carefully educated by Confucius himself, and subsequently published a system of ethics called the " Doctrine of the Mean," or Moderate, which embodies his grandfather's teachings. Confucius' declining years had already been cheered by a promise from his grandson to this effect. This grandson seems to have been a man of strong, touchy, and obstinate character ; in fact, an unpolished counterpart of Confucius himself.

One day in his 73rd year Confucius felt exhausted, and had a presenti-ment that death was near. His last words were the expression of regret that no intelligent rulers existed who could appreciate and utilise his services. He died a week later, and was buried just outside the ducal capital, on the River Sz, the beauty of which river had for generations been sung in the Book of Odes or Songs transmitted by him to us.

The first regular and general history of China, written by Sz-ma Ts'ien 2,000 years ago, and which in the original forms the basis of my present sketch, gives a list of Confucius' descendants down to the time when the book was completed. The great-grandson above mentioned who was not allowed to mourn for his mother died at the age of 47 ; his son died at 45 ; his son at 46 ; his son at 51 ; his son, a minister of state under the Wei kings, at 57; his son, the man "who hid the books in the wall when a tyrant attempted to destroy Chinese literature, at 57. There seems to be a slight break now, for we are told that the last named had as successor a nephew almost as tall as Confucius ; this nephew, and also his son,

died at 57. The son of this last was the father of K'ung An-kwoh, the man who found and deciphered the concealed books in B.C. 150, or, as the old contemporary historian says, "under his present Majesty; and died young, leaving a son and a grandson."

We must go to other histories for facts concerning later descendants : confusion is sometimes caused by the use of such a term as 28th descendant, without specifying whether it means inclusive or exclusive of Confucius and the subject. Several served Turkish and Tartar dynasties. The 45th went as ambassador to the Kitai Tartars or Cathayans. It was the 47th who first bore a temporal or ducal title. The present duke, the 76th in descent, has just officially written to thank the Emperor for restoring to him 2,200 acres of land in Kiang Su province, granted to the family 500 years ago by Kublai Khan. It is said that one of the southern branch

is about to start a daily newspaper at Hangchow, the Kinsai of Marco Polo.

The reader has now before him an outline of Confucius' life. Whilst admitting that he was a very worthy man, one fails to discover any symptoms of extraordinary genius, or any reason for the unlimited admiration in which the Chinese hold hjm. In his Miscellaneous Conversations, a book com-piled by disciples, and in those later parts of the royal Record of Rites emanating from Confucius and his disciples, we get more precise ideas touching his character. He was a moderate eater, but very particular and nice. He was not a teetotaler, but he never got tipsy. When the mysterious forces of nature manifested themselves in the shape of storms or thunder, he considered it his duty to sit up with respect ; but he declined to enlarge upon his reasons for so doing. He always said a kind of grace before his frugal meals by offering an oblation. The oriental custom of pouring out a drop of liquor, or scattering a few grains of food before partaking of it, is still in popular vogue. Confucius' own deportment was in consonance with his teachings. He used, giving them a negative turn, almost the exact words so familiar to all Christians : he said : " What you do not wish / others to do to you, do not to them." Self-control, modesty, forbearance, patience, kindness, orderliness, absence of effusiveness and passion, studious-ness, industry, mildness, dutifulness, neighbourliness, fidelity, uprightness, moderation, politeness, ceremoniousness ; these were the qualities which Confucius consistently practised and taught. He laid special stress upon the necessity of cultivating intelligence and alertness. He abominated extremes, and preached the doctrine of the happy mean in everything ; in short, the doctrine of the Peripatetics ; a sort of machine-like smoothness, with no jerks or surprises,

either on the side of virtue or on that of vice. Gloomy asceticism and passionate militancy were alike foreign to his taste. He was neither a theologian nor a metaphysician. He simply saw and understood his countrymen, and went to history for the means of governing them. There was nothing of the fanatic in his composition. If I wished to picture to you in life-like modern form the sort of man Confucius was, I should select an old-fashioned Quaker, such as we used to see up to 30 years ago, with broad back, bulky form ; rubicund, solid features : ponderous gait ; and calm, gentle, peaceful, kind, but not unmanly demeanour. Yet this external or social resemblance is defective if we go below the surface : for Confucius took his liquor ; he despised women except as mothers ; that is, he granted them no such equality as do the Quakers, and he would have nothing to do with flirtations, dances, singing, sky-larking, or it may be presumed those harmless kissing amenities so popular with non-Quakers. Mencius, 200 years later, was the first to qualify him as " holy." But Confucius declined for himself the right to be called a saint, or even a good man. He said : " I am never tired of learning myself, and never weary of teaching others." He did not wish to appear censorious. Though tolerant of old religious or superstitious notions, he did not care to go into questions of future life, extraordinary things, spirits, devils, anarchy, revolution, and mystic doctrines. In the presence of the forces of nature he was, as we have seen, awed but silent ; he declined to

discuss what he did not understand: he said: "Heaven does not talk, and yet the four seasons come with regularity." Some writers have gone so far as to say that pure Confucianism is no religion at all. Others describe the ancient notions, which Confucius confined himself to criticising and transmitting, as spirit-worship tending towards fetichism. What Confucius really did was to arrange ancient ideas in orderly form, and revivify them with notions of his own, just as the old Jewish teachings received, fresh inspiration in the form of Christianity. The ancient idea was that there existed a Supreme Power, and that the King or Emperor, as a sort of vicegeifent, was the only channel of communication with that power. In this capacity the Son of Heaven was a Mediator for his people. The worship of private families and individuals was confined to the spirits of deceased ancestors. The adorning of graves by the French on All Souls' Day is perhaps a survival of a once more universal custom. " To sacrifice to spirits not belonging to a man," says Confucius, " is mere flattery." It has always appeared to me, in short, that the Chinese regarded and still regard the next world as being a mere repetition of this, each person in this world addressing himself to those of his own rank and kind in the next. Dr. Legge is of opinion, however, that the

Lordship of Heaven was, to the Chinese fathers, exactly what the notion of God was to our fathers. Confucius, like everyone else, grew up totally ignorant of any world except that in which he found himself. His prudent attitude has led some European divines to brand him outright as a sceptic, who only veiled his disbelief out of deference for antiquity. But that is going too far. He noticed that the imaginations of his fellow men led them to express belief in much that was not evident to him, so he adopted the safe course of admitting nothing but the possible existence, in a form not quite apparent to him, of sentient beings that had already lived in this world. He did not care much about the constituent elements of emotion or intellect. What is popularly known as " German philosophy " had no charms for him. It cannot even be made out whether he thought man's nature good or evil in its origin. He admits that men are naturally born different, but the effects of such initial differences are as nothing compared with the levelling effects of education and training.

Nor was Confucius inclined to split hairs upon the vexed question of sin, or even to speak of sin except in connection with the practical affairs of life. On one occasion he said that, setting aside theft and robbery, there were five capital sins, malignancy, perverseness, mendacity, and two others not very clearly defined, but which look like vindictiveness and vacillating weakness. Confucius was a believer in the three ancient forms of divination, and an ardent student of certain mystic diagrams dating from 600 years previous to his own birth. I have never been satisfied that these diagrams had any practical meaning ; or, if they had, that the meaning now given to them by curious students expresses what Confucius really had in his mind. Confucius, in short, consulted the popular oracles, as did the Greeks and the Romans. We may disapprove, but if it was foolish to consult oracles of which he knew nothing, why should it be wiser to make requests to spiritual beings of which he also knew nothing ? The

government of China still publishes a list of dies fasti and nefasti, and orders prayers to "save the moon" at an eclipse, although its officers are capable of foretelling the eclipse. Probably Confucius fell in with popular views. One thing is quite certain : whatever Confucius believed in a vague way as to the spiritual form which man took after death, he certainly

/ never conceived any such idea as the doctrine of rewards and punishments. His view, concisely expressed, was that "life and death are a matter of destiny : wealth and honours are disposed by Heaven." In other words, whilst approving individual effort, he counselled patient submission. As he lived 500 years before our era, it is evident that he could not have believed any of our modern dogmas,

unless the mystic Lao-ts/^be accepted as a Christian prophet, which is absurd. To this extent, therefore, it may

1 be said that Confucius had no religion, and preached no religion. Like the Persians and Chaldseans, the Chinese and the Tartars had a sort of Sabaean religion, in which worship was offered to the Sun, Moon, and Stars : at times also to other forces of nature, such as wind, the forests, and the rivers. But these beliefs, as also that in divination, may be popular excrescences which have been superadded at a later date upon the more ancient monotheism. Dr. Legge considers that even now this basis of monotheism is no more destroyed by popular additions than is our own monotheism by the worship of saints by large numbers of Christians. Of all the things which we, as Christians, profess to believe, there are only two things which it was reasonably possible for Confucius to believe. He might have believed in a Maker of Heaven and Earth, in the Resurrection of the Body, and in Life Everlasting; but that scarcely amounts to a religion, as nearly all primitive men have had beliefs of this kind. He probably did, in common with the received traditions, more or less vaguely believe in a Supreme Maker, but he did not attempt to define or dogmatise as to what that Maker was, or how he created. He preferred to discuss the practical character of things before his eyes, and was indifferent to the causes of those things. He says nothing about the future state, but holds / that man continues, after what we call death, to live on. The Chinese idea of death differs from ours : thus, a man may die and come to life again ; that is, may lose consciousness and revive : their ignorance of

- physiology precludes our absolute notion of death. In the same way with

the ghost which takes its departure on death : there is always an idea that it is hovering near the body, and may give trouble at any time if not propitiated. There have been endless discussions amongst missionaries as to why Confucius preferred to speak impersonally of Heaven, avoiding the personal form God, and as to whether he believed in the efficacy of prayer. In most cases the arguments appear to me somewhat biased by the personal preconceptions of the polemic ; that is to say, he wishes to prove that, if Confucius was good, it was because he believed what the controversialist believes ; if evil, because he failed to believe what the controversialist believes ; and so on. This is, in fact, the course which the rival schools of Chinese philosophy themselves adopt. Where Confucius is silent, they claim that he expressed in general terms the sentiments expanded by themselves. In other words, they dogmatise. Thus Mencius

insists that man's nature is rft; Cincius that it is good, in its origin. One philosophy pleads for universal love ; another for pure selfishness. As a matter of fact, Confucius steered clear of all positivism ; he said, in fact, that even his " medium policy '* was a shifting medium, according to time and circumstances : in short, he was in some respects an opportunist. He objected to commit himself so far as to say the dead were conscious, lest rash sons should waste their substance in sacrifices ; he equally declined to assert that they were unconscious, lest careless sons should not sacrifice at all. At the same time he himself always sacrificed as though the spirits were present.

Some blame Confucius because he was unable to grasp the full nobility of the Taoist maxim : " Return good for evil." Confucius took time to consider, and finally decided that evil should be repaid by justice, and good reserved for the recompense of good. His own countrymen find fault with him for glossing over, in his history, the failings of men of rank, worth, or his own family connection ; and Dr. Legge, the distinguished Oxford professor, shows in detail that this is true. It is not for me to sit in judgment upon the judges ; but I would suggest that, however noble the precept enjoining good for evil may be when cherished in the hearts of individuals, a government which should attempt to practise it would soon put the business of state in a sorry condition. Confucius was above all things practical, and considered that confidence in the stability of the state was more important than the adequate alimentation of the people, which again was more vital than the possession of military strength or learning. He said : First enrich your people, and then instruct them. As to the concealing of historical truths, it is hopeless to get men to agree upon this point. Take the modern instances of Carlyle and Cardinal Manning : their biographers, Mr. Froude and Mr. Purcell, for telling too much truth have received as much censure as praise. Confucius' frame of mind may be judged from his reply to a disciple, who was in doubt how to act when his master, a feudal prince, was bent on a foolish act. " Oppose him, but deceive him not." That is do not offend by showing your hand, but do not conceal your hand. What is the use of exposing the weak nesses of those in power ? Is it of real advantage to us that Bacon should be proved to have been the meanest as well as the wisest of mankind ? The Chinese idea that rulers are the vicegerents of God is tempered by the conviction that bad rulers may be dethroned. Perhaps Confucius thought it better not to rake up slumbering guilt unless it were possible to punish at the same time. At all events Confucius was loyal to the princely houses, and had no axe of his own to grind : the utmost that can be charged against him is a certain canniness which prefers to be on the safe side, and, if it must err, then to err on the side of cold prudence rather than

on that of warm impulse. As to mere personal defects, perhaps a testiness of temper can be not unfairly charged against him.

It is a little difficult for us, even after stringing together such a galaxy of virtues as we have shown Confucius to have really possessed, to understand the Chinese enthusiasm for his memory. Our own history teaches us to admire manly grace and beauty ; bodily activity and love of nature ;

romantic and tender attachment to the gentler sex. Whether we take military heroes such as Caesar, Napoleon, Cromwell, Genghis Khan, Gustavus Adolphus ; ecclesiastical heroes such as Thomas k Becket, Luther, Wolsey ; lay heroes of statecraft such as Cicero, Sully, Talleyrand, Bismarck ; philosophers such as Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, Seneca, Locke, Newton, Darwin ; lawyers such as Papinian, Tribonian, Cujas, Coke ; or poets such as Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe ; we find no complete character in any way resembling that of Confucius : perhaps the nearest approach is Socrates. Even the founders of our principal religions, including those of Buddhism and Muhammadanism, have very little of Confucius in their attitude ; notwithstanding that in the two instances of Christianity and Buddhism the qualities which have secured the reverence of hundreds of millions are in many respects precisely the qualities possessed by Confucius. Confucius commands the regard of the European critics ; but somehow it always seems that he does not secure a full measure of respect. He certainly was not a handsome man ; his heavy round back, long ears, projecting teeth, and misshapen head were scarcely heroic ; he disliked to discuss athletic sports ; his habit of moving about in a springless ox-cart, or when on foot with his arms extended like wings, scarcely suggests perfect dignity to us ; his skill as a musician would perhaps appeal more strongly to our sympathy if we were ignorant of modern Chinese music. At the same time, there is reason to believe that much of the ancient theory and science of music has been lost. It is certain that a custom existed of collecting popular ballads for purposes of government record. Many of the ancient ballads are very beautiful and simple, besides being perfectly comprehensible to the modern ear. We may therefore assume that Confucius possessed genuine bardic feeling. His treatment of women was rather contemptuous, and he says almost nothing about marriage ; his love for truth was, as we have seen, occasionally tempered by prudence. His fondness for forms, ceremonies, and, above all, for funerals and mourning is not at all in our line. But here, again, a due show of grief at the loss of a parent only forms a continuous chain with the filial obedience required during life, and solemn sacrifices after death. In short, we can only account for the unmeasured

reverence which Confucius has secured in the hearts of his countrymen by slightly modifying the words of Lord Beaconsfield, who remarked that " every country possessed the government it deserves," and by suggesting that China possesses the teacher she deserves ; or, to put the matter into a more subjective light, by suggesting that, when a great teacher or prophet appears, the mere fact that he is recognized as a prophet or as an instrument of Heaven connotes the circumstance that he is suitable to the people who believe in him and recognize him. If we have a difficulty in appreciating Confucianism to the full, the Chinese have a similar difficulty with our beliefs, which often appear to them somewhat absurd. An able Chinese Jesuit who a few years ago published a very learned critical work upon comparative religions, thus sums up in his native tongue the attributes of Confucius : " Although Confucius taught the necessity of reverence and disinterested charity, he had no true belief in a self-existing Creator of an organized universe ; no faith in promised

grace to come, or in eternal life ; no true love of God as a Perfect Being above and superior to all things ; no true fear of God as the Supreme and Sole Ruler of the universe ; and no true obedience to His command-ments." Professor Tiele of Leyden treats the worship of spirits and nature as though the ancient religion were not monotheistic ; but Dr. Legge, in criticising this view, defends Confucius from the charge of animism and fetichism in their most unfavourable sense.

Others again have charged Confucius with cold-blooded eudasmonism, that is with only insisting upon virtue because it leads to temporal happiness. What Confucius said was " He who heaps up goodness shall have much happiness," and vice-versa. I must confess I do not see anything very terrible in this ; but it is evident that argument upon so abstract a point might last for ever. He declined to pray for recovery when he was sick, but he did this in such a dubious way that the commentators and the missionaries have not yet come to an understanding upon what he really thought on the subject of prayer. Dr. Edkins considers that, in the absence of Christian revelation to serve him as a guide to belief in the doctrine of rewards and punishments, Confucius did the next best and noblest thing, by maintaining the impartiality of moral retribution and the immortality of good fame. In this view he seems to be supported by Dr. Legge.

We will now quit this misty region of metaphysics, and transfer ourselves to the town and home of the Chinese philosopher, the residences of the dukes of Confucius.

The Rev. Alexander Williamson visited the spot in 1865, having first paid his respects to the home of the philosopher Mencius, who lived two centuries after Confucius, and whose descendant in the yoth generation received the traveller courteously. Dr. Williamson was less fortunate with the descendant of Confucius, who was then a youth of 16. But he saw the temple and the cemetery; and, as he passed up the River Sz, discerned about seven miles to the south-east from the city the Ni moun-tains, in a cave of one of which Confucius was born, and where there is a temple in honour of his mother. It is curious that Dr. Williamson should tell us that the modern house is west of the temple, whilst Dr. Edkins calls it east.

In 1873 Dr. Legge and the Rev. Joseph Edkins approached the cemetery (which the latter estimates at 66 acres in extent) from the north, and afterwards visited the city and temple ; but they also were unsuccessful in their attempts to obtain an interview with the duke. They noticed that the poppy was cultivated even up to the birthplace of Confucius, and were disappointed to find that the wealthy duke, who increased his already large income by extensive trading, seemed to do nothing in the way of charity for his clan, not even to the extent of a university or a school. Many of the family were very ignorant and poor, and two of them actually wheeled Dr. Edkins in a barrow to the next town. But, on the other hand, the dukes have to support a large number of officers, musicians, and dancers ; in fact, a petty court of their own.

Dr. Edkins published one account of the temple 13 years before his

visit, and strange to say he is as self-contradictory as other visitors upon the question whether it is the palace or the temple which stands on the site of the original house. He even says the family residence was at Mount Ni, which he places north of the tomb.

When I landed at Chefoo on the i6th May, 1869, I found that Her Majesty's Consul, Mr. Markham, had just returned from a visit to Confucius, town, and had been received by the 75th descendant, who was then 22 years of age, evidently the same one whom Mr. Williamson described in 1865 as being a lad of 16. The duke was diminutive in stature, and slightly deformed, but as intellectual in appearance as he was attractive in manner. The consul was agreeably surprised at the cordiality of his reception, for even viceroys have to knock their heads nine times on the ground when admitted to an audience. The duke's relatives were all tall fine men, and were exceedingly eager to learn what they could about Europe. The interview took place in a small study, the walls of which were lined with book-shelves : there were besides ancient manuscripts,

urns, and various relics of the Sage. Mr. Markham also visited the cemetery, a mile or so outside the city wall, and thence proceeded to the town of Mencius.

In 1893 the Rev. J. H. Laughlin visited the temple and cemetery of Confucius, but failed to obtain an interview with the present duke, the y6th in descent, who was then 21 years of age.

The city which contains the dwelling of Confucius is now called in the northern dialects K'ii-fu Hien, which, as we have said, means "Crooked Mound City." It is stated to lie a mile and a half to the west of the ancient capital of the ducal state of Lu, whose rulers Confucius served. It is described by those who have seen it as being a small neat city, surrounded, as is customary in China, by high walls ; like the walls of Chester, but more solid ; and pierced by four gates, with broad towers and guard-houses above them. The eastern part of the city contains the temple erected to Confucius' chief disciple by the Mongols, 500 years ago. The south gate is double, which really makes up a total of five gates ; but the westernmost of the two south gates is reserved for the visits of imperial personages, and this gate leads straight up to the temple and palace, which together occupy half the city area; that is, the northern and western quarters : the palace, which adjoins the temple, includes the site of Confucius' old house, in the hollow walls of which were concealed, in the year B.C. 212, when the so-called " First Emperor" of united China ordered the destruction of all the works on history and philosophy, a number of manuscripts and classical works. During the Taiping rebellion of forty years ago the city was threatened, but only because the rebels wished in a general way to put all mandarins to death : hearing that the local mandarin was of the Confucian family, they did no harm to the town beyond massacring a number of. people who had taken refuge in the cemetery. The majority of the inhabitants of the city, including the executive and educational mandarins, bear the family name of Confucius, or K'ung, and there would seem to be about 20,000 of them in or near the ancestral city, and perhaps TO,OOO scattered about elsewhere, chiefly in the province of Cheh Kiang, south of the Great River, whither during a period of schism the chief representative once migrated : the Golden Tartars appointed a northern duke of their own, but the Mongols put an end to this duality.

The ducal palace, which Mr. Markham states is actually on the site of Confucius' house, is on the east side of the temple, of which the duke is always ex officio guardian : it and the palace together cover about 55 acres of magnificently wooded grounds. The temple is open to the public, except on the anniversaries of ducal deaths, which are locally observed as dies nefasti. A public thoroughfare divides the temple into northern and southern halves, most of the objects of interest being in the northern division. The palace has its own

separate enclosure of high walls, and in accordance with Chinese custom is divided into courts or squares. The duke, who was surrounded by a staff of tall and exceedingly well-clad retainers, admitted Mr. Markham through the grand central gate, and in company with his guardian, lay steward, and relatives stood awaiting him in the third court : this is the way foreign officials are commonly received by Chinese mandarins ; but at one time it was difficult to make the higher ranks of them open the central gate. The dukes have estates in several of the prefectures of Shan Tung province, amounting in all to about 60,000 English acres. Besides this landed wealth, they receive a large pension from the government.

The grounds of the temple alone cover 35 acres, and are remarkable for their splendid avenues of cedar, fir, cypress, and yew trees. The southern half consists of parks or gardens, and contains many pavilions, tablets, bridges, *etc.* ; it has four gates. The main temple, in the northern division, is somewhat inconsistently stated by Mr. Markham to be built upon the spot where Confucius actually lived, and is composed of twelve squares, each shut off by its own massive gate and containing its own hall. The grand hall is in the third court, and stands behind a gorgeous red-roofed pavilion, open at the four sides, called the " Apricot Altar," in commemoration of a place where Confucius used to teach : twelve stone steps lead up to the platform upon which the hall is built, which measures about 100 feet deep by 150 broad, and which surrounds the hall like a verandah, leaving a margin on each side under the eaves of 15 feet : the verandah itself is surrounded by a beautifully carved railing. Eighteen white monolith marble pillars, deeply carved with dragons, twenty-five feet high, and each three feet in diameter, support the front of the great hall, which is also surrounded by a deep verandah. The total height from the ground is as nearly as possible 80 feet. Eighteen alternately black and white marble pillars support the after part, and eighteen variegated black and white marble pillars, nine on each side, make up the circuit. The hall is divided into nine compartments. The roof is of green and yellow-glazed porcelain tiles, green being used in Peking for the palaces of princes, and yellow for that of the Emperor : in the case of Confucius' temple the green predominates, although on several occasions imperial honours have been for a short period conferred upon the sage by over-enthusiastic emperors : the eaves are beautifully carved and painted, being protected by wire netting from birds ; but by ancient custom the enormous number of bats which congregate in the roofs are left undisturbed. The roof is supported inside by twenty uncarved pillars of teak, each four feet in diameter, and thickly painted a bright vermilion colour. The ceiling is panelled in 400 squares, gilded and ornamented with dragons. Innumerable wooden tablets in honour of the sage adorn the roof. On a

raised throne, enclosed by richly-embroidered yellow satin curtains, facing the spacious door, sits the enormous effigy of Confucius, over fifteen feet high, holding a bamboo scroll in his hand ; for in his time paper had not yet been invented. On the table in front of the image are placed some of the gifts made by Emperors of successive dynasties, together with relics of the Sage. Several of the bronzes and clay dishes are over a thousand, indeed over two thousand years old ; and many of the urns, enamels, and tripods are exceedingly fine. The rose-wood table actually used by Confucius is amongst the relics, together with two bronze elephants of the royal dynasty under which his ducal master nominally ruled. I must mention here that images are as foreign to true Confucianism as they are to Muhammadanism, and the interior ought in strict right to be as simple as that of a mosque ; the chief Arabic inscription, in fact, occupying much the same place that the ancient Chinese name tablet does. The introduction of images into Confucian temples is a Buddhistic innovation, and simply marks one of the numerous compromises between the two cults ; but it is not permitted to place images of the Sage in Buddhist or Taoist temples : in the case of Confucius the regulation tablet is placed above the image, and is marked " the resting-place of the Holy Sage Confucius' spirit." Most of the carved black marble slabs which panel the hall are in imitation of the Buddhist style, and represent scenes in the philosopher's career. One of the slabs, however, contains a portrait said to have been taken during Confucius' life, but it is now very indistinct. In this same hall are statues of Confucius' son, grandson, twelve favourite disciples, and Mencius ; and at each of the two sides of it, in the courtyard, are rooms, seventy-two in all, in honour of each disciple. Each of these persons has -a history, some Emperors adding to, others reducing, the numbers of those qualified to share in the worship rendered to Confucius, or to his system of philosophy.

The other halls in the temple precincts are in honour of Confucius' father, of whom there is an image ; his mother and wife, to whose memory there are tablets ; his son and grandson ; Mencius ; and the four leading disciples, all with tablets only, in orthodox style. The remains of an old cypress or juniper-tree, planted by Confucius himself, are shown; also the well out of which he drank, and a very much worn slab of black marble giving a genealogical tree for the 77 generations. The temple was built over a thousand years ago, but has of course been frequently repaired, the last time according to Mr. Markham in 1864, or since that date. However, I have in my possession an official letter from the Governor of Shan Tung to the Emperor, stating that it had been repaired in 1869, the very year of Mr. Markham's visit. About ten years ago part of the palace was burnt down, but the officials and gentry of China soon subscribed a sum to

rebuild it. In the correspondence upon the subject it is stated that the buildings destroyed were built about 1550, and repaired about 1840.

I have tried rny best to give an intelligible description of the great Confucian temple. For the information of those who have been in China, I may add that it is like any other large temple, especially like those of the Ming Dynasty Tombs near Peking, but on a vaster and more magnificent scale. There is almost no architectural variety in China. There are innumerable other antiquities and objects of historical interest, not only within the precincts of the temple and palace, in the city, and in the immediate neighbourhood, but in neighbouring cities, and all over the province, which of all Chinese provinces, is perhaps archseologically the most interesting ; but I have only undertaken to write ^a paper upon Confucius, and space compels me to narrow and confine myself to that one subject.

There still remains the cemetery, which is on the banks of the River Sz, a good mile to the north of the city, from the gate of which runs for 2,600 yards a noble avenue of two thousand old cypress or cedar and yew-trees, planted at intervals, about 500 years ago, by the Ming dynasty. Of course these trees are emblematic of immortality or imperishability. The road is beautified by numerous bridges and honorary portals, more, however, for ornament than to serve any useful purpose. Half-way up the avenue are two handsome pavilions, erected 300 years ago by the last Chinese dynasty. The cemetery, described 1,000 years ago as lying between the Rivers Sz and Chu, J-of a mile from the older city, is a densely-wooded enclosure of 50 acres, surrounded by high walls : the only gate is on the south side. A writer of the 5th century gives the then area as 1 6 English acres. For some unexplained reason the avenue of pines which runs north towards the tomb does not run directly from the gate, but turns round at a point a hundred yards or so from the gate to the west. This second avenue is lined on each side by stone figures of lions, elephants, leopards, unicorns, camels, and two human figures. At the north end of the pine-tree avenue the road turns west, and the second avenue begins where the road divides, at a small historical stream called the Chu, or Red River, into two bridges. Ordinary visitors are directed to dismount here, as they would do in approaching an imperial edifice. The easternmost bridge leads to the modern cemetery, in which each member of the six or seven thousand existing Confucian families has a right to be buried. The heads of the clan alone have mounds and stone figures : the others mere slabs. The western bridge leads to a large hall, without image or tablet, in which the family offer sacrifices twice a year, and the back door of which faces the tomb. The tomb enclosure is walled off from the general cemetery above mentioned, and contains only the graves of Confucius, his son,

and his grandson. These are simply three mounds covered with brushwoods those of the son and grandson being west and east in front, and that of the philosopher occupying the further or north-west corner. The Sage's mound was described 1,400 years ago, as being 50 feet by 75, and 12 feet high. It is now about thirty-five feet in diameter and twenty feet high ; in front of it are a carved stone table, a stone urn, and a stone tablet 25 feet high, the last inscribed in ancient character with the words "the most holy sage and princely disseminator of literature." To the west is a neat but modest little house built to commemorate the reed hut in 1 which Confucius' most faithful disciple (the one who painted his portrait, as will appear later on) mourned for his master six years.

Readers of Marco Polo will remember that he often speaks of burning the dead in China. Buddhist priests are still cremated, but Confucius was properly buried, in accordance with the patriarchal customs then prevalent over the greater part of north and west Asia.

Confucius' own reigning duke set up a great lamentation for him when he died, and it is (somewhat doubtfully) said erected a temple to his memory for quarterly sacrifices of a bullock ; but no word of panegyric beyond the bald expression " Father Ni" was conferred upon his memory. The royal or imperial dynasty took no notice whatever of his death. The people of the ducal state, who came from time to time to pay their respects to his memory, gradually formed a village round the tomb, and such relics as the Sage's hat, clothes, cart, lute, and books were preserved in what seems to have been the shrine, or, if there was no temple, then in a museum or other commemorative building. During the disturbed period B.C. 225-200, when the old royal house gave place to usurping emperors, and the feudal system was practically abolished, Confucius' memory naturally grew dim but the founder of the celebrated Han dynasty, which was the first truly historical dynasty to really rule over a united China and to open up political relations with Western Asia, personally visited Confucius' grave in B.C. 195, and offered an ox, a hog, and a sheep to his memory ; this is exactly the suovetaurilia of the Romans ; that is, a sacrifice of a SMS, ovis y and taurus at what were called lustrations. About B.C. 145 a regularly constituted temple was erected at the Sage's village, but apparently not by an Emperor. Several other emperors of this dynasty and of the subsequent branch known as the Later Han, took part in honouring Confucius, either by building temples, or by personally sacrificing to him and his disciples at the village or the tomb ; or, again, by conferring titles upon him. It is curious to notice that his first official posthumous title dates from the year A.D. i, when the Emperor added the word " Disseminating " to " Father Ni " ; this was changed by the founder of the Wei dynasty in A.D. 242 to the word " Holy." In the last quarter of the first century

of our era music was introduced at the worship, and a century later, after the introduction of Buddhism, an image of the Sage was added. During the first half of the third century the temple underwent extensive repair at the hands of the local ruler, acting under imperial commands issued by the northern dynasty of Wei. China had now been split up into three separate empires, but was reunited towards the close of the third century : the founder of this new unifying Tsin dynasty ordered quarterly suovetaurilia, both at the imperial capital and at the village. In the fifth century China was again divided into northern and southern empires. Though the northerners were Tartars of nomadic origin, they it was who first erected a Confucian temple in their capital, which was near the Tenduc of Marco Polo's time ; and they also conferred a new title upon the philosopher.

It had now become the custom of women to visit the tomb in order to pray for children, but the Tartar rulers prohibited this vulgar practice. Confucius' birthplace seems to have been in the dominions of the southerners, for the Nanking emperors rebuilt the temple, and added six bands of musicians, thus placing the sage on a footing with his prototype the Duke of Chow, to whom Confucius was so fond of pointing as a model, and whose grave lies near his own. About the middle of the sixth century there were rapid changes of dynasty in the north, and the founder of the Ts'i house of Tartars, who owed his empire partly to his obsequiousness towards the rising Turkish power, ordered Confucian temples to be erected in every first-class city, with monthly sacrifices. The great conquering Chinese dynasty of T'ang in the seventh century once more reunited the empire, and drove out the Tartars. After being degraded to a rank below that of Duke Chow, Confucius was confirmed by the T'ang dynasty in his title of " Holy Man," both words, " Holy " and " Disseminating," being added to " Father Ni " in A.D. 637. Temples were now ordered in all towns even of the second and third classes. The third emperor of this dynasty meddled a great deal with Confucius' titles and privileges, amongst other things depriving him of his taurus, and leaving him only suovilia : after this monarch's death, his usurping wife, the Chinese Catherine II., also conferred a separate title of her own upon the philosopher. Early in the eighth century Confucius was promoted to the rank of " Literature Disseminating Prince or King " ; provided with a robe and crown ; made to face south like a royal personage, instead of east as hitherto ; and given precedence over the Duke of Chow.

A number of ephemeral Turkish or Tartar dynasties intervened between the fall of the Chinese T'ang house and the rise of that of the Chinese Sung. As may well be imagined, the Turks did nothing at all for Confucius. In A.D. 960 the founder of the Sung dynasty, the southern branch of which ruled over the so-called Manzi empire of Marco Polo, substituted clay figures for the wooden ones

which had hitherto been used. About fifty years later the Emperor once more changed the title of Confucius, besides conferring high posthumous rank upon his father (who was given a special shrine), his mother, and his wife : in A.D. 1012 the same Emperor once more modified the title to what it long remained, i.e., " Most Holy Literature Disseminating Prince." In 1083 Mencius was associated with the Confucian worship : but we are not treating of him now. In the year i ic2 the son and grandson of Confucius were made posthumous marquesses, taking their titles from the Rivers Sz and I. The idea was that the Marquess of the Sz should protect the cemetery from the inundations of that river.

The Cathayan Tartars ruled over Mongolia, Manchuria, and part of Peking province, but they are not recorded to have noticed Confucius in any way; although, after his raid upon the Turko-Chinese capital in 946, the second Cathayan Emperor died, on his way home, at a place not very far to the west of Confucius' village. In 1031 Confucius of the 45th generation was sent as envoy to the Cathayans, who had the bad taste to invite him to a theatrical farce in which the sage came on the boards in a comic character. Confucius the 45th very properly left the theatre. Soon after this the Tungusic ancestors of the Manchus, known as the Golden Tartars, overcame the Gathayans and conquered North China ; the Sung or Manzi were driven across the River Yangtsze. The term mantsz means " uncouth ones "; it was and still is given by the northerners in retaliation for the contemptuous term tatsz, or Tartars. Both northern and southern emperors made changes in the temple ritual. The true duke seems to have followed the fortunes of the Chinese or southern emperor, who quartered him in the city of K'ii-chou Fu in Chen Kiang province, where to this day a number of the family remain. In 1103 the purely temporal ducal title now borne by Confucius' lineal representatives was finally confirmed : it had been first conferred in 1055, but was slightly modified in 1086. Thus the ducal title may be said to date from our William the Conqueror.

The Golden Tartars were displaced by the Mongols, who soon absorbed the Manzi empire as well, besides Persia and Russia. In 1220 Genghiz Khan sent all the way from Afghanistan to fetch a Chinese Taoist philosopher from his native village, which lay to the east of Confucius' town ; but he does not seem to have been at any time struck with the Confucian sentiments. In 1281 Kublai Khan even deprived Confucius of his title of " holy," and reduced it to that of " mediocre sage " ; but, immediately after Kublai's death, his grandson and successor Timur ordered that Confucius should be once more universally worshipped. He builc a Confucian temple at Peking in 1306, and his successor Hayshan renewed the " Most Holy " and " Princely Disseminator " titles, with

the addition of the words “Very Perfect.” In 1330 the Emperor Jagatu or Tu Timur conferred upon Confucius’ father and mother the title of “ Prince and Lady Introducers of Holiness “ ; a year or two later his wife also received a high posthumous rank.

A Buddhist priest founded a new Chinese dynasty in 1368, and ordered half-yearly sacrifices to Confucius : in 1382 he further ordered the orthodox wooden tablet to take the place of earthen images ; but painted clay images, clothed and hatted, seem to have been decreed once more in 1410. In 1476 eight bands of musicians and other additions were made to the ritual. In 1499 a fire partially destroyed the temple. In 1530 it was decided that to place Confucius on a level with Heaven was a mistake. His royal title was taken away, and that of “ Most Holy Former Master “ substituted. It was argued that, Confucius never having been a prince when alive, it was absurd to make him one posthumously ; moreover, that “ Disseminator of Literature “ was inadequate to express the sage’s qualities. The term “temple” was ordained in place of “palace hall,” and clay images were once more abolished in favour of the simple tablet. The bands were reduced to six, and other technical modifications instituted. Notwithstanding these alterations, no great change has been made in the ceremonial arrangements at the tomb, which, as we have seen, are of semi-imperial nature ; as, for instance, in the case of the 25 foot column marked “ Disseminating King.”

The first Emperor of the reigning Manchu dynasty in 1644 confirmed Confucius the 65th in descent in all his family privileges and titles : the tablet was inscribed “Very Perfect Most Holy Literature Diffusing Former Master Confucius,” that is, it renewed Hayshan’s precedent minus the word “ prince “ or “ king.” Every city and town was commanded to possess a temple, and the highest civil official was enjoined to conduct the worship. However, the Sage’s family were ordered under pain of death to wear the Manchu pigtail and official costume, like any other mortals. A Confucian temple was established at Moukden, the capital of Manchuria. In 1651 an officer was sent to sacrifice at the Confucian village, and in 1652 the Emperor himself sacrificed at the Peking Academy. In 1657 it was decided to omit the words “ Very Perfect “ and “ Literature Diffusing,” these terms being as vain an effort to qualify Confucius as it would be to limit the universe or measure the light of the sun and moon ; thus reverting to the precedent of 1530, which still holds good. The youthful Emperor reported to the manes of Confucius the date of his entrance upon the higher classical studies, and gave the equivalent of ^10,000 sterling towards the repair of the family temple. The work was duly announced to the spirits as having been completed in 1660.

In the seventh year of his reign the second Emperor sacrificed tOj Confucius at the Academy. On this occasion the military officials were for the first time made to take part. In 1684, acting under the suggestion of the Board of Rites, his Majesty called in person at the village on his way back from Nanking. He dismounted from his chair at the temple gate of the inner court, proceeded on foot up to the image, and kotowed nine times. An officer was despatched also to sacrifice to Confucius' father and canonised ancestors. The hereditary Duke K'ung Yii-k'i showed the Emperor about, and explained that the existing image was ascribed by tradition to the date A.D. 541 : the name of the artist was Li Yen, [and I may add the then reigning Tartar Emperor Gholugun was father of the founder of the Ts'i dynasty above alluded to]. The Duke showed some sacrificial objects actually deposited by one of the Han Emperors in A.D. 85 ; also the lithograph of Confucius as Chancellor, from the drawing of the celebrated artist Wu Tao-tsz of the 8th century ; the sage's table, his seal, and several other images or lithographs. The portrait most like Confucius was declared by the Duke to be the small picture of the sage followed by one of his disciples : this was actually sketched by another disciple, Tsz Kung, from life ; but it was redrawn or retouched by the famous draughtsman Ku K'ai about the fourth century of our era. The Emperor left his yellow umbrella with a crooked handle to be placed amongst the imperial relics. It was explained to his Majesty that Confucius actually taught where the Apricot Altar stood, and that the two ancient characters there were written by one Tang Hwai-ying of the Golden Tartar dynasty. Many other historical calligraphies were exhibited. The old juniper-tree planted by Confucius himself was stripped of its branches and leaves at the fire of 1499 ; but the trunk looks like and is as tough as iron, whence it is popularly known as the "iron tree." After visiting the library, containing all the books given by successive dynasties, the Emperor inquired if there were any vestiges of the old house, and was informed that part of the old wall was still in existence, just behind where the Emperor was then standing : the exact place where Confucius' son was twice stopped by his father to answer questions about his studies was also indicated by the Duke. The Emperor tasted some water from the old well, and, asking for further information touching the old hollow wall, was informed as follows : When the First Emperor was burning all the books in B.C. 213-212, the ninth descendant concealed copies of the chief canonical works in the wall. About B.C. 150 the feudal duke of the old state undertook some repairs, and whilst engaged in extending the temple, or palace as it was then called, the workmen heard the tinkling of musical instruments inside the wall. Search was made, and a number of bamboo books were found. Although there is still some vagueness in the Duke's words, it would thus seem

that the old house was east of or behind the hall containing the statue, and that the well belonged to the house.

After explaining all this to the Emperor, the Duke accompanied his Majesty to the cemetery, the latter descending from his horse at the bridge we have mentioned, and walking up to the grave, before which he ketowed thrice. The pines, acacias, and " quartz-crystal " trees growing upon the mound were explained to have been brought by the disciples from their own districts, and the names of them were mostly unknown. The Duke said the total area of the cemetery was from 270 to 300 acres, and that there was now insufficient space for interments. When the Emperor got back to Peking, he wrote a wooden tablet and also a poem on the old juniper tree, to be engraved on stone and placed in the temple. The latter seems to have been actually sent in 1687. In 1686 a decree announced that 160 acres of land should be added to the cemetery, and that it should be freed from taxation : this gift partly explains the discrepancy between the 16 acres of the 5th century and the 50 acres of Mr. Markham. Confucius the 66th, or whatever his number was, would probably not waste the land given to him, but, like any other Chinaman, make it pay until required for use as a burial ground. The Emperor commanded that in future military mandarins should always assist at the half-yearly worship : censors were ordered to watch the ceremony, and to call anyone, the Emperor included, to book if inattention were shown. For several years after that the Emperor showed in various ways his interest in the village temple worship, and in 1693 entirely renovated the shrine.

The third Emperor rebuilt the temple much as we now see it, a fire having again destroyed it in 1724. A new image was made and clothed in garments sent by the Emperor himself. The name of the Five Ancestors' Temple was modified.

It has been the practice ever since for each Manchu Emperor on his accession to write a few complimentary words to be transferred to a wooden tablet, the Duke keeping the original manuscript. In 1857 the seventh Emperor placed Confucius' half brother among the honoured ones. The present Emperor on his accession 22 years ago sent the four written words " Truth is lodged here," referring to an utterance of the philosopher when threatened by a hostile mob. The Duke sent up an obsequious memorial offering to come to Peking to offer his congratulations, and his offer was accepted.

In addition to the chief temple at the village of the sage, there are, apart from the 1,500 city temples attached to the district examination halls, five others of a higher order. These are at the seat of the schism or emigration in Cheh Kiang ; at a place a day's journey from Shanghai in Kiang Su ; in the Peking Palace ; in the old Tartar capital of Shan Si; and in the western province of Sz Ch'wan.

Some of the Europeans who have visited the temple at Confucius village have described the ceremonies and the worship, but it does not appear that any have actually seen them performed : at Shanghai, and perhaps at other of the treaty ports, foreigners have witnessed the local sacrifices, which are of course on a smaller scale ; but in every instance the chief civil authority, accompanied by the military subordinates as well as his own, acts as a sort of high priest ; but this term is not approved by Dr. Legge, whether applied to the Emperor or to others. A slow time dance, something after the fashion of our minuets, is performed by fifty youths, and meanwhile the six bands, each of six players, discourse shrill music. The airs are the same as those played in Confucius' time. The suovetaurilia and other symbolical offerings stand on tables between the incense vase flanked by two candles upon the altar and a roll of spotless white silk spread out upon the floor, the last ready for burning before the Sage's tablets, after the departure of the spirit. But the offerings are mere expressions of devotion, in no way intended as expiations of sin. The high priest arrives at dawn, and is supposed, as in ancestor worship, to have fasted and contemplated for three days. The adoration which I saw offered to the Emperor of Annam in the spring of 1893, with its hymns, kneelings, and knockings, seems to correspond in most particulars, with the exception of the dance, to the worship of Confucius. Accordingly, the fact that in China, and the states of her subordinate neighbours, the so-called worship is offered to the living as well as the dead points to a radical divergence of idea, and exemplifies once more that these ceremonies approach rather the Byzantine idea of lay adoration than the Christian sentiment of religious worship. Confucius was as far as possible from regarding himself as a prophet, not to say a god. In using the expression " Heaven gave birth to what virtue is in me," he distinctly recognises himself as a created being, and owing duty as such to a higher than himself. To a certain extent he considered himself to be an instrument or expounder (of this higher being. No prayer is offered to Confucius, nor is his assist-ance sought in any way ; and, as we have already shown, a Tartar dynasty 1,400 years ago prohibited the vulgar innovation, then being introduced by barren women, of seeking his mediation in their favour. Confucius is simply worshipped as one who codified learning ; as a sort of re-embodiment of the Duke of Chow, civil founder of the first truly historical imperial dynasty, whose memory was worshipped in Confucius' time both at the imperial and ducal capitals, and whose tomb still lies near to that of Confucius. The worship offered to the Duke of Chow was simply a repetition of that which had always been offered to the manes of China's best Emperors, who were what Sir Henry Maine describes in ancient western history and law as simply the Themistes or Assessors of the Deity, whether called Zeus

or Ti. Or the sacrifices may be regarded as being made to them as earliest inventors or founders. Thus, one is worshipped as the founder of agriculture, another as the discoverer of the silk-worm, and so on. When we come to think of the importance of writing in the world, we have less difficulty in revering Confucius as a discoverer of records and history.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY: CONFUCIUS

From '1911 Encyclopædia Britannica, Volume 6'

CONFUCIUS [*K`ung tsze*] (550 or 551–478 B.C.), the famous sage of China. In order to understand the events of his life and the influence of his opinions, we must endeavour to get some impression of the China that existed in his time, in the 5th and 6th centuries B.C. The dynasty of Chow, the third which within historic time had ruled the country, lasting from 1122 to 256 B.C., had passed its zenith, and its kings no longer held the sceptre with a firm grasp. The territory under their sway was not a sixth part of the present empire. For thirteen years of his life Confucius wandered about from state to state, seeking rest and patrons; but his journeyings were confined within the modern provinces of Ho-nan and Shantung, and the borders of Chih-li and Hu-peh.

Within the China of the Chow dynasty there might be a population, in Confucius's time, of from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000. We read frequently, in the classical books, of the "ten thousand states" in which the people were distributed, but that is merely a grand exaggeration. In what has been called, though erroneously, as we shall see, Confucius's History of his own Times, we find only 13 states of note, and the number of all the states, large and small, which can be brought together from it, and the much more extensive supplement to it by Tso K`iu-ming, not much posterior to the sage, is under 150. Chow was a feudal kingdom. The lords of the different territories belonged to five orders of nobility, corresponding closely to the dukes, marquises, earls, counts and barons of feudal Europe. The theory of the constitution required that the princes, on every fresh succession, should receive investiture from the king, and thereafter appear at his court at stated times. They paid to him annually certain specified tributes, and might be called out with their military levies at any time in his service. A feudal kingdom was sure to be a prey to disorder unless there were energy and ability in the character and administration of the sovereign; and Confucius has sketched, in the work referred to above, the Annals of Lu, his native state, for 242 years, from 722 to 481 B.C., which might almost be summed up in the words: " In those days there was no king in China, and every prince did what was right in his own eyes." In 1770 B.C. a northern horde had plundered the capital, which was then in the present department of Si-gan, Shen-si, and killed the king, whose son withdrew across the Ho and established

himself in a new centre, near the present city of Lo-yang in Ho-nan; but from that time the prestige of Chow was gone. Its representatives continued for four centuries and a half with the title of king, but they were less powerful than several of their feudatories. The Annals of Lu, enlarged by Tso K`iu-ming so as to embrace the history of the kingdom generally, are as full of life and interest as the pages of Froissart. Feats of arms, great battles, heroic virtues, devoted friendships and atrocious crimes make the chronicles of China in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries before the birth of Christ as attractive as those of France and England in the 14th and some other centuries after it. There was in China in the former period more of literary culture and of many arts of civilization than there was in Europe in the latter. Not only the royal court, but every feudal court had its historiographers and musicians. Institutions of an educational character abounded. There were ancient histories and poems, and codes of laws, and books of ceremonies. Yet the period was one of widespread suffering and degeneracy. While the general government was feeble, disorganization was at work in each particular state.

Three things must be kept in mind when we compare feudal China with feudal Europe. First, we must take into account the long duration of the time through which the central authority was devoid of vigour. For about five centuries state was left to contend with state, and clan with clan in the several states. The result was chronic misrule, and misery to the masses of the people, with frequent famines. Secondly, we must take into account the institution of polygamy, with the low status assigned to woman and the many restraints put upon her. In the ancient poems, indeed, there are a few pieces which are true love songs, and express a high appreciation of the virtue of their subjects; but there are many more which tell a different tale. The intrigues, quarrels, murders and grossnesses that grew out of this social condition it is difficult to conceive, and would be impossible to detail. Thirdly, we must take into account the absence of strong and definite religious beliefs, properly so called, which has always been a characteristic of the Chinese people. We are little troubled, of course, with heresies, and are not shocked by the outbreaks of theological zeal; but where thought as well as action does not reach beyond the limits of earth and time, we do not find man in his best estate. We miss the graces and consolations of faith; we have human efforts and ambitions, but they are unimpregnated with divine impulses and heavenly aspirings.

Confucius appeared, according to Mencius, one of his most distinguished followers (371-288 B.C.), at a crisis in the nation’s history. “ The world,” he says, “ had fallen into decay, and right principles had disappeared. Perverse discourses and oppressive deeds were waxen rife. Ministers murdered their

rulers and sons their fathers. Confucius was frightened by what he saw, - and he undertook the work of reformation." The sage was born, according to the historian Sze-ma Chien, in the year 550 B.C.; according to Kung-yang and Kuh-liang, two earlier commentators on his Annals of Lu, in 551; but all three agree in the month and day assigned to his birth, which took place in winter. His clan name was Kung, and Confucius is merely the latinized form of Kung Fu-tze, meaning " the philosopher or master K`ung." He was a native of the state of Lu, a part of the modern Shantung, embracing the present department of Yen-chow and other portions of the province. Lu had a great name among the other states of Chow, its marquises being descended from the duke of Chow, the legislator and consolidator of the dynasty which had been founded by his father and brother, the famous kings Wan and Wu. Confucius's own ancestry is traced up, through the sovereigns of the previous dynasty of Shang, to Hwang-ti, whose figure looms out through the mists of fable in prehistoric times. A scion of the house of Shang, the surname of which was Tze, was invested by King Wu-Wang with the dukedom of Sung in the present province of Ho-nan. There, in the Tze line, towards the end of the 8th century B.C., we find a Kung Kia, whose posterity, according to the rules for the dropping of surnames, became the Kung clan. He was a high officer of loyalty and probity, and unfortunately for himself had a wife of extraordinary beauty. Hwa Tuh, another high officer of the duchy, that he might get this lady into his possession, brought about the death of Kung Kia, and was carrying his prize in a carriage to his own palace, when she strangled herself on the way. The Kung family, however, became reduced, and by-and-by its chief representative moved from Sung to Lu, where in the early part of the 6th century we meet with Shuh-liang Heih, the father of Confucius, as commandant of the district of Tsow, and an officer renowned for his feats of strength and daring.

There was thus no grander lineage in China than that of Confucius; and on all his progenitors, since the throne of Shang passed from their line, with perhaps one exception, he could look back with complacency. He was the son of Heih's old age. That officer, when over seventy years, and having already nine daughters and one son, because that son was a cripple, sought an alliance with a gentleman of the Yen clan, who had three daughters. The father submitted to them Heih's application, saying that, though he was old and austere, he was of most illustrious descent, and they need have no misgivings about him. Ching-tsai, the youngest of the three, observed that it was for their father to decide in the case. " You shall marry him then," said the father, and accordingly she became the bride of the old man, and in the next year the mother of the sage. It is

one of the undesigned coincidences which confirm the credibility of Confucius's history, that his favourite disciple was a scion of the Yen clan.

Heih died in the child's third year, leaving his family in straitened circumstances. Long afterwards, when Confucius was complimented on his acquaintance with many arts, he accounted for it on the ground of the poverty of his youth, which obliged him to acquire a knowledge of matters belonging to a mean condition. When he was five or six, people took notice of his fondness for playing with his companions at setting out sacrifices, and at postures of ceremony. He tells us himself that at fifteen his mind was set on learning; and at nineteen, according to the ancient and modern practice in China in regard to early unions, he was married, - his wife being from his ancestral state of Sung. A son, the only one, so far as we know, that he ever had, was born in the following year; but he had subsequently two daughters. Immediately after his marriage we find him employed under the chief of the Ki clan to whose jurisdiction the district of Tsow belonged, first as keeper of stores, and then as superintendent of parks and herds. Mencius says that he undertook such mean offices because of his poverty, and distinguished himself by the efficiency with which he discharged them, without any attempt to become rich.

In his twenty-second year Confucius commenced his labours as a teacher. He did so at first, probably, in a humble way; but a school, not of boys to be taught the elements of learning, but of young and inquiring spirits who wished to be instructed in the principles of right conduct and government, gradually gathered round him. He accepted the substantial aid of his disciples; but he rejected none who could give him even the smallest fee, and he would retain none who did not show earnestness and capacity. " When I have presented," he said, " one corner of a subject, and the pupil cannot of himself make out the other three, I do not repeat my lesson." Two years after, his mother died, and he buried her in the same grave with his father. Some idea of what his future life was likely to be was already present to his mind. It was not the custom of antiquity to raise any tumulus over graves, but Confucius resolved to innovate in the matter. He would be travelling, he said, to all quarters of the kingdom, and must therefore have a mound by which to recognize his parents' resting-place. He returned home from the interment alone, having left his disciples to complete this work. They were long in rejoining him, and had then to tell him that they had been detained by a heavy fall of rain, which threw down the first product of their labour. He burst into tears, and exclaimed, " Ah! they did not raise mounds over their graves in antiquity." His affection for the memory of his mother and dissatisfaction with his own innovation on ancient customs thus blended together; and we can sympathize with his tears. For the regular period of 27 months, commonly

spoken of as three years, he observed all the rules of mourning. When they were over he allowed five more days to elapse before he would take his lute, of which he had been devotedly fond, in his hands. He played, but when he tried to sing to the accompaniment of the instrument, his feelings overcame him.

For some years after this our information about Confucius is scanty. Hints, indeed, occur of his devotion to the study of music and of ancient history; and we can perceive that his character was more and more appreciated by the principal men of Lu. He had passed his thirtieth year when, as he tells us, " he stood firm " in his convictions on all the subjects to the learning of which he had bent his mind fifteen years before. In 517 B.C. two scions of one of the principal houses in Lu joined the company of his disciples in consequence of the dying command of its chief; and being furnished with the means by the marquis of the state, he made a visit with them to the capital of the kingdom. There he examined the treasures of the royal library, and studied the music which was found in its highest style at the court. There, too, according to Sze-ma Chien, he had several interviews with Lao-tsze, the father of Taoism. It is characteristic of the two men that the latter, a transcendental dreamer, appears to have thought little of his visitor, while Confucius, an inquiring thinker, was profoundly impressed with him.

On his return to Lu, in the same year, that state fell into great History of his life. disorder. The marquis was worsted in a struggle with his ministers, and fled to the neighbouring state of Ts`i. Thither also went Confucius, for he would not countenance by his presence the men who had driven their ruler away. He was accompanied by many of his disciples; and as they passed by the Tai Mountain, an incident occurred which may be narrated as a specimen of the way in which he communicated to them his lessons. The attention of the travellers was arrested by a woman weeping and wailing at a grave. The sage stopped, and sent one of his followers to ask the reason of her grief. " My husband's father," said she, " was killed here by a tiger, and my husband also, and now my son has met the same fate." Being asked why she did not leave so fatal a spot, she replied that there was there no oppressive government. " Remember this," said Confucius to his disciples, " remember this, my children, oppressive government is fiercer and more feared than a tiger." He did not find in Ts`i a home to his liking. The marquis of the state was puzzled how to treat him. The teacher was not a man of rank, and yet the prince felt that he ought to give him more honour than rank could claim. Some counsellors of the court spoke of him as " impracticable and conceited, with a thousand peculiarities." It was proposed to assign to him a considerable revenue, but he would not accept it while his counsels were not followed. Dissatisfactions ensued, and he went back to Lu.

There for fifteen more years he continued in private life, prosecuting his studies, and receiving many accessions to his disciples. He had a difficult part to play with the different parties in the state, but he adroitly kept himself aloof from them all; and at last, in his fifty-second year, he was made chief magistrate of the city of Chung-tu. A marvellous reformation, we are told, forthwith ensued in the manners of the people; and the marquis, a younger brother of the one that fled to Ts`i and died there, called him to higher office. He was finally appointed minister of crime, - and there was an end of crime. Two of his disciples at the same time obtained influential positions in the two most powerful clans of the state, and co-operated with him. He signalized his vigour by the punishment of a great officer and in negotiations with the state of Ts`i. He laboured to restore to the marquis his proper authority, and as an important step to that end, to dismantle the fortified cities where the great chiefs of clans maintained themselves like the barons of feudal Europe. For a couple of years he seemed to be master of the situation. " He strengthened the ruler," it is said, " and repressed the barons. A transforming government went abroad. Dishonesty and dissoluteness hid their heads. Loyalty and good faith became the characteristics of the men, and chastity and docility those of the women. He was the idol of the people, and flew in songs through their mouths." The sky of bright promise was soon overcast. The marquis of Ts`i and his advisers saw that if Confucius were allowed to prosecute his course, the influence of Lu would become supreme throughout the kingdom, and Ts`i would be the first to suffer. A large company of beautiful women, trained in music and dancing, and a troop of fine horses, were sent to Lu. The bait took; the women were welcomed, and the sage was neglected. The marquis forgot the lessons of the master, and yielded supinely to the fascinations of the harem. Confucius felt that he must leave the state. The neglect of the marquis to send round, according to rule, among the ministers portions of the flesh after a great sacrifice, furnished a plausible reason for leaving the court. He withdrew, though very unwillingly and slowly, hoping that a change would come over the marquis and his counsellors, and a message of recall be sent to him. But no such message came; and he went forth in his fifty-sixth year to a weary period of wandering among various states.

A disciple once asked Confucius what he would consider the first thing to be done, if intrusted with the government of a state. His reply was, " The rectification of names." When told that such a thing was wide of the mark, he held to it, and indeed his whole social and political system was wrapped up in the saying. He had told the marquis of Ts`i that good govern ment obtained when the ruler was ruler, and the minister minister; when the father was father, and the son son. Society, he considered, was an ordinance of heaven, and was

made up of five relationships - ruler and subject, husband and wife, father and son, elder brothers and younger, and friends. There was rule on the one side of the first four, and submission on the other. The rule should be in righteousness and benevolence; the submission in righteousness and sincerity. Between friends the mutual promotion of virtue should be the guiding principle. It was true that the duties of the several relations were being continually violated by the passions of men, and the social state had become an anarchy. But Confucius had confidence in the preponderating goodness of human nature, and in the power of example in superiors. " Not more surely," he said, " does the grass bend before the wind than the masses yield to the will of those above them." Given the model ruler, and the model people would forthwith appear. And he himself could make the model ruler. He could tell the princes of the states what they ought to be; and he could point them to examples of perfect virtue in former times, - to the sage founders of their own dynasty; to the sage Tang, who had founded the previous dynasty of Shang; to the sage Yu, who first established a hereditary kingdom in China; and to the greater sages still who lived in a more distant golden age. With his own lessons and those patterns, any ruler of his day, who would listen to him, might reform and renovate his own state, and his influence would break forth beyond its limits till the face of the whole kingdom should be filled with a multitudinous relation-keeping, well-fed, happy people. " If any ruler," he once said, " would submit to me as his director for twelve months, I should accomplish something considerable; and in three years I should attain the realization of my hopes." Such were the ideas, the dreams of Confucius. But he had not been able to get the ruler of his native state to listen to him. His sage counsels had melted away before the glance of beauty and the pomps of life.

His professed disciples amounted to 3000, and among them were between 70 and 80 whom he described as " scholars of extraordinary ability." The most attached of them were seldom long away from him. They stood or sat His disciples. reverently by his side, watched the minutest particulars of his conduct, studied under his direction the ancient history, poetry and rites of their country, and treasured up every syllable which dropped from his lips. They have told us how he never shot at a bird perching nor fished with a net, the creatures not having in such a case a fair chance for their lives; how he conducted himself in court and among villagers; how he ate his food, and lay in his bed, and sat in his carriage; how he rose up before the old man and the mourner; how he changed countenance when it thundered, and when he saw a grand display of viands at a feast. He was free and unreserved in his intercourse with them, and was hurt once when they seemed to think that he kept back some of his doctrines from them. Several of them were men of mark among the statesmen of the time, and it

is the highest testimony to the character of Confucius that he inspired them with feelings of admiration and reverence. It was they who set the example of speaking of him as the greatest of mortal men; it was they who struck the first notes of that paean which has gone on resounding to the present day.

Confucius was in his fifty-sixth year when he left Lu; and thirteen years elapsed ere he returned to it. In this period were comprised his travels among the different states, when he hoped, and ever hoped in vain, to meet with some prince who would accept him as his counsellor, and initiate a government that should become the centre of a universal reformation. Several of the princes were willing to entertain and support him; but for all that he could say, they would not change their ways.

His first refuge was in Wei, a part of the present Ho-nan, the marquis of which received him kindly; but he was a weak man, ruled by his wife, a woman notorious for her accomplishments and wickedness. In attempting to pass from Wei to another state, Confucius was set upon by a mob, which mistook him for an officer who had made himself hated by his oppressive deeds. He himself was perfectly calm amid the danger, though his followers were filled with alarm. They were obliged, however, to retrace their way to Wei, and he wanderings. had there to appear before the marchioness, who wished to see how a sage looked. There was a screen between them at the interview, such as the present regentempresses of China use in giving audience to their ministers; but Tze-lu, one of his principal disciples, was indignant that the master should have demeaned himself to be near such a woman, and to pacify him Confucius swore an oath appealing to Heaven to reject him if he had acted improperly. Soon afterwards he left the state.

Twice again, during his protracted wanderings, he was placed in imminent peril, but he manifested the same fearlessness, and expressed his confidence in the protection of Heaven till his course should be run. On one of the occasions he and his company were in danger of perishing from want, and the courage of even Tze-lu gave way. “ Has the superior man, indeed, to endure in this way?” he asked. “ The superior man may have to endure want,” was the reply, “ but he is still the superior man. The small man in the same circumstances loses his self-command.” While travelling about, Confucius repeatedly came across recluses, - a class of men who had retired from the world in disgust. That there was such a class gives us a striking glimpse into the character of the age. Scholarly, and of good principles, they had given up the conflict with the vices and disorder that prevailed. But they did not understand the sage, and felt a contempt for him struggling on against the tide, and always hoping against hope. We get a fine idea of him from his encounters with them. Once he was looking about for a

ford, and sent Tze-lu to ask a man who was at work in a neighbouring field where it was. The man was a recluse, and having found that his questioner was a disciple of Confucius, he said to him: " Disorder in a swelling flood spreads over the kingdom, and no one is able to repress it. Than follow a master who withdraws from one ruler and another that will not take his advice, had you not better follow those who withdraw from the world altogether?" With these words he resumed his hoe, and would give no information about the ford. Tze-lu went back, and reported what the man had said to the master, who observed: " It is impossible to withdraw from the world, and associate with birds and beasts that have no affinity with us. With whom should I associate but with suffering men? The disorder that prevails is what requires my efforts. If right principles ruled through the kingdom, there would be no necessity for me to change its state." We must recognize in those words a brave heart and a noble sympathy. Confucius would not abandon the cause of the people. He would hold on his way to the end. Defeated he might be, but he would be true to his humane and righteous mission.

It was in his sixty-ninth year, 483 B.C., that Confucius returned to Lu. One of his disciples, who had remained in the state, had been successful in the command of a military expedition, and told the prime minister that he had learned his skill in war from the master, - urging his recall, and that thereafter mean persons should not be allowed to come between the ruler and him. The state was now in the hands of the son of the marquis whose neglect had driven the sage away; but Confucius would not again take office. Only a few years remained to him, and he devoted them to the completion of his literary tasks, and the delivery of his lessons to his disciples.

The next year was marked by the death of his son, which he bore with equanimity. His wife had died many years before, and it jars upon us to read how he then commanded the young man to hush his lamentations of sorrow. We like him better when he mourned, as has been related, for his own mother. It is not true, however, as has often been said, that he had divorced his wife before her death. The death of his favourite disciple, Yen Hwui, in 481 B.C., was more trying to him. Then he wept and mourned beyond what seemed to his other followers the bounds of propriety, exclaiming that Heaven was destroying him. His own last year, 478 B.C., dawned on him with the tragic end of his next beloved disciple, Tze-lu. Early one morning, we are told, in the fourth month, he got up, and with his hands behind his back, dragging his staff, he moved about his door, crooning over " The great mountain must crumble, The strong beam must break, The wise man must wither away like a plant." Tze-kung heard the words, and hastened to him. The master told him a dream of the previous night,

which, he thought, presaged his death. “ No intelligent ruler,” he said, “ arises to take me as his master. My time has come to die.” He took to his bed, and after seven days expired. Such is the account we have of the last days of the sage of China. His end was not unimpressive, but it was melancholy. Disappointed hopes made his soul bitter. No wife nor child was by to do the offices of affection, nor was the expectation of another life with him, when he passed away from among men. He uttered no prayer, and he betrayed no apprehension. Years before, when he was very ill, and Tze-lu asked leave to pray for him, he expressed a doubt whether such a thing might be done, and added, “ I have prayed for a long time.” Deep-treasured now in his heart may have been the thought that he had served his generation by the will of God; but he gave no sign.

When their master thus died, his disciples buried him with great pomp. A multitude of them built huts near his grave, and remained there, mourning as for a father, for nearly three years; and when all the rest were gone, Tze-kung, the last of his favourite three, continued alone by the grave for another period of the same duration. The news of his death went through the states as with an electric thrill. The man who had been neglected when alive seemed to become all at once an object of unbounded admiration. The tide began to flow which has hardly ever ebbed during three-and-twenty centuries.

The grave of Confucius is in a large rectangle separated from the rest of the Kung cemetery, outside the city of K`iuh-fow. A magnificent gate gives admission to a fine avenue, lined with cypress trees and conducting to the tomb, a large and lofty mound, with a marble statue in front, bearing the inscription of the title given to Confucius under the Sung dynasty: - “ The most sagely ancient Teacher; the all-accomplished, all-informed King.” A little in front of the tomb, on the left and right, are smaller mounds over the graves of his son and grandson, from the latter of whom we have the remarkable treatise called The Doctrine of the Mean. All over the place are imperial tablets of different dynasties, with glowing tributes to the one man whom China delights to honour; and on the right of the grandson’s mound is a small house said to mark the place of the hut where Tze-kung passed his nearly five years of loving vigil. On the mound grow cypresses, acacias, what is called “ the crystal tree,” said not to be elsewhere found, and the Achillea, the plant whose stalks were employed in ancient times for purposes of divination.

The adjoining city is still the home of the Kung family; and there are said to be in it some 40,000 or 50,000 of the descendants of the sage. The chief of the family has large estates by imperial gift, with the title of “ Duke by imperial appointment and hereditary right, continuator of the sage.” The dynasty of Chow

finally perished two centuries and a quarter after the death of the sage at the hands of the first historic emperor of the nation, - the first of the dynasty of Ts'in, who swept away the foundations of the feudal system. State after state went down before his blows, but the name and followers of Confucius were the chief obstacles in his way. He made an effort to destroy the memory of the sage from off the earth, consigning to the flames all the ancient books from which he drew his rules and examples, (save one), and burying alive hundreds of scholars who were ready to swear by his name. But Confucius could not be so extinguished. The tyranny of Ts'in was of short duration, and the next dynasty, that of Han, while entering into the new China, found its surest strength in doing honour to his name, and trying to gather up the wreck of the ancient books. 'It is ' on China. difficult to determine what there was about Confucius to secure for him the influence which he has wielded. Reference has been made to his literary tasks; but the study of them only renders the undertaking more difficult. He left no writings in which he detailed the principles of his moral and social system. The Doctrine of the Mean, by his grandson Tze-sze, and The Great Learning, by Tsang Sin, the most profound, perhaps, of his disciples, give us the fullest information on that subject, and contain many of his sayings. The Lun-Yii, or Analects, " Discourses and Dialogues," is a compilation in which many of his disciples must have taken part, and has great value as a record of his ways and utterances; but its chapters are mostly disjecta membra, affording faint traces of any guiding method or mind. Mencius, Hsiin King and writers of the Han dynasty, whose works, however, are more or less apocryphal, tell us much about him and his opinions, but all in a loose and unconnected way. No Chinese writer has ever seriously undertaken to compare him with the philosophers and sages of other nations.

The sage, probably, did not think it necessary to put down many of his own thoughts in writing, for he said of himself that he was " a transmitter, and not a maker." Nor did he lay claim to have any divine revelations. He was not born, he declared, with knowledge, but was fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking knowledge there. The rule of life for men in all their relations, he held, was to be found within themselves. The right development of that rule, in the ordering not of the individual only, but of society, was to be found in the words and institutions of the ancient sages.

China had a literature before Confucius. All the monuments of it, however, were in danger of perishing through the disorder into which the kingdom had fallen. The feudal system that had subsisted for more than 1500 years had become old. Confucius did not see this, and it was impossible that he should.

China was in his eyes drifting from its ancient moorings, drifting on a sea of storms “ to hideous ruin and combustion “; and the expedient that occurred to him to arrest the evil was to gather up and preserve the records of antiquity, illustrating and commending them by his own teachings. For this purpose he lectured to his disciples on the histories, poems and constitutional works of the nation. What he thus did was of inestimable value to his own countrymen, and all other men are indebted to him for what they know of China before his time, though all the contents of the ancient works have not come down to us.

He wrote, we are told, a preface to the Shu King, or Book of Historical Documents. The preface is, in fact, only a schedule, without any remark by Confucius himself, giving the names of 100 books, of which it consisted. Of these we now possess 59, the oldest going back to the 23rd century, and the latest dating in the 8th century B.C. The credibility of the earlier portions, and the genuineness of several of the documents, have been questioned, but the collection as a whole is exceedingly valuable.

The Shih king, or Ancient Poems, as existing in his time, or compiled by him (as generally stated, contrary to the evidence in the case), consisted of 311 pieces, of which we possess 305. The latest of them dates 585 years B.C., and the oldest of them ascends perhaps twelve centuries higher. It is the most interesting book of ancient poetry in the world, and many of the pieces are really fine ballads. Confucius was wont to say that he who was not acquainted with the Shih was not fit to be conversed with, and that the study of it would produce a mind without a single depraved thought. This is nearly all we have from him about the poems.

The Li ki, or Books of Rites and Ancient Ceremonies and of Institutions, chiefly of the Chow dynasty, have come down to us in a sadly mutilated condition. They are still more than sufficiently voluminous, but they were edited, when recovered under the Han dynasty, with so many additions, that it is hardly worth while to speak of them in connexion with Confucius, though much of what was added to them is occupied with his history and sayings.

Of all the ancient books not one was more prized by him than the Yi-king, or “ The Book of Changes,” the rudiments of which are assigned to Fuh-hi about the 30th century B.C. Those rudiments, however, are merely the 8 trigrams and 64 hexagrams, composed of a whole and a broken line (, - -), without any text or explanation of them earlier than the rise of the Chow dynasty. The leather thongs, by which the tablets of Confucius’s copy were tied together, were thrice worn out by his constant handling. He said that if his life were lengthened he would give fifty years to the study of the Yi, and might then be without great faults. This has come down to us entire. If not intended from the first for

purposes of divination, it was so used both before and after Confucius, and on that account it was exempted, through the superstition of the emperor of the Ts'in dynasty, from the flames. It is supposed to give a theory of the phenomena of the physical universe, and of moral and political principles by the trigrams and the different lines and numbers of the hexagrams of Fuh-hi. Almost every sentence in it is enigmatic. As now published, there are always subjoined to it certain appendixes, which are ascribed to Confucius himself. Pythagoras and he were contemporaries, and in the fragments of the Samian philosopher about the " elements of numbers as the elements of realities " there is a remarkable analogy with much of the Yi. No Chinese critic or foreign student of Chinese literature has yet been able to give a satisfactory account of the book.

But a greater and more serious difficulty is presented by his last literary labour, the work claimed by him as his own, and which has already been referred to more than once as the Annals of Lu. Its title is the Ch'un Ch'iu, or " Spring and Autumn," the events of every year being digested under the heads of the four seasons, two of which are used by synecdoche for the whole. Mencius held that the composition of the Ch'un Ch'iu was as great a work as Yu's regulation of the waters of the deluge with which the Shu King commences, and did for the face of society what the earlier labour did for the face of nature. This work also has been preserved nearly entire, but it is excessively meagre. The events of 242 years barely furnish an hour or two's reading. Confucius's annals do not bear a greater proportion to the events which they indicate than the headings in our Bibles bear to the contents of the chapters to which they are prefixed. Happily Tso K`iu-ming took it in hand to supply those events, incorporating also others with them, and continuing his narratives over some additional years, so that through him the history of China in all its states, from year to year, for more than two centuries and a half, lies bare before us. Tso never challenges the text of the master as being incorrect, yet he does not warp or modify his own narratives to make them square with it; and the astounding fact is, that when we compare the events with the summary of them, we must pronounce the latter misleading in the extreme. Men are charged with murder who were not guilty of it, and base murders are related as if they had been natural deaths. Villains, over whose fate the reader rejoices, are put down as victims of vile treason, and those who dealt with them as he would have been glad to do are subjected to horrible executions without one word of sympathy. Ignoring, concealing and misrepresenting are the characteristics of the Spring and Autumn. And yet this work is the model for all historical summaries in China. The want of harmony between the facts and the statements about them is patent to all scholars, and it is the knowledge of this, unacknowledged to themselves, which has made the literati labour with an

astonishing amount of fruitless ingenuity and learning to find in individual words, and the turn of every sentence, some mysterious indication of praise or blame. But the majority of them will admit no flaw in the sage or in his annals. His example in the book has been very injurious to his country. One almost wishes that critical reasons could be found for denying its authenticity. Confucius said that" by the Spring and Autumn men would know him and men would condemn him." It certainly obliges us to make a large deduction from our estimate of his character and of the beneficial influence which he has exerted. The examination of his literary labours does not on the whole increase our appreciation of him. We get a higher idea of the man from the accounts which his disciples have given us of Ingulphus, abbot of Crowland, who wrote in the reign of William the Conqueror, the bishoprics in England had been, for many years prior to the Norman Conquest, royal donatives conferred by delivery of the ring and of the pastoral staff. Disputes arose for the first time between the crown of England and the see of Rome in the reign of William Rufus, the pope claiming to dispose of the English bishoprics; and ultimately King John, by his charter Ut liberae sent electiones totius Angliae (1214), granted that the bishops should be elected freely by the deans and chapters of the cathedral churches, provided the royal permission was first asked, and the royal assent was required after the election. This arrangement was confirmed by subsequent statutes passed in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward III. respectively, and the practice was ultimately settled in its present form by the statute Payment of Annates, &c., 1534. According to the provisions of this statute, upon the avoidance of any episcopal see, the dean and chapter of the cathedral church are to certify the vacancy of the see to the crown, and to pray that they may be allowed to proceed to a new election. The crown thereupon grants to the dean and chapter its licence under the great seal to elect a new bishop, accompanied by a letter missive containing the name of the person whom the dean and chapter are to elect. The dean and chapter are thereupon bound to elect the person so named by the crown within twelve days, in default of which the crown is empowered by the statute to nominate by letters patent such person as it may think fit, to the vacant bishopric. Upon the return of the election of the new bishop, the metropolitan is required by the crown to examine and to confirm the election, and the metropolitan's confirmation gives to the election its canonical completeness. In case of a vacancy in a metropolitical see, an episcopal commission is appointed by the guardians of the spiritualities of the vacant see to confirm the election of the new metropolitan. At one time deans of the " old foundation " - in contradistinction to those of the " new foundation," founded by Henry VIII. out of the spoils of the dissolved monasteries - were elected by the chapter on a conge d'elire from

the crown, but now all deans are installed by letters-patent from the crown. (See CONFIRMATION OF BISHOPS.)

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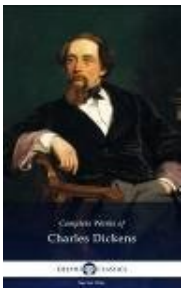

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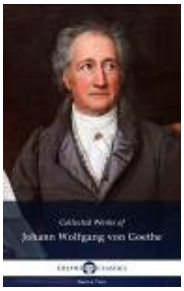

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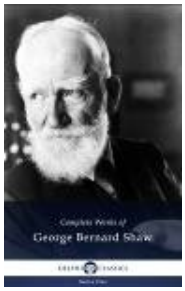

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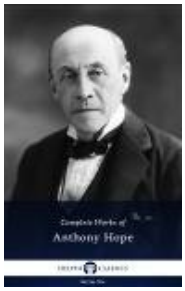

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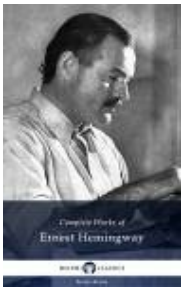

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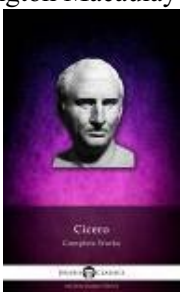
W. W. Jacobs 

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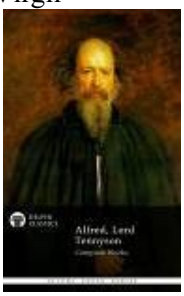
Xenophon 

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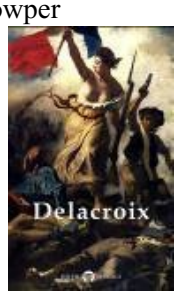

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Cemetery of Confucius — a cemetery of the Kong clan (the descendants of Confucius) in Confucius' birthplace Qufu in Shandong province.

Tomb of Confucius